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PROHIBITION

Some Comments from London

BY FREDERICK GRUBB

THERE are many people in England who have heard with much satisfaction that India has definitely taken the path of Prohibition It has come as a surprise to some that one of the first fruits of the victory won by the Congress Party in most of the Provinces at the General Election should be the inauguration of this particular policy Even when the Congress leaders decided to accept office it was doubted whether in view of the tremendous financial difficulties confronting them there would be sufficient driving force behind the new Governments to enable them to put through so promptly the experimental measures which have now been adopted particularly in Madras and Bombay Let us hope that Bengal will soon be added to the same category although it may not be a Congress Province (as yet)

We have little enough to encourage us in our struggle against the liquor traffic in this country, and the news of such substantial progress in India comes as a ray of light upon a somewhat depressing horizon British friends of Temperance send their hearty congratulations to fellow workers in India upon having achieved so notable an advance

Of course it is recognized that only the initial steps have so far been taken in what we must all hope with Mahatma Gandhi will be a nation wide drive against the drink evil An institution so strongly entrenched as this (owing to the indefensible policy of past Governments) cannot be wiped out in a day or even in three years but all must acknowledge that the measures already in operation do mark a beginning of India's liberation from a traffic which threatened to become a dire menace to her moral and material progress

A LEAD FROM MADRAS

Madras has been particularly fortunate in having as its first Prime Minister especially at this juncture a man who proved his devotion to total abstinence principles long before he reached his present responsible position What Mr Rajagopalachari preached in opposition he has practised in office Persecution imprisonment and apparent failure never daunted him When he was Honorary Secretary of the Prohibition League of India he suffered much for the cause Now that he is at the head of the Madras Government he has shown an equal readiness to venture all in his determination to implement the pledges then given He is probably under no illusion as to the obstacles which have to be overcome before Prohibition can be made universal, even in Madras but he will be encouraged to persevere by the sympathy and support which his policy has already won and which I feel sure will be forthcoming to a yet greater extent in the future

The same remarks apply to our friends in Bombay and the other Provinces where experimental prohibitory measures have been adopted The seed sown in days gone by is indeed bringing forth an abundant harvest Some of those who laboured for the temperance cause in times when there was little reward for so doing are now in a position to give effect to what they then advocated Ministers like Dr M D

Gilder in Bombay, and others who could be named, are now proving to be as good as their word All India is indebted to them for their pioneering work on behalf of this great reform They have blazed a trail which others will gladly follow until the whole of India is free from an incubus which, if allowed to continue, would seriously hinder her national development

Supported by Acclamation

The unanimity with which the public rallied to the support of Prohibition has been most significant In Madras the Legislative Assembly, after a full debate, passed the Bill without a division All parties avowed their sympathy with its object Equally noteworthy was the reception accorded to the Prime Minister and his colleague, Mr Munishwami Pillai, when they toured the Salem District (to which the Act applies in the first instance) after the passage of the measure If the arguments of drink trade apologists had any substance in them it might have been expected that those accustomed to drink would protest against a policy which deprived them of their liquor Quite the opposite The authors of the Act were hailed as liberators They were everywhere greeted with enthusiasm by large public gatherings It seemed hardly necessary for them to explain the purpose of a measure which was acclaimed on all hands by those who were most affected by it

Not the least interesting feature of these demonstrations was the symbolic destruction of toddy pots and other paraphernalia of the old habits The two Ministers found themselves preaching to the converted From October 1, when the Act came into operation, a remarkable change was evident in the attitude of the drinking classes, and nowhere in the Salem District was any protest made against the closing of shops

The moral and economic advantage of abstinence were at once in evidence The slender resources of the workers were diverted into more beneficial channels Poverty, which is bad enough in any case, became a little less grinding, and self-respect had a better chance to develop The women and children soon began to realize the change which had taken place They are the first to suffer from man's intemperance, and they will be as eager as anyone to maintain a reform which means so much to them No wonder the inauguration of Prohibition was a day of rejoicing for "the mothers of Salem"

Nor is it a merely negative Prohibition which has been enacted Both in Madras and Bombay steps have been taken to provide the people with other places of resort where they will not be subjected to the demoralizing temptations of the liquor shop Temperance reform goes hand in hand with other means of social uplift No moral advance is possible where the lives of men and women are being ruined by the drink habit Once get that out of the way and the path is opened to progress in many directions The Provincial Governments which have grappled with the drink problem are not losing sight of this aspect of it, and most of them have already introduced constructive measures, administrative or otherwise, designed to take advantage of the new opportunities now presenting themselves

Appeals for Extension

As I have previously remarked, the general support given to prohibitory legislation is a cheering factor in the situation The masses, no less than the leaders, are thoroughly in sympathy with the new departure This makes it probable that illicit manufacture and sale will be less formidable obstacles than some critics have predicted One thing is clear that the legislatures have not legislated in advance of public opinion, and that makes all the difference. It is noteworthy that in Madras a number of Municipalities have passed resolutions asking to be included in the Prohibition areas Ministers have also been urged in many quarters to get this legislation extended to the whole of the Province as soon as practicable

No representative Indian, so far as I am aware, has opposed the Government's policy in this regard Mr Srinivasa Sastri, who is not a Congressman, has said that to give the poor people drinking water and to wean them from the drink evil were, if there was nothing else, achievements of which any Ministry might be proud Whatever efforts the Prime Minister and his colleagues might make, he added, they must certainly see that the people were weaned away from the drink habit It was a great undertaking and he prayed for God's blessing on their labours

Indian Christians' Attitude

It is sometimes said that the Christian community in India is not in favour of Prohibition I can adduce plenty of evidence to the contrary The General Assembly of the South India United Church passed a resolution on October 16, expressing appreciation of the Madras Government's efforts in this connection and assuring the Prime Minsiter of its hearty

support of the various agencies working for the success of Prohibition

Shri P O Phillip, Indian Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, has written in Mahatma Gandhi's journal *Harijan*

"Christian Indians who love India and care for the real welfare of the Indian masses cannot but rejoice at the prospect of Prohibition in the six Provinces They should not have any difficulty in whole-heartedly co-operating with their fellow-countrymen in making Prohibition a complete success."

Rev A Ralla Ram, General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of India, Burma and Ceylon, says

"I give my full support to the objective of the Congress to bring about complete Prohibition in the country Those who are asking that we should be satisfied with temperance should not be listened to In my opinion Europeans who come to this country should fall in with our aspirations and I am afraid that if we respect their feelings in this matter (referring to the proposed exemptions) we shall leave a loop hole for many others."

Commenting on these letters, Mr Gandhi remarks

"It is for Europeans to make the choice I know how difficult it is for them to give up the habit of a life time, considered respectable But if they will fall in with the great national reform, the incentive should prove strong enough to wean them from the habit Anyway, even if in the end exemption within well-defined limits has to be given let us hope that they will be graceful enough to taboo alcohol from their parties and banquets."

Liquor Licences in Britain

Whilst welcoming signs of progress in India, I am afraid there is little of it to report in Great Britain The Licensing Statistics for 1936 (England and Wales) were published as a Blue Book last week The number of on-licences in force on December 31, was 74,681, a decrease of 381 compared with the previous year, making a total decrease of 24,797 since 1905 These results have been obtained under the Licensing Act of 1904, which was anything but a satisfactory measure from the temperance point of view A 25 per cent reduction over a period of 32 years is not enough especially when it is remembered that the drink shops weeded out have been small ones which were more or less unprofitable to their owners

Moreover, the falling off in the number of licensed premises has been largely counter-balanced by the growth in the number of clubs where the sale of drink is less restricted There were 16,297 registered clubs in 1936 an increase of 315 on the previous year The total increase since 1905 is 9,708 That many of these clubs are centres of demoralization is acknowledged even by those who are not abstainers, and the Government are pledged to deal with this particular evil A Bill was promised in the King's Speech at the opening of the present session of Parliament, but there is little hope of a really satisfactory measure being introduced

Further figures in the Blue Book clearly demonstrate that drunkenness is growing at an alarming rate Five years ago the total convictions numbered 30,146 Last year they had reached the figure of 44,525 There has been a steady annual increase during the last six years, and if the present tendency continues we shall again reach the swollen totals prevailing before the War And yet there are people who say that the drink problem in this country is solving itself !

Drink on the Air

Many complaints are being made about the undue prominence given to drink items by the British Broadcasting Company in their wireless programmes A fortnight ago, on the national transmitter, there was a 45 minutes' programme entitled "Wine," and this week we are getting another dose of the same length described as "White Ladies A Radio Roadhouse" (roadhouses being licensed premises where too many motorists become addicted to drink) In the interests of safety, sobriety and common sense it is important that nothing should be done to popularise habits of drinking which have already got too strong a hold upon large sections of the British public, including motor drivers and transport workers generally Frivolous references to drinking with the implied encouragement of this harmful practice, are far too frequent on radio programmes in this country, and something ought to be done to put a stop to what is going on

In reply to numerous protests which have reached Broadcasting House, Sir John Keith, on behalf of the B B C has issued a statement to the effect that careful note has been made of the objections raised Says the Director

"We must give you every assurance that the B B C. does not go out of its way to mention drink in its programmes It is not thought, however that such references can just fiably be excluded altogether"

The policy of the B B C is, in fact, inconsistent in this matter Liquor advertisements are rigidly excluded from all its publications, including the widely circulated *Radio Times* and *Listener* Is not this an admission (and we gladly welcome it) that publicity ought not to be given to drink and drinking ? That being so the B B C would be well advised to extend the same wise rule to its broadcast programmes

TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

By Major D Graham Pole

Perhaps the chief event of outstanding importance in the world of politics here at present is the attempt that is being made to negotiate a Trade Agreement with the United States The chief hurdle in the way of the completion of such an agreement is the fact that soon after their coming into office under the title of the "National' Government the Conservatives concluded the Ottawa Agreements with the Dominions These Agreements have probably helped the Dominions more than the United Kingdom and they have at the same time antagonized the rest of the world For if *economic nationalism is bad it is only one* degree better when it is applied to the Empire instead of the nation

But by now wiser counsels are beginning to prevail Canada is quite rightly thinking of *making a new Trade Agreement with the United* States So is Australia And the sooner we get such a Trade Agreement completed the better for the trade both of this country and of the United States But unless all this is merely a *move towards freer trade throughout the world* it is of comparatively little use and indeed it is a menace to those countries outside its scope In such agreements that exclude other countries that want and require more trade we have the seeds of war

In this connection it may be added it is necessary to be quite clear in our minds as to *what we really intend the new Trade Agreement* with America to be Is it political or economic? Unfortunately there is a lot of confusion on this point

In some quarters in America it is heralded as an economic alliance between the English speaking nations of the world And this is echoed from Australia where Mr Thomas White Trade and Customs Minister, declared that

"Transcending the purely trade aspect of the Anglo-American announcement is a united front of the two greatest democracies."

Then again it is well known that President *Roosevelt is most anxious for the democracies* to co operate with one another And France is the greatest democracy on the Continent And while all this is in the wind the French Ministers have come to London (to discuss with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary the outcome of the recent visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin) So it is not surprising if Germany looks on the proposed Trade Agreement as primarily a *political* instrument—and is already sending messages to Italy that they must continue to consult on measures to be taken "to resist possible Anglo French-American economic pressure"

Of course it may not be possible for some time to get such countries as Italy, Germany and Japan into the ambit of such agreements because it is their policy to be economically self-sufficient This seems a futile doctrine in this twentieth century when there is abundance *of everything in the world and only the problem* of distribution remains to be solved No doubt as we grow more used to the realization of the interdependence and real unity of all the nations of the world we shall grow wiser

And even in Germany today there are highly placed individuals who have the courage of different convictions The President of the Reichsbank, Dr Schacht, has several times dissociated himself from nationalist economics At the moment of writing it is announced that Herr Hitler has accepted the resignation of Dr Schacht from the Ministry of Economics "in assent to his request."

So we must go on with the negotiations for the new Trade Agreement—and hope that it will not be long before its principles have a wider application It *does* represent a real *step forward* As the *Economist points out*

"The agreement will embody a change in the commercial policy which Great Britain has pursued for six years past For the first time Great Britain will be signing a trade agreement whose net effect is to lower barriers on both sides Hitherto British policy has always been subject to the criticism that when all its results have been worked out trade has been diverted rather than encouraged restricted as much as freed. The fact that the world's greatest trading nations are about to sign an agreement to which this criticism manifestly does not apply cannot fail to be a signal encouragement to all other nations who are striving to free their trade from restriction and paralysis."

Signs are not lacking that all is not well in the totalitarian States Italy was *far from being* a contented nation and seemed to be heading for bankruptcy when Mussolini began his Abyssinian gamble to distract attention from Italian internal affairs Japan distracted attention from her serious internal economic position by starting her undeclared "defensive war"

against China Dictators can never stand still They are always on the march for something And probably before long Germany will be incorporating Danzig within her boundaries—and trying to extend her influence in the directions of Austria and Czecho Slovakia For she is anxious to gather into the Reich not only her former colonies but also the German speaking countries

Signor Mussolini publicly backs up the German claim for the return of her former colonies He conveniently forgets that Italy annexed quite a large German speaking population in the Tyrol at the end of the war Indeed Italy and Germany are and remain strange bedfellows and in spite of the Rome Berlin axis and the totalitarian outlook there are important points on which the two Dictators are far from seeing eye to eye

Perhaps in his heart of hearts the Italian Dictator knows that the Rome Berlin axis is dissolving into thin air Italy cannot any longer compete with Germany on equal terms for dominance in Central and Eastern Europe A few years ago it seemed as if she could Italy made Dollfuss her creature and then Germany murdered Dollfuss—power see sawed between them But it will not do so in the future Italy has more than enough on her hands to maintain her position in Abyssinia and in the Mediterranean And so Germany will have the stage all to herself

What is to be done about Germany? It is easy enough to discuss ways of repressing her In the words of Mr Bernard Shaw the other day everyone knows that so long as we hold fast to the Anglo French Pact a European war is impossible And to that he added

"An alliance of U S S R with the British Empire and France is the ace of trumps for our diplomatists"

But repression is a morally unsatisfying weapon The more so in the present instance because English people at any rate cannot but feel that Germany has a legitimate case Return of her colonies and absorption of the German speaking peoples They sound quite natural ambitions But the ambition to overshadow the whole of Central and Eastern Europe—that is another thing And it is the vision which dazzles Germany It is the reason for her enthusiastic support of Japan (An enthusiasm not shared by Dr Schacht who refused this week to take part in functions given by the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin to celebrate the Anti Communist Pact)

The question of the return of Germany's colonies is a very vexed one So many herrings are drawn across the trail! First of all it is said that before the War when Germany had colonies far more Germans lived abroad in other European countries than there lived in her colonies Next that giving her back her colonies will not appease Germany since she went to war anyway in the days when she had them Both these arguments of course are irrelevant It is no use telling people who want something that they do not need it The really vital objection to returning Germany's colonies—that we cannot hand over the people in them to a ruthless dictatorship and that the day for colonies (for usurping government over others) is over—these arguments strangely enough contain in themselves the seeds of a solution

Both these serious objections it will be seen on reflection can be met if we apply to them the League principle Germany must be given a mandate The terms of the mandate must safeguard the position of minorities in the mandated area But and it is a very big but, would Germany accept a mandate?

In the days when Disarmament was still a live issue Germany said over and over again that she would accept any terms provided that these terms were the same as those accepted by the other Great Powers Will she say the same about mandates—and if so what will we answer?

It is to be feared that our present rulers would sooner go to the extreme limit of war than yield up any part of what they consider to be British interests Nothing seems to influence them not Abyssinia nor Spain nor China Why cannot they see they are living in the past? Would it not be a wonderful world if Britain and France and Russia instead of seeing themselves in the role of peace*keepers* took a fancy to the role of peace*makers*—and adopted the Resolution passed this week at Bristol by the British Youth Peace Assembly to the effect that

"*All colonies and mandates be transferred to an international administration which should work for the complete emancipation of the peoples concerned.*

The question of the absorption by Germany of the other German speaking peoples is of course a far more serious one It is incapable of peaceful solution in the present mood of Germany and her neighbours Germany thinks it can only be done by force—and her neighbours are prepared to meet force with force But here again the application of League principles would greatly modify the situation It is suggested by the *Economist* that Germany's reasonable claim should be conceded *in principle* but only on one condition which must be the very essence of the bargain

"That condition must be designed to guarantee that Germany's policy shall not in fact overstep the moderate and reasonable limits which are now publicly admitted

There is only one form which such a guarantee can take the willing adhesion of Germany to a complete system of collective security buttressed by disarmament"

The threatened States it might be added, are making a valiant effort to stand on their own feet We might help them to do so by giving every encouragement, for instance, to the idea of the Danube Confederation or the Balkan Confederation Not only would this help to free them from the fatal idea that they must revolve round some Great Power it would in fact help on the idea of the eventual peaceful alliance or absorption of the German-speaking peoples Confederations can increase their membership

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One cannot forget the words used by Mussolini on 26th May, 1927

"The precise fundamental and paramount duty of Fascist Italy is that of putting in a state of preparedness

all her armed forces We must be in a position at a certain moment to mobilize five million men and we must be in a position to arm them Our Navy must be reinforced and our Air Force—in which I have more and more faith—must be so numerous and so powerful that the roar of its engines should drown any other noise in the Peninsula and the span of its wings should hide the sun from our country We shall be in a position then—to-morrow—when between 1925 and 1940 we shall find ourselves at a point which I should call a crucial point in European history—we shall be in a position to make our voices felt and to see at last, our rights recognized."

The League of Nations was an ideal that could be made effective only if nations were prepared to give up that part of their sovereignty by which they claimed to be judges in their own cause But we are still a long way off from giving up that sovereignty When the Foreign Secretary was tackled in the House of Commons for his failure to support Spain as a member of the League of Nations, he said

"There will be no indifference on the part of the Government where it is clear that *vital British interests are threatened*"

Could there be a more glaring example of the old Adam?

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The punishment at present is taking the form of excessive taxation, with its corollary of rising prices and depression of the standard of living The extra defence of this country is costing us at least £1,500 millions But this rearmament is largely nullified by the rearmament of other nations who refuse to be left behind in the armaments race The only way to preserve the peace of the world is to maintain a strong League of Nations and to stand as part of that League against aggression in any part of the world Side by side with this we should seek, by means of tariff agreements and so on, to weld nation States into a Confederation Armaments by themselves do not and cannot bring security Guns ultimately go off

"MILITARISM" IN MODERN JAPAN

By DAGMAR LYNN

The tourist from Japan is often asked today, "Did you find the Japanese aggressively military?" Militarism, like every other ism—except, perhaps, rheumatism—is capable of a variety of interpretations and the brand of militarism evolved by Japan has certain national, perhaps oriental, characteristics which make it somewhat unlike the brand produced in the West

In the Japan of today militarism is a religion, perhaps the only religion that really counts there and certainly the only religion that is accepted by every good Japanese citizen old or young The newspapers recently told the story of a Japanese youth, rejected for military training who jumped overboard in order to give his insurance money to his Government for their military operations in China Another story of the last Sino Japanese war tells how a capable young Japanese officer was wounded and taken prisoner by the Chinese He was nursed back to health and allowed to return to his regiment He thanked his captors with the utmost courtesy, went back to his own lines, and promptly shot himself Martyrs both to the mental attitude typical of modern Japan which takes its military honour more seriously than any religion

While I was in Tokyo, last April there was a great religious festival to celebrate the deification of sons of Japan who had died in the service of their country At the military shrine on Kudan Hill 1148 new spirits were solemnly added to the Japanese Pantheon Of these, 30 were immigrants to Manchuria, 120 were sailors and 998 were soldiers—which gives the soldier ten times the chance of becoming a deity in Japan as is vouchsafed to any ordinary mortal The august spirits of these heroes were solemnly invited, and then solemnly welcomed, to the ark in the innermost sanctuary of the shrine No one might enter here but the chief priests, high officers of the army and the navy, and members of the bereaved families of the newly-deified spirits But to the outer sanctuary of this shrine—a picture of which appears elsewhere

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The threatened States, it might be added, are making a valiant effort to stand on their own feet We might help them to do so by giving every encouragement, for instance, to the idea of the Danube Confederation or the Balkan Confederation Not only would this help to free them from the fatal idea that they must revolve round some Great Power it would in fact help on the idea of the eventual peaceful alliance or absorption of the German speaking peoples Confederations can increase their membership

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—flocked all good citizens and true They walked reverently up the stairs, stood there for a few moments bowed in prayer, then clapped their hands loudly and slowly three times, and threw in coins From the outer shrine impressively draped, one caught glimpses of the bereaved relatives who held their vigil before the ark

As new spirits are constantly being deified, the total number of spirits deified at this shrine has reached 1,30 967 Most of them are the spirits of soldiers who were killed in battle Japan calls this *The Yasakuni Shrine* and a Japanese interpreter explained

"It is known among foreigners as the military shrine but, according to the authorities of the shrine the 'Peace Shrine' is a more appropriate translation of the name"

Is it because those gallant war-worn spirits have at last found peace?

This religion of militarism has its poetry, too Exquisite gardens, planned as only Japan's intense love of nature can plan them, with little miniature rocks and pools with dark-green pine and soft-green willow and flowers of varied hue, circle the shrine Avenues of cherry trees shed their delicate pink and white blossoms along the paths that lead from the shrine to the Military Museum It is a little incongruous to the foreigner—this setting of a Military Museum with cannon gun and every implement of war amid beautiful gardens and soft masses of the exquisite cherry blossom But it is only one more proof of the fact that, in the Japanese conception of the Life Beautiful, the soldier plays as important a part as the beloved flower itself Said a Japanese poet to me—they are all poets in Japan over their cherry-blossoms,—

"The life of our cherry blossom, is like the life of our Japanese soldiers They do not fade—they are scattered"

The Military Museum stands amidst its beautiful surroundings on Kudan Hill to show how weapons of war have developed from the crude products of the stone and flint age to the polished instruments of torture known today Exhibits like these might find a place in any museum, but there is a whole section of the Military Museum of Tokyo which is perhaps like nothing in any other museum in the world —it is so essentially a part of the soul of Japan. The exhibits here, filling three or four long rooms, are the bruised and battered uniforms of the sons of Japan who have fallen in recent wars—a coat with a great jagged hole in it through which a splinter of shell once found a gallant young heart, the actual blood congealed in a dark-brown stain all round, another coat with the sleeve torn off, hanging limp and ragged also blood-stained, a helmet with a hole in it through which a bullet found the brain, handkerchiefs, shirts and vests drenched in blood—and over each tragic souvenir is a photograph of the man—often a mere boy—who fell wearing it for the last time The people of Tokyo go round everyday and look at these things without flinching I saw them there—young military students, young mothers with toddler sons all growing up to be soldiers, old bowed mothers who had already given their sons and army veterans who had, perhaps, seen these boys die And the photographs of those boys look back at the visitor, each face the impassive mask that its country's etiquette demands steady eyed tight-lipped inscrutable But the challenge of their youth is there 'Their lives they gave, their immortality' Was it worth while?

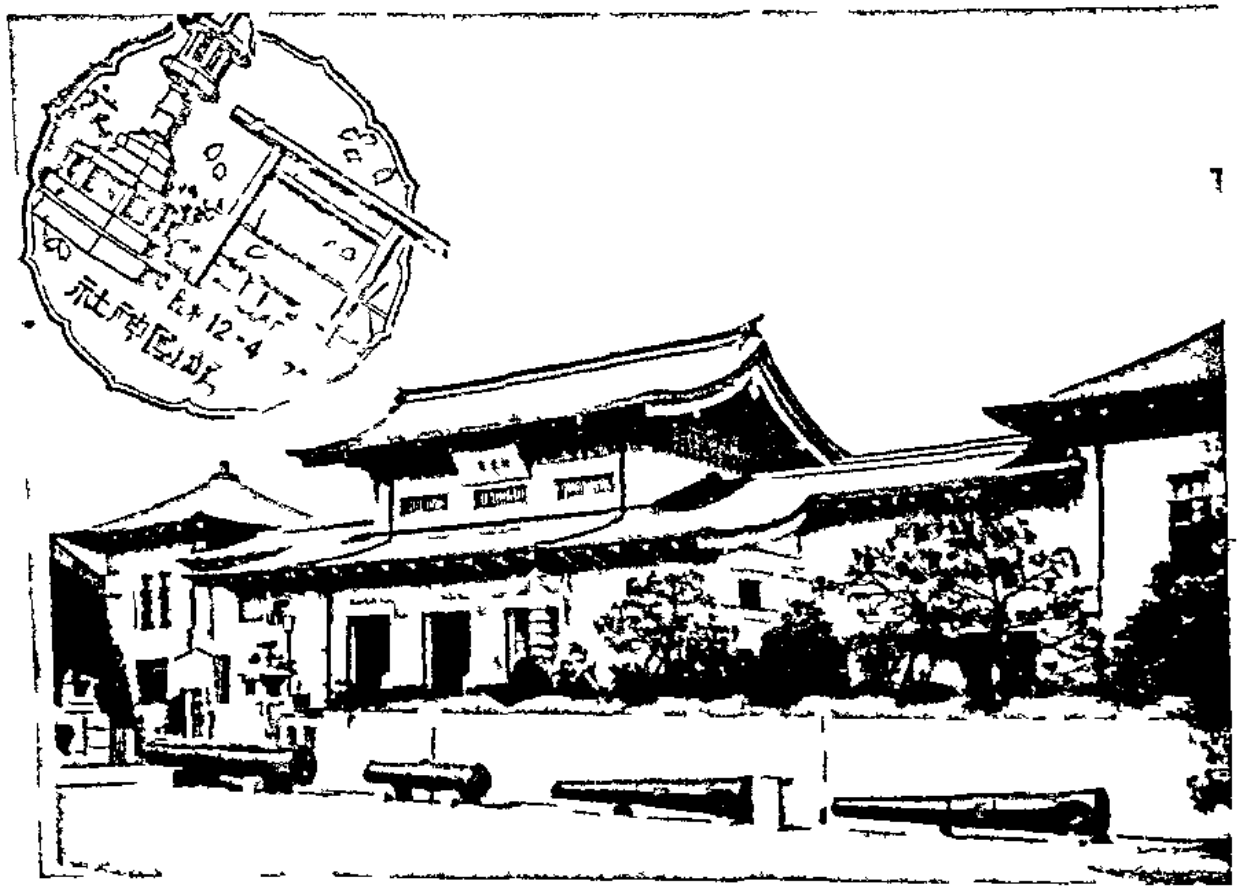
Even if one did become a deified spirit after it all, was it worth while? After the Great War a host of novels films and plays—*Journey's End All Quiet on the Western Front, Flowers of the Forest, Bury the Dead, The Road to Glory, Post Mortem*—asked this question of the western world But the youth of Japan has not openly questioned yet He has passed on, unsmiling to his ancestors and we can only hope he has found more happiness there than he knew here But will he still continue not to question? Will he always accept the dictum of the Japanese poet—once again a poet!—who said

"There will never be any conscientious objectors in Japan Refusal to face the enemy would be accounted fear—to us, in Japan, the worst possible crime"

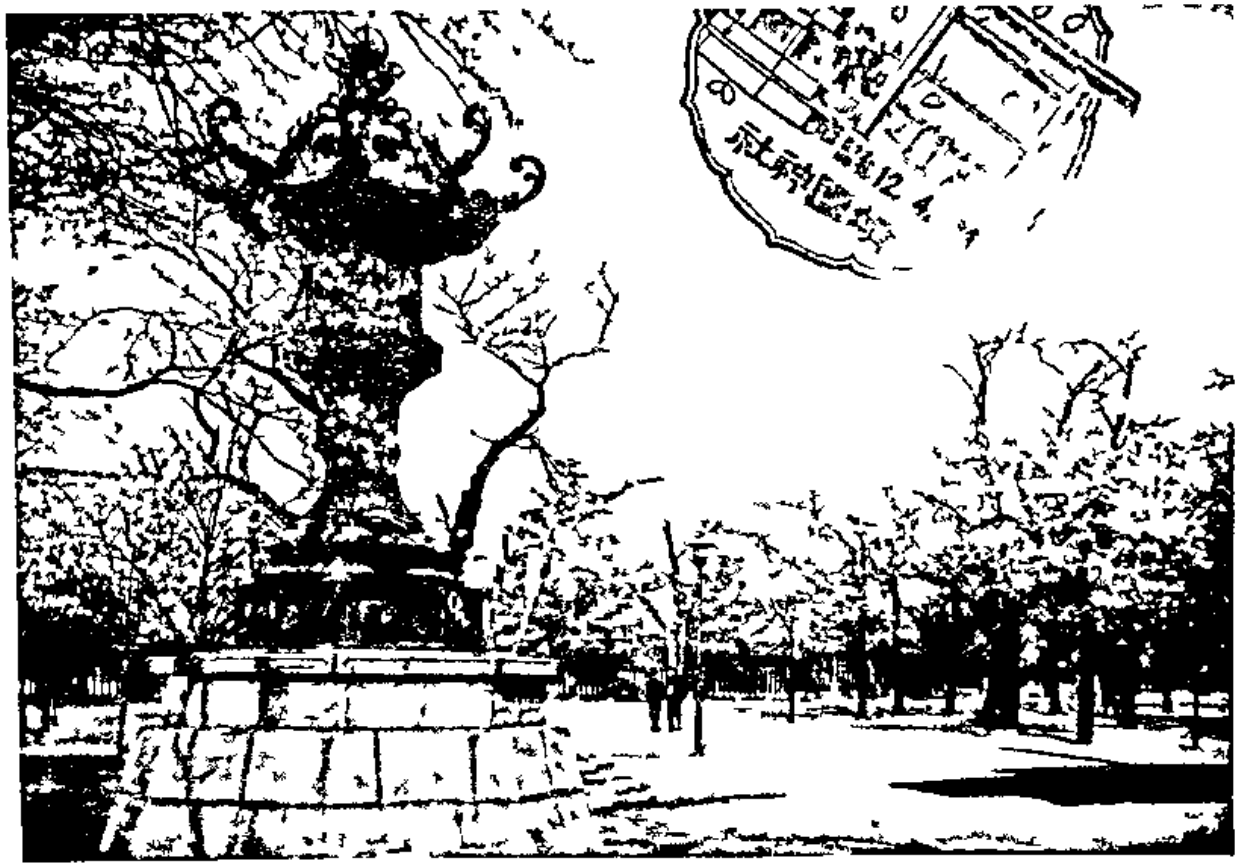
When her youth does begin to question, militarism will cease to be a religion in Japan.



The Yasakuni Shrine Tokyo The abode of 1 30 967 de fied spir ts most of whom were Japanese soldiers killed in battle



The Military Museum Kudan Hill Among the exhib ts are the battered blood stained uniforms of sons of Japan killed in r cent wars



Che y l on and a tone lan e n on Kudan H ll Tokyo



A corner of the beaut ful garden on Kudan H ll

Tl e c rcular s amps on the p ctures ma k tl em as autl ent c ones sold by the autl or t es of the shrine to v s ors during the fes val whicl followed the de fication ceremony in Apr l 1937

INTERVIEW WITH CHU TEH, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CHINESE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY

By AGNES SMEDLEY

Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army
North Shansi, October 24 1937

THE condition along the North Shansi battle-front was discussed in an informal way today by Chu Teh, Commander-in Chief of the Eighth Route Army, at the headquarters of this Army in North Shansi

The Japanese have not very strong resistance along the three northern railways of China —the Tinghan Tsinpu and Peiping Suiyuan line,—Chu Teh said They have been able to roll over the Chinese troops pretty much as they liked, and because of this they have thought they could carry out their old plans for the enslavement of China Their general plans are quite well known, and are very old They have long had in their service many leading men as traitors, and a small army of small traitors

' It was *only after the Eighth Route Army* came to the Front that the situation has changed," Chu Teh said ' The Eighth Route Army has had a long succession of victories at many places in North Shansi and, recently, in western Hopei These victories have changed the whole spirit of the other Chinese armies and of the Chinese people so that the Japanese have begun to meet with strong resistance The Eighth Route Army had shown the Kuomintang armies and the people that the Chinese can *really fight the Japanese and be victorious* The Chinese people have felt themselves helpless before Japanese airplanes, but here in this mountainous territory of North Shansi, these airplanes, as well as their fieldpieces, are almost useless Here in the north they cannot use their big guns, and our tactics negate damage from airplanes Here the invading enemy must fight with rifles and in hand to hand battles with the Eighth Route Army In this they are weak, and they fear hand to hand battles above all else

"The Japanese have tried to scare foreign powers by saying the Eighth Route Army is *marching across North China to the sea* To this I must say that it will not be so very easy for us to occupy Peiping and Tientsin just at *this moment* But our army can do this even though the Japanese occupy them We can continue to fight and be victorious even if the Japanese occupy all the big cities and the main railway lines We can carry on our fight and our work at all times and in all places because we fight by partisan warfare Even if the enemy should succeed in occupying all North China, we can continue our fight The Japanese will never dare leave the big cities and go into the country, for they will be destroyed We can always organize the people, arm them for struggle, and build our strength and the strength of the whole anti-Japanese struggle, on the masses of the people We have done this here in North Shansi The Kuomintang has no force in these places, and so we can organize the people along the entire front and in the rear of the enemy We have already organized trained and armed thousands of them to conduct partisan warfare and we have hardly begun yet *We are capturing arms and ammunition* from the Japanese and using these to arm the people General Yen Hsi shan has also given us rifles for the people

"The problem of whether we can save Shansi Province, and the city of Taiyuanfu, from the enemy, must be analyzed from many viewpoints On the northern front the enemy is in a bad situation at present because our partisan groups are in their rear, cutting all their communications, capturing all their supplies The enemy must now use airplanes to transport food and ammunition to their troops, but such transport is limited They cannot transport many things by such means

"Our partisan groups have killed more Japanese in the rear than have been killed on most fronts Apart from Pinghsinghwan, where we killed nearly two thousand in one battle we have killed from three to four thousand more Many more have been wounded This is easy work for us, and in it we have not even lost a *thousand men The Japanese come rolling* along on motor trucks, unprepared to fight At the front it is not such easy work, for the Japanese can use fieldpieces and airplanes against the Kuomintang armies which continue to fight by positional warfare

'On October 18th, at Yenmenkwan our partisan units just scored another victory Two companies of them attacked the enemy airdrome

and destroyed twenty-one airplanes It was night and our men did not see the three additional planes So these three escaped We used hand grenades to destroy them Since then the enemy has had a hard time with their airplanes They have sent about eight here but these fly over from Paotingfu in Hopei, and return after bombing

'Our Army attacks the rear of the Japanese ceaselessly We have now completely cut them off from the rear so that they are unable to get reinforcements or supplies of any kind except the limited quantities sent by air Because we have cut them off from the rear, the 40 000 to 50 000 of them fighting in the Sinkow region (180 li north of Taiyuanfu) cannot retreat but must fight forward desperately They must attack at the front and so they have had heavy losses in the last week Because of this situation our northern front is not in a very bad condition Our Eighth Route Army will not retreat

However the defence of Taiyuanfu depends on the eastern front If that front can hold then Taiyuanfu is saved If not, then it is in a dangerous position The situation on both the Tsinpu and Pinghan railways is we know very serious At Ningtsiangkwan the pass on the railway line leading from Hopei up to Taiyuanfu is also serious If the enemy is victorious there they can attack us along from the eastern, southwestern and southern fronts In such a way they can encircle Taiyuanfu

'General Yen Shih shan has just ordered our 129th Division commanded by Liu Peh cheng to Ningtsiangkwan where they are to fight by positional warfare This is not at all good for our troops Our troops are relatively few in number and positional warfare is suicidal for us The Japanese also are very much afraid of partisan warfare They can fight only by positional warfare No Japanese small groups dare attempt partisan warfare They would be wiped out by the people Wherever they go they must move in large groups Cavalry escort the infantry, and tanks escort their motor cars But we have destroyed them despite this capturing their tanks and motor cars They now openly threaten to use poison gas against us But we are not afraid of that either We are not afraid of their airplanes their tanks, field guns or their poison gas Our tactics are such that none of these can cause much damage to us

'We have learned certain things about this enemy They always use a division at least, in fighting positional warfare and they depend on big guns, tanks, airplanes, etc In every 30 000 of them, they have only 5,000 to 6,000 who can fight in hand to hand battles This is their weakpoint Their ammunition and arms are better than ours however But their use is conditional In order to use them, they must have roads and railways, gasoline and oil They must also have many, many people to transport these things If we cut their roads and kill their transporters, there is no help for them We do not understand why the Kuomintang armies cannot learn this fact, why they cannot learn our tactics The Kuomintang armies insist on sticking to tactics that can result in nothing but defeat for them

The Kuomintang could also use our tactics but they would have to change the elements in the army Only revolutionary elements can use partisan warfare with success If soldiers who are not revolutionary go out in small groups without their officers, they merely turn bandit and loot and rape The one and only condition for partisan warfare is that the troops must be imbued with anti-Japanese revolutionary spirit But if in fighting the generals run away and the soldiers retreat in small groups and continue to fight, it is quite certain that only the most revolutionary elements among the soldiers will continue the struggle Such men if brought under our leadership can be a great force leading to victory

General Yen Hsi shan gave our army 10 000 men to train but for some unknown reason he called them back after ten days and sent them to another front Under the command of the Eighth Route Army General Yen Hsi shan's army could also fight and be victorious over the Japanese The soldiers were enthusiastic So it is not the soldiers who cannot fight It is the Generals'

When asked if the Nanking Government had given the Eighth Route Army arms and ammunition before this army went to the front, Chu Teh remarked that Nanking gave them no arms at all They gave some bullets, however, but most of their arms and ammunition they have had to capture from the Japanese General Yen Hsi shan gave them some guns, though few The medical supplies were sufficient for only a couple of weeks, but were supposed to be for three months

'Nanking has given us almost nothing,' Chu Teh said 'but the Japanese have involuntarily and unwillingly given us a lot"

When asked what he considered the strong and weak points of the Japanese, Chu Teh replied

"Our experience in fighting the Japanese

enable me to list these The six strong points of the Japanese are in my estimation as follows

1 Their weapons of war are stronger than ours and they can use them well
2 They can keep their military plans secret
3 They do not surrender their guns but fight until killed But for this there are definite reasons They do not surrender their guns out of fear of death They have slaughtered so many of our people and they are engaged in such a savage task of conquering our country that they believe we will kill them when we take them captive They also believe the propaganda of their officers that Chinese kill all captives There is also in some of the divisions the spirit of Bushido
4 They can act according to their plans
5 When they retreat they can retreat more quickly than the Chinese can
6 They can bring in reinforcements quickly

Their weakpoints are as follows

(1) Their war spirit is very low at present especially among the rank and file soldiers (2) Their soldiers also do not want to build defence works (3) Because they are relatively few in comparison with our people their intelligence service works slowly They also have the belief that the Chinese can be easily defeated so they work slowly (4) Another weakness is their inability to climb mountains as we can. (5) One of their main weaknesses also is their fear of hand to-hand battles

In discussing these points Chu Teh said that a majority of the wounded of the Eighth Route Army were wounded in hand to hand battles Without heavy weapons of war the Eighth Route Army partisan units fall upon the enemy in hand to hand battles of life and death Most of the Japanese they have killed have been killed by hand though at the famous Pinghsinghwan battle about five hundred of the Japanese were killed with hand grenades In some battles the Eighth Route Army have used hand grenades as clubs to beat in the brains of the Japanese In the many peasant partisan units recently trained and armed there are only about fifteen to twenty rifles in a group of a hundred while the rest are armed with hand grenades These serve a double purpose —to hurl at a distance or as clubs in close encounters Yet with all the hand to hand fighting of the Eighth Route Army Chu Teh says that the Japanese have not captured one man of his army Chinese soldiers from other armies who are captured are killed without exception

FIVE MONTHS IN THE "STATES"

By BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

My steamer left Liverpool in the afternoon but in February 4 o'clock in England is practically evening After dinner we entered the British Channel from the Mersey and almost immediately after I went to my bed and fell asleep At about midnight I woke to find that the ship was not moving We were at anchor as I found next morning in the Queen's Town Harbour in Ireland where she had to take the overnight mail from London After lunch it sailed again and entered the high seas The Atlantic is always more or less boisterous in the winter it is particularly so And I soon found myself in the throes of sea sickness which forced me to keep to my cabin which meant practically to my bed until I smelt American soil after passing the Statue of Liberty at the mouth of the Hudson

One incident of my life on board the steamer deserves mention In those days it used to take about a week to reach New York from Liverpool About the middle of the week the steward of my cabin came with a present of fruits from a fellow passenger a lady who asked me to put my hand out so that she might be sure that I had received her gift She sent me her gift with a friendly greeting—a greeting to a countryman of Swami Vivekananda's from an

American who owed her spiritual illumination to him This was the first direct evidence I had of Vivekananda s influence in America

I had not as yet made his personal acquaintance Before going to Paramhansa Ramakrishna, Vivekananda had been in close touch with the Brahmo Samaj He was a regular attendant in our services in the Sadha ran Brahmo Samaj I think he was a member of the choir of the Samaj and his help in this connection was highly appreciated But that was during the year when I was working as a school master in Sylhet and Bangalore I had no personal acquaintance with him when he crossed over to America to attend the Parliament of Religions at Chicago where he suddenly leapt into almost world fame Before his appearance on the platform of the Parliament of Religions in Chicago he was hardly known in his own country His wonderful success as a powerful orator and defender of the religion of his people had a remarkable repercussion in India lending a new force and inspiration to the infant national consciousness among us This was practically our first foreign mi sion

The Brahmo Samaj had its foreign delega tion or deputation first to the United Kingdom in the person of Keshub Chunder Sen and next to both England and America through the Rev Bhai Protap Chandra Mazumdar Keshub s lieutenant

But Keshub s mes age was really the mes age of a reformed Unitarian Christianity So also was the message which Protap Chandra Mazumdar delivered to his British and American audiences Neither Keshub nor Protap Chandra had come in intimate touch with the ancient thoughts and realizations of their own people They were both the product of the new education and illumination which our British masters had brought to us Keshub certainly impressed his British audiences by his inspired eloquence and his personal magnetism Protap Chandra did not attain Keshub s level in either Keshub had not been to America, and in America Protap Chandra was the first Indian preacher Protap Chandra had a fine presence, so had Keshub, though of a different character Protap Chandra was of a much stronger built than Keshub His straight nose, large eyes, high cheek bones broad forehead and flowing beard (Keshub was always clean shaven) gave him the appearance of a Hebrew prophet He had a wonderful capacity of word-painting His diction was more florid than Keshub s But his strongest point was his spiritual imagination We find it in his "Oriental Christ" and more particularly in his 'Heart Beats" and "The Spirit of God' These last two were American publications, and they secured for their author a place among the spiritual teachers of the world like Marcus Aurelius, St Augustine and Thomas a'Kempis But Protap Chandra only helped to lift his audience and readers to higher reaches of their own familiar thoughts and realizations The essence of his teachings was essentially Christian

Vivekananda however, captured American imagination by the force of his "impudent' courage Keshub and Protap had been more or less apologetic in their reference to Hinduism Hinduism as they knew it had no claims to either superior ethics or deep spiri-tuality It was all practically idolatry and polytheism and caste This was in those days the universal judgment of Europe and America upon the religion of the Hindus Vivekananda first offered a challenge to this universal British and American estimate of his national religion It took his American audience by surprise It offered a stupendous shock to their old convic-tions and prejudices There was no hesitancy, no suspicion of apology, no attempt to explain away not the least little trace of any 'infe-riority complex' in this bold challenge to civilized conceit in Vivekananda's message of Hinduism to the crowded galleries of the Parliament of Religions Vivekananda did not assign any reason did not argue his position but delivered his message with soul compelling directness and simplicity like the ancient seers and sages of our own country or the prophets of the Old Testament as truths that could not possibly be contested or controverted This was the real secret of Vivekananda's succes in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago And this success had an inevitable repercussion in India lending a new strength to the Hindu religious revival movement in the country

Vivekananda was himself at this time in America though I did not meet him because he was living then far away from New York., which was my headquarters But the intellectual and moral commotion which he had produced in that continent was unmistakable the first evidence of which I had on board the Star liner by which I crossed the Atlantic

When I got up on the deck at New York harbour the unknown friend who had sent me the plate of fruits during my sea sickness came and introduced herself to me as a friend of Vivekananda saying that Vivekananda had forged a spiritual bond between her and every countryman of his Though my interpretation of Hinduism was not identical with that of Vivekananda's, and we differed very widely from

one another in our estimates of India's mission to the modern world, this statement of my first American acquaintance did my heart good and helped me to appraise correctly the great work which Vivekananda had been doing for India in the American continent

An episode of my landing in New York deserves record, as evidence of an aspect of American mentality America is aggressively proud of her society and administration This helped me to pass my luggage without trouble through the Customs I had a big box of books, mostly Sanskrit and Bengalee, besides my wearing apparel that was my only heavy luggage And I was asked to pay the customary duty on it I protested because these books were not meant for sale but for my personal use only They were old books But the customs officer shook his head and said, 'Old or new duty must be paid on it that was the law" I turned round and said, "All right, if I must pay I must, but I thought America was a civilized and cultured country I am disillusioned, because it is unthinkable that the Government of a civilized and cultured people would tax the intellectual instruments of a public lecturer visiting their shores on an intellectual and moral mission" At this the customs officer at once passed my luggage without asking for any duty

The National Temperance Association of New York had undertaken to arrange for my hospitality during my tour in the States, on temperance work At New York they had engaged a room for me in a family hotel in West 39th Street New York is divided into two sections, east and west, by a central avenue, called the Maddison Avenue This Avenue is the only street in New York bearing the name of one of its prominent citizens All the other streets are designated by mere number This struck me as an evidence of the uncompromising democratic mind of America When I visited the States, American society was passing through a transformation These family hotels were a sign of it In these hotels people lived with their families taking a suite of rooms and freeing themselves from the worries of the usual domestic life, engaging their own servants and doing their own shopping and having their own tables All these were transferred to the management of the hotel, where they could entertain their guests by paying extras for it The privacy of the family life was secured by the isolation of their suite of living rooms In all other matters they lived a common life The advantage of these family hotels was that they found ample leisure to the housewives of the upper middle class families for the pursuit of their hobbies or the culture of their intellect or art sense The unnatural aloofness in which the Englishman and the Englishwoman holds himself or herself in the hotels and lodging houses in London was very agreeably absent in New York In my London appartments I had lived for months together without exchanging a single word with my co-lodgers whom I was constantly meeting in the stairs or the entrance hall It was not so in America My hotel in New York was fairly crowded when I arrived But within 24 hours I found my elf on fair terms of familiarity with most of my co lodgers

My first acquaintance here was a gentleman who had been an inmate of this hotel for many years As soon as I arrived the manager of the hotel asked me if I would like to go up to my room first or meet a gentleman who had been waiting to see me from the time my steamer was signalled Knowing that he must have left his business for three or four hours with this object, naturally I asked the manager to immediately take me to him He was waiting in the reading room of the hotel As soon as I entered he got up and putting forward both his hands gave me a most cordial greeting, saying 'You come from a great country, Sir, you are a representative of a great nation, who are destined to be the teachers of the world" This enthusiastic greeting almost took my breath away My first idea was that he must be a disciple of Vivekananda a convert to our neo Hinduism of which Vivekananda was an apostle in America I have an instinctive mistrust of the judgment of converts But before long I discovered that this new friend of mine was not a disciple of Vivekananda nor a convert to Hinduism He was a loyal member of the American Presbyterian church In fact when he found that I was lecturing on the religion of the Brahmo Samaj criticising orthodox Christian doctrines and dogmas he openly condemned my propaganda, saying that my place was not in America but in my own country, where I must work for the emancipation of my people to qualify them for discharging their high mission as teachers of the modern world He told me that with a view to discharge this great mission we people of India must be able to "look civilized humanity horizontally into the face' This expression struck me as original He explained himself by adding that the world would not receive its lessons, however true or lofty these might be, from a slave Our first duty therefore was to work for the liberation of our country from the British yoke Until we had achieved this, we had no business in America

This gentleman had a romantic story in his life He was unmarried but was attached to a lady who had already passed the first flush of her youth and was quite middle aged like himself They had been attached to one another for a very long time the lady herself earning her own living in New York Both were living in the same hotel tending one another during their lighter ailments the lady looking after the comforts of her friend with the loyalty and tenderness of a devoted wife They took their meals at the same table and spent their leisure together in common studies or recreations The gentleman was I think a stock broker and the lady a school teacher Theirs was an example of platonic friendship such as I had never come across in actual life Their life in the hotel was an absolutely open life and the breath of scandal never touched it Their co lodgers in the hotel only admired and enjoyed their romance

My first day in America had another pleasant surprise for me In the evening while going to dinner I heard some one calling me from behind Is this Mr Pal from India ? I turned and saw a stately Romanesque matron far advanced in age but still preserving the memories of her earlier beauty of form walking behind leaning on the arms of a younger companion She came up to me and extending her hand greeted me with great cordiality saying that she had heard that I had come to this hotel and wanted to make my acquaintance and invited me to her table Thus commenced a friendship the memories of which live green in my mind even today after a lapse of more than thirty years She was more than 85 when I first met her and must have long passed over to the other side But she has not as yet passed out of my mind Hers also was a sad romantic story Married at the age of 19 she lost her husband on the first day of her honey moon He had gone out for a morning ride and less than an hour later his dead body was brought on a door torn off from its hinges by kindly neighbours His horse had shied and throwing him off on his head had killed him outright The blow crushed the young bride and within six months as a result of continuous weeping she lost her sight Time heals every wound however deep and heart rending Time helped also to dull the edge of her bereavement The lady had to look out for her future and in the hope of making herself useful in life she took her admission into an institution for the blind For three years I think she lived there and had the second romance of her life in her intimacy with a fellow student who recovered his eye sight and went back to his home in Palestine with a promise to soon return to claim his blind fiancee He never returned He was a Jew and his fiancee lived I think to the end of her day in the hope of his return so firm was she in her faith in the man Another idea possessed her mind She believed evidently on the testimony of her sixth sense that her lover would come back to America, when the Government of the United States would introduce Gold Currency and the American green backs the popular name of American paper currency would be converted into yellow And when he came he would come as a multi-millionaire a master of finance In the meantime even while she was in the institution for the blind she turned her hand to literature, trying to earn her living by her pen Her first book was *Alice* the story of the romance of a blind girl With the publication of this short story the history of her own life also came to be widely known and the background of real romance which it supplied to her first work, made it a fairly good seller Since then she had been living by her pen Other stories followed one of which was the story of her second romance It was as an author of fair repute that she was living at that time in the family hotel where I met her in New York She had a secretary and amenuensis, who was almost like a daughter to her These two made a small family and I found a friendly welcome to their table in my hotel As long as I was in this New York family hotel I had my meals in their company and they attended almost all my public functions in New York and its neighbourhood

My first public function in the States was a reception organized by the National Temperance Association There were welcome speeches to which I had of course to reply It was a fairly well attended meeting which broke up after 9 p m As I came out of the hall I found a group of men standing on the road The Boer War was then going on and was the talk of the whole world Neither in England nor in America did I affect European dress necktie and bowler or top hat but went about in my coat and *choga* and a turban of yellow silk This strange dress of mine became an object of wonder to the group of Americans on the street Someone seeing me cried out 'Geel Kruger ! But they did not cause any annoyance to me though this simple incident gave birth to a legend of my first night's experience in the streets of New York Mr Caine wrote to the Indian papers the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and another English daily published from

Madras of which he was at that time the London correspondent, that I had been mobbed in the streets of New York by a crowd that followed me calling me "Kruger"

As in England, so also in America, my temperance engagements did not bring me into contact with the really cultured sections of the community The supporters of the temperance cause were mostly narrow-minded Non Conformists For the first few weeks I lived in New York, going to and from for my temperance lectures in its neighbourhood

The colour sense is very strong in the white population of the States But only on one occasion in a neighbouring State of New York New Jersey, was I insulted by a group of low class Americans while walking from the station to the place of my meeting Otherwise, neither in my hotel nor in the streets of New York nor in any other town which I visited was I ever taken for either a Negro or a Mulatto, the only two classes of the American population who are socially untouchables like our *pariahs* And my American friends oftentimes assured me that it was impossible for any one to mistake me for either Besides in the Eastern States the colour sense was much less keen than in the Southern States which had been the centre of the American Civil War over the Negro question But even in the Eastern States the social cleavage between the white and the coloured was marked and even cruel No Negro or Mulatto could be served in any public restaurant patronized by the white men Neither in New York nor in Boston did I ever meet a single Negro or Mulatto in any eating place patronized by the white Americans The Negroes were the attendants in all these places, but they would not entertain any Negro guest, whatever might be his position, culture or character The Negroes had their own eating houses or restaurants, mostly situate in their quarter of the town Like our Madras towns or villages where the Brahmins live apart from the *pariahs* or *panchamas*, in the American cities the white population also lived apart from the Negroes

When I went to Boston on a week's lecturing tour in the city and its neighbourhood I heard a pitiful story of a Negro of culture and position who had built at considerable expense a house in one of the suburb of the city My host was himself a resident of it This suburb was then just growing and he pointed out to me an empty house in front of his own which had been built by this Negro gentleman He removed to it with his family, but found it impossible to live in it for more than a few months None of their neighbours would exchange a single word with him or his wife, even their children were shunned as social lepers by the children of their white neighbours No man or woman can live in this social isolation in an atmosphere of unremitting and studied insult of their neighbours and this Negro family had to remove from their house, and evidently as a punishment for their impudent social ambition no one was found either to rent or buy that house

Travelling up and down the States, I never found a single Negro passenger in what might be called by us the upper classes of a railway carriage In America there is only one class of railway carriage, corresponding to our third But they have managed to get out of this democratic arrangement with the help of special Parlour Cars and Sleeping Cars These Parlour Cars are not owned by the railway companies but belonging to the Pullman Car Company, which by arrangement with the railway companies have their cars attached to the more important trains The railways book only one class of passengers, but by securing seats or beds in the Pullman Cars on payment of an extra fee one may avail oneself of the luxuries of the Pullman Car For day journeys and short distances they give you an easy chair cushioned and a small table and provide an attendant who brings you from the dining car whatever you may want, drink or food In these Pullman Cars travelling up and down the States during my five months sojourn there I never met a single Negro or Mulatto passenger So rigid is the social boycott of Negroes and Mulattos by the white population of the States that even those among the former who can pay for the extra charge do not care to use them

I had one curious experience while travelling once from Boston to New York in a Parlour Car Leaving New York immediately after breakfast, I had to take my lunch in this car, and seeing in the menu "pickled mangoes" my heart leapt with joy at the prospect of testing mangoes, the favourite fruit of my country, in that distant land How great, however, was my disappointment when having called for this rare delicacy, I found, when it was brought to me, that it was not mango at all but pickled cucumbers!

The American dietary, I found, was somewhat different from the English dietary For one thing, the Americans take a lot of more vegetables than the English and a much larger variety of dishes The usual vegetable in England are cabbage, cauliflower and turnip with vegetable marrow in season and spinach In America I found, in addition to these,

stewed corn or maize as well as a very fine and very small species of rice these are really similar to what we know as *ragi* in southern India All vegetables are served however always with a pat of butter In New York besides the familiar fishes placed on the table in England, I found our own *hilsa* the Americans call it 'shad' which has the same form and the same multiplicity of fine bones and the same flavour as our own favourite fish The *hilsa* is not found in Madras or Bombay it is found in Sind in the Indus in its lower reaches It is called by our Sindhi friends Balla fish and is considered by them as a great delicacy The American cookery is also richer than the English cookery In fact what we know as English cookery except roast beef or ham or mutton is not English but really French as every menu in all high class hotels testify The American cookery is richer and of a more varied character than English cookery

As regards drinks the Americans are not like the English great tea drinkers They drink their tea not with milk nor steaming hot but cold frequently iced flavoured with slices of lemon Another peculiar American habit is that they rarely or never drink plain water but use ice in their water in the coldest season of the year Ices are also found almost always with their desserts Judging from my experience it seemed to me that the Americans do not consume as much strong drink as the natives of Europe It may be that my connection with the New York Temperance Association and my position as a temperance lecturer did not bring me into contact with the class of people who are used to alcoholic beverages

The Americans are however great coffee drinkers There were no tea shops in New York but one found decent coffee shops almost at every corner And the American coffee with whipped cream is really something very delectable These coffee shops when I visited the *States were replacing the saloons* rapidly showing the progress of the tectotal habit among all classes of its population

The great height of American buildings earned for them the appellation of sky scrapers The hotel where I was put up in New York was however only three stories high with a garret making the fourth story, and there was therefore no lift provided for us In most of the other buildings in New York they had lifts The mechanism of the lift had not as yet been perfected and accidents were not very rare either One particularly bad accident was reported in the papers while I was in New York A lift in one of the sky scrapers suddenly broke down and was stuck with its passengers midway between one floor and another And the unfortunate men and women spent an exceedingly bad hour confined in their lift until means were found to rescue them

As regards the American mind one thing that struck me most was its comparative freedom from the bondage of old ideas and traditions The American people seemed to me to have all the door and windows of their soul absolutely open to God's free light and air They were more receptive to new ideas than the conservative Englishmen and Englishwomen Except the one besetting prejudice against colour the American people had really no other prejudices and very few prepossessions They were free also from the conceit of superior civilization that is a very unattractive feature of the general English character On the whole the Americans particularly their women are more devoted to intellectual pursuits than their cousins on the other side of the Atlantic It did not take me long to discover this peculiar trait of the higher classes of American society The men toiled from morning to evening to make money and their womenfolk instead of spending their time in shopping or society small talks engaged themselves in the pursuit of literature and the fine arts It is the women of America who kept up the cultural life of that continent

ELECTROCULTURE ITS THEORY AND APPLICATION

By SWAMI SEVANANDA

Electroculture as conceived by its author Dr Nehru ics is the science of capturing and harnessing cosmo radio magnetic energy and applying it towards the solution of problems that are engaging the attention of the social workers village reconstructionists and the administrator who have the well being of the public at heart Its laboratory aspect may baffle the orthodox electrician and the biologist so struck with the bold originality of the experiment suggestive of infinite possibilities—all for the good of mankind—that he resolved to make a special pilgrimage to Mainpuri U P with a view to study the theory of Electroculture and its varied applications on Plant Animal and Human life and also their bearing on the socio economical life of the Indian village Accordingly the present article



Sparking the animal

but its practical method laid down by Dr Nehru after a great deal of theorising and experiments are so marvellously simple that even the dullest villager can put them into operation at almost no costs And yet its results are no less astounding and far reaching It has been more widely known and practised in the Western and Far Eastern Countries than in the land of its birth but of late some information has been filtering through the columns of vernacular journals[1] The present writer was assisted not only by reports but on personal observations of a number of farms and gardens various experiments that have not yet reached their final stage but nevertheless fraught with possibilities and also the official record of the Fruit Growers Association Mainpuri

Dr Nehru who conceived and worked out this idea cannot be more aptly introduced to the reading public than in the words of Sir Stanley Reed,[2] the late Editor of *The Times of India* who writes A distinguished Indian

1 *One such article appeared in the May number of Vishal Bharat*

2 *Sir Stanley Reed's Foreword to Dr Nehru's Men and Money in Muscovy*

India rubber cut off from old motor car tubes a second hand chicken wire netting and a few iron wires strung with glass beads hardly worth a piece! These are his instruments and his laboratory as wide as the world With these rude implements this wizard works wonders In the words of Sir John Russell who lately visited Mainpuri *He has electrified the whole* district And time is not far off when the gospel of Electroculture will find wide acceptance What its repercussions on agriculture and trade will be time alone can tell

It will be difficult to condense within the compass of one article all what this Electroculture has done or claims to do Without going into the details it will be enough for the purpose of this article to present in a concise form what it has achieved in the direction of helping biological growth since all life—vegetable animal or human—falls under one category And therefore it is self evident that the technique of stimulating and sustaining growth and retarding decay in all the three strata of life must with the exception of some variations be based on a common principle

It has been already said that all life is a manifestation of electric energy working in through and around life cells and therefore *Electroculture which is an application of* electricity and Cosmo radio magnetic energy is equally applicable to vegetable animal and human life

At first Dr Nehru started with Plant life, and was gradually led on by the logic of facts that came within his range of observations to extend the system to animals and then to human beings His theory is that a jacket consisting of chicken wire netting of 4 inches to 6 inches in width and long enough to be coiled round the trunk of a tree at its base touching its roots will by itself form an electric field for the inflow of radio magnetic energy This will attract and capture the aforesaid energy which the tree will absorb and utilize for the purpose of stimulating and sustaining its growth will be passed on to every tissue and will be ultimately converted into reproductive energy endowing the tree with richer flowers and fruits To supplement this jacket

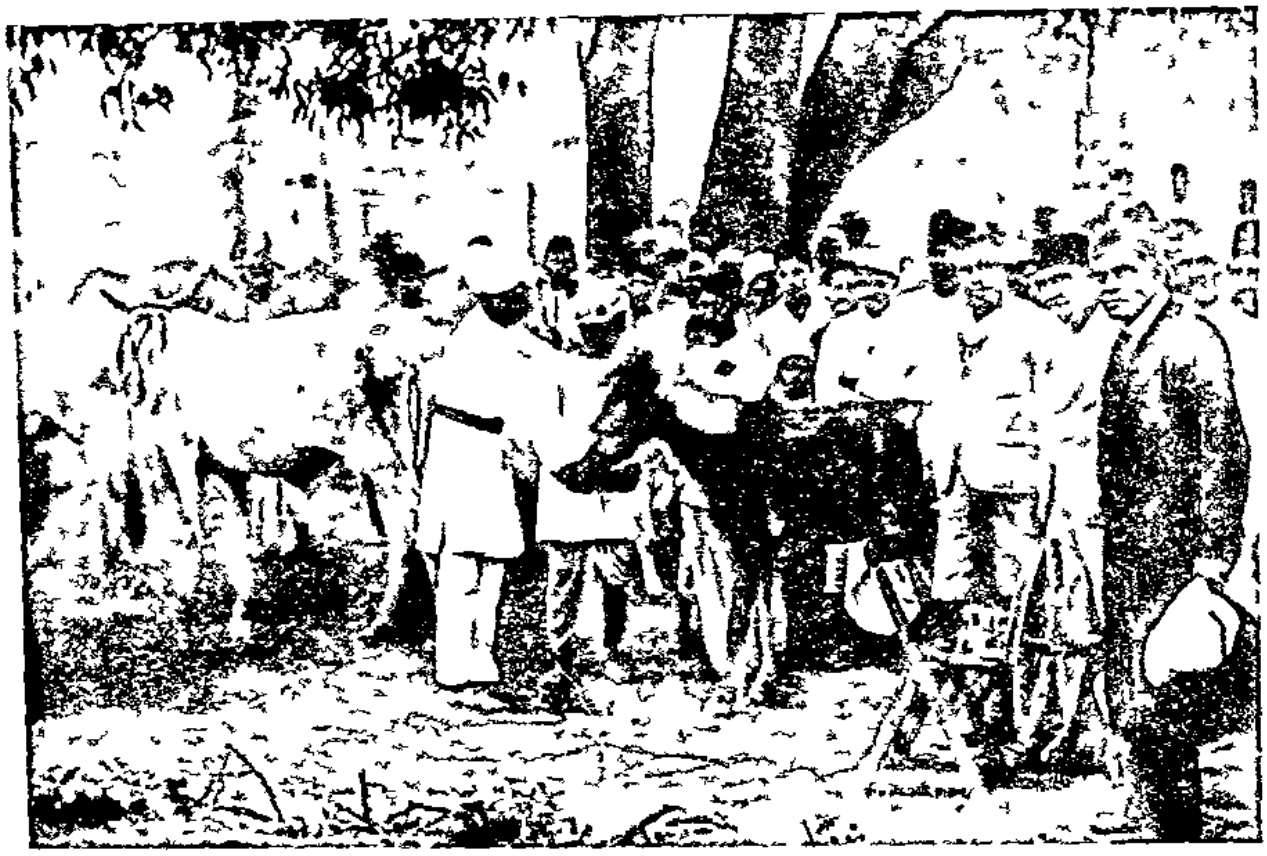


Sick mare under treatment



The same mare after treatment

and to secure better results Dr Nehru recommends irrigation by electrifying or as he call it Agaskarised water after its discoverer Mr Agaskar of Bombay This can be easily prepared by inserting one end of an insulated wire in an earthen jar and the other end to be attached to the magneto and working it with a wooden handle A few turns of the handle are enough to emit a spark and one spark is enough to electrify the water in the big jar and make an entire change in its properties In this way not only a jar but wells tanks and even flowing canals can be easily electrified and used for irrigation purposes To give further stimulation to weakened or decayed vegetable tissues occasional sparking with the aid of the magneto is another efficacious remedy In case of de-



Sick horse given electrified water to drink Dr Nehru standing at the right

caying branches a thin wire gauze collar attached to the root of the branch will arrest the decay and the branch will be called back to life In case of grains and for that matter in case of all seeds and seedlings they are to be soaked in Agnikarised water for an hour and then sown with India rubber gloves on the hand without touching them with bare hand This is in brief the outline of Electroculture in its application to the Plant life but the results which the present writer has discerned in the farms and gardens in and around Mainpuri are worth all the trouble of going there and seeing them with ones own eyes for to see is to believe The most notable feature may be briefly summarised as follows

(1) The growth of the plant becomes more vigorous
(2) The leaves become richer in colour
(3) The pests such as aphis, and Mahu are either immediately killed or frightened away
(4) The fruits are strong enough to withstand storm and hailstones
(5) The fruits are bigger richer in pulp and more delicious.
(6) The increase in the yield is estimated to 20% to 25% if all the aforesaid methods are applied
(7) Quicker sprouting
(8) Early late and unseasonal fructification
(9) Reviving of the decaying and almost dried out trees.
(10) Barren wastelands have been reclaimed and are now blooming with vegetation
(11) In case of fruits not one but two to three crops have been obtained
(12) Flora not growing in a particular zone or altitude have been compelled to grow

This sounds almost like a fairy tale for horticulturists equipped with all that the modern physical sciences can bring to the aid of agriculture have not been able to secure such brilliant results in so short a time and here in a backward district of U P a revenue officer is working all these wonders and changing the whole face of the land with an old second hand magneto and teaching the rude illiterate peasant to do the same ! In Mainpuri this little thing of a magneto is the talk of the day and so marvellous are its achievements that those who came to scoff have remained to pray

Col Noel the Director of the Agriculture and Allied Industries N W F P has conducted experiments at the Government Farm Peshawar on fruit trees and grains on the lines indicated by Dr Nehru and in order to help the over sceptical reader to realize what has been said in the foregoing paragraph I am quoting at length from the official reports of Col Noel and leave the reader to judge for himself



Electroculture of s ck an mals
G ving sparked water to drink Dr Nehru spark ng the animal



Arka tree before and after
Electroculture



Camel having a drink of
Electr fied water

has done for human beings B t varied ex periments l ave been undertaken to measure and estimate its potentialit es wl ch even at this stage are pronounced to be innumerable As for instance Electrified W ater is found to pos ess germic lal propert es so much so that a Frenel n edical man nau e l Dr Lakhovsky claims to have successfully treated a case of

leprosy It seems to possess special efficacy for pains, nervous troubles, insomnia, paralysis scorpion stings, lunacy and many other maladies People who came on their crutches are said to have gone back on their legs Paralysed and palsied limbs are made to function again For people suffering from sleeplessness Dr Nehru prescribes the use of necklaces made of one two or more thin iron wires strung with glass beads and putting glass or rubber pieces under each bed posts This simple device is worth a trial

Consideration of space forbids me to dwell at length on the manifold aspects of Electro culture Dr Nehru has been applying it for his Rural Uplift Scheme every feature of which bears the impress of its author's originality His Ideal Village well, Ideal Hovel manure cart and a lot of other things are so novel and from the utilitarian point of view so valuable that the present writer feels that he owes it to himself and to the reading public, to write at length on each one of them at some future date But one common thread runs through all and every one of them and that is what distinguishes Dr Nehru from the rest It is his knack or rather gift of reducing to simplest and cheapest form what others make complex and costly and thus bringing it within the reach of the poorest villager without taking away a tithe of its real value He has the intuition to dive down into the heart of things and visualise at a flash what others take a long time to understand Readers interested in village problems will do well to pay a visit to Mainpuri and they will learn by personal experience a great deal more than what has been possible to compress within the space of this article

GERMANY

The Eifel Mountains

By JOY WRIGHT

GERMANY The Rhine Bavaria and the Black Forest These are the three districts which comprise the average holiday maker's Germany

After these three what then?

Germany is by no means exhausted as a holiday land even when one knows every inch of the Rhine, every peak in those magnificent Bavarian Alps and every glade and village of the Black Forest

There are many other equally enchanting districts waiting to be discovered One might explore the Harz Mountains scene of Grimm's fairy tales or the lovely Baltic Coast with its *silver sands stretching back to the pinewoods* of Mecklenburg or a most interesting tour could be made to the mediæval Franconian towns, Nuremberg Rothenburg Dinkelsbuhl and Nordlingen which have remained unchanged for five centuries

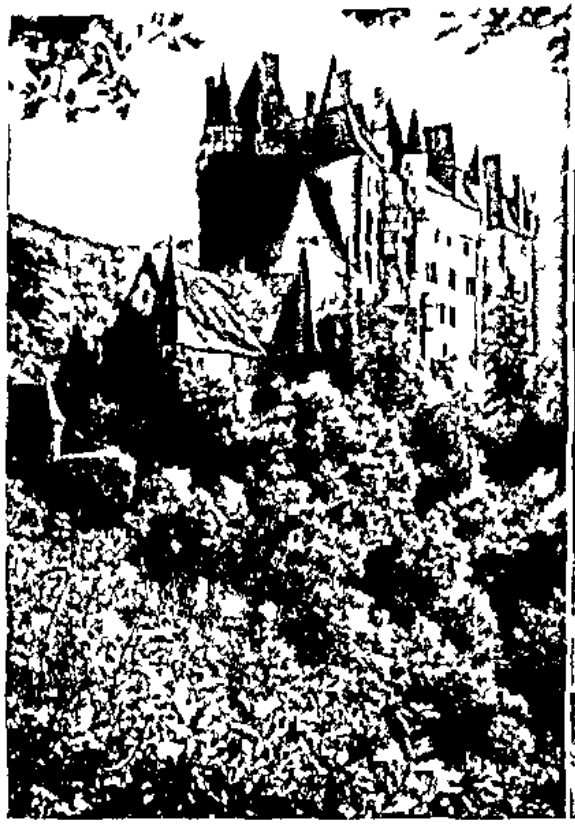
But there is one district which seems preeminently suitable for the visitor This is the Eifel A little known range of lovely wooded hills lies between the Rhine and Moselle rivers and the Belgian frontier—the most easily accessible part of Germany for visitors going on from Great Britain

Cologne is the jumping-off ground The ideal thing would be to take one's own car But this is not essential Trains and buses serve the district adequately Set out from Cologne to Coblence along the banks of the Rhine, either by train or by car Both the railway and the road hug the river bank nearly all the way, and a fine view can be had of the vine clad castellated banks of the river In Coblence a journey up to Ehrenbreitstein, the old fortress beside the river should be made From the terrace one looks down upon the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle

Coblence is a pleasant town with terraces along the riverside gay cafes and the lighthearted atmosphere which characterises the Rhineland generally

From Coblence one might follow the Moselle Valley Again the railway and the road run close beside the river Both will take one through the lovely little townlets of Cochem Bullay Traben-Trarbach and Berncastel Cues to Trier the Old Roman city of Treves, dominated by the Porta Nigra, the wonderful old gateway dating from 275 A D

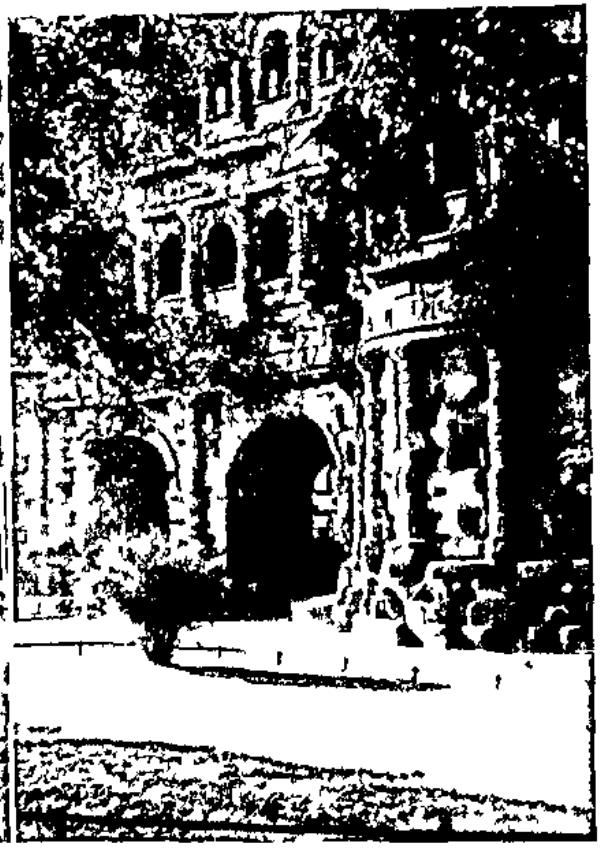
Trier is a veritable treasure house of anti-



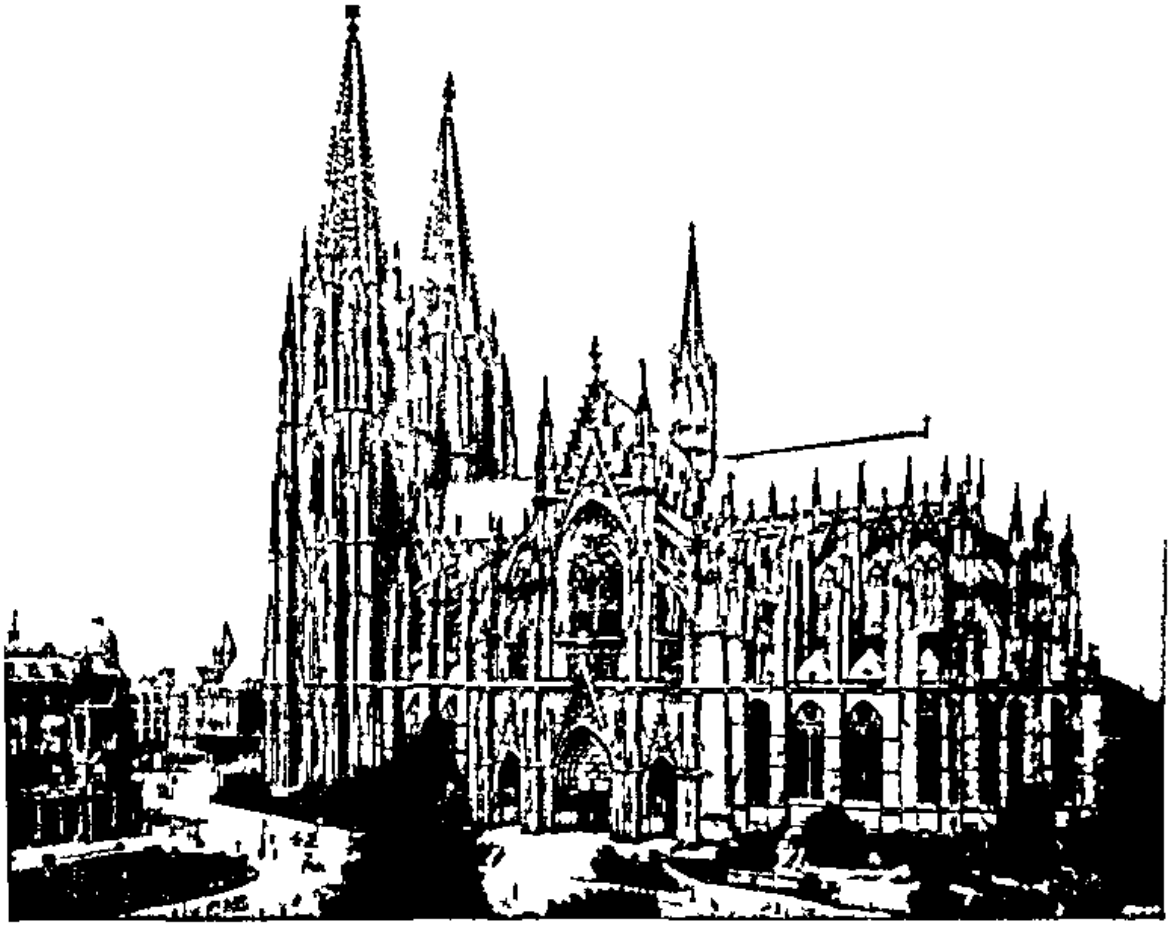
Burg Eltz
on the river Moselle



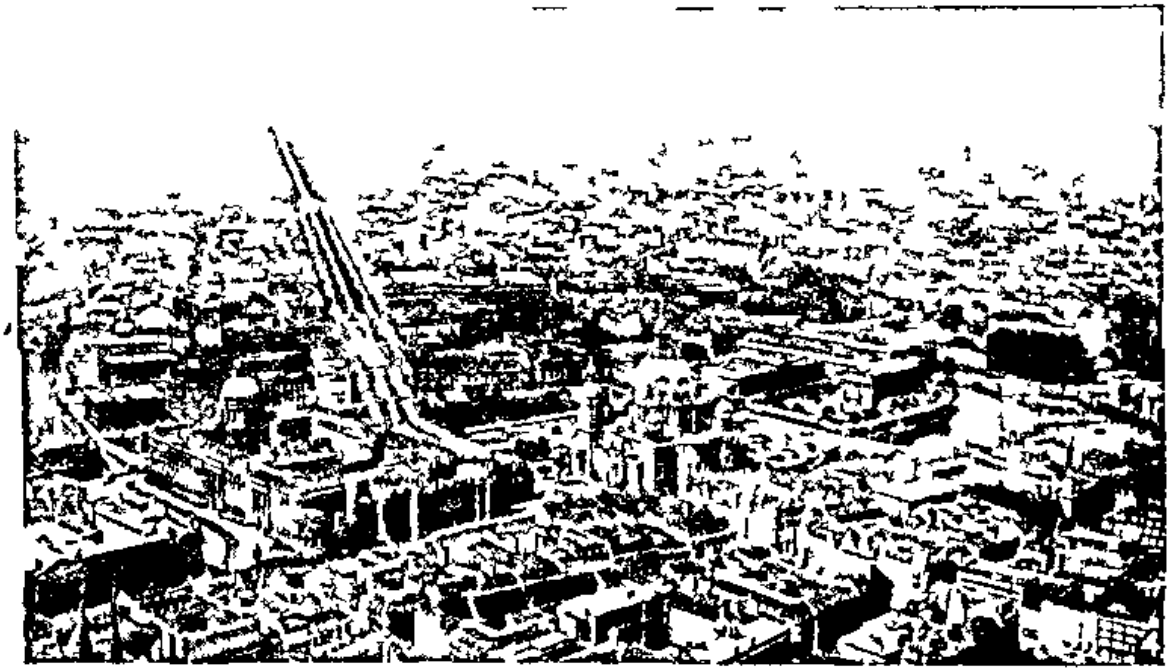
The *west front* of the
Cologne Cathedral



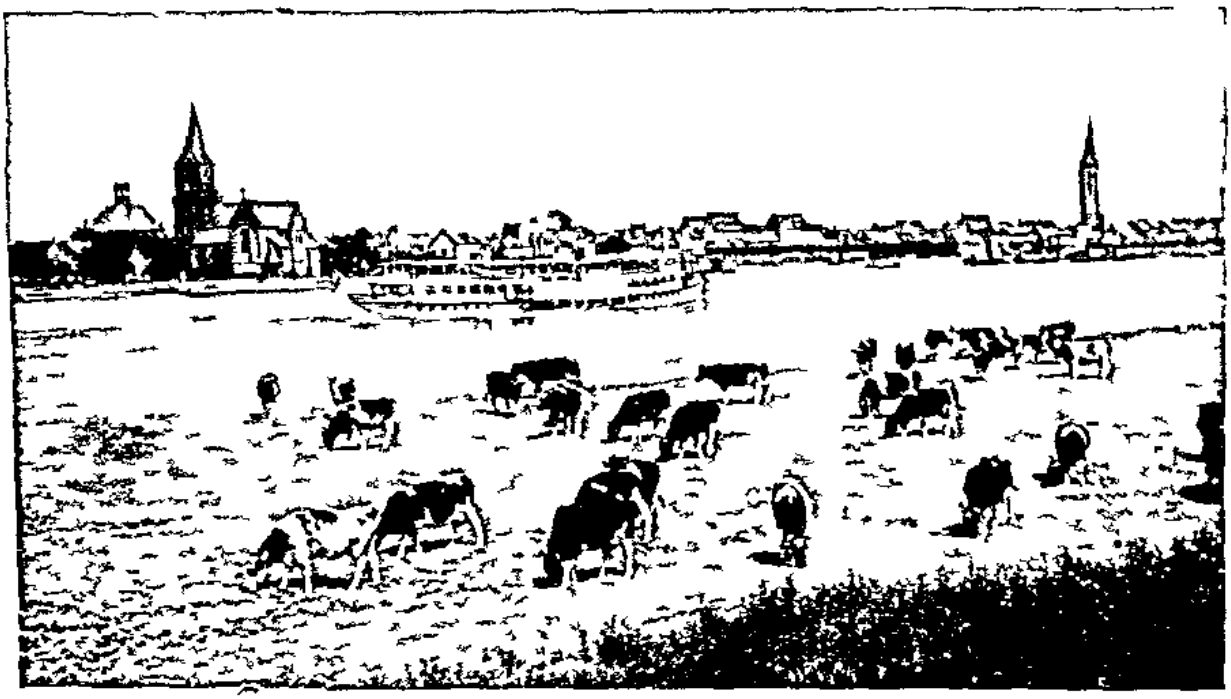
The Roman gateway (275 A D) in Trier
in the ancient city of Treves



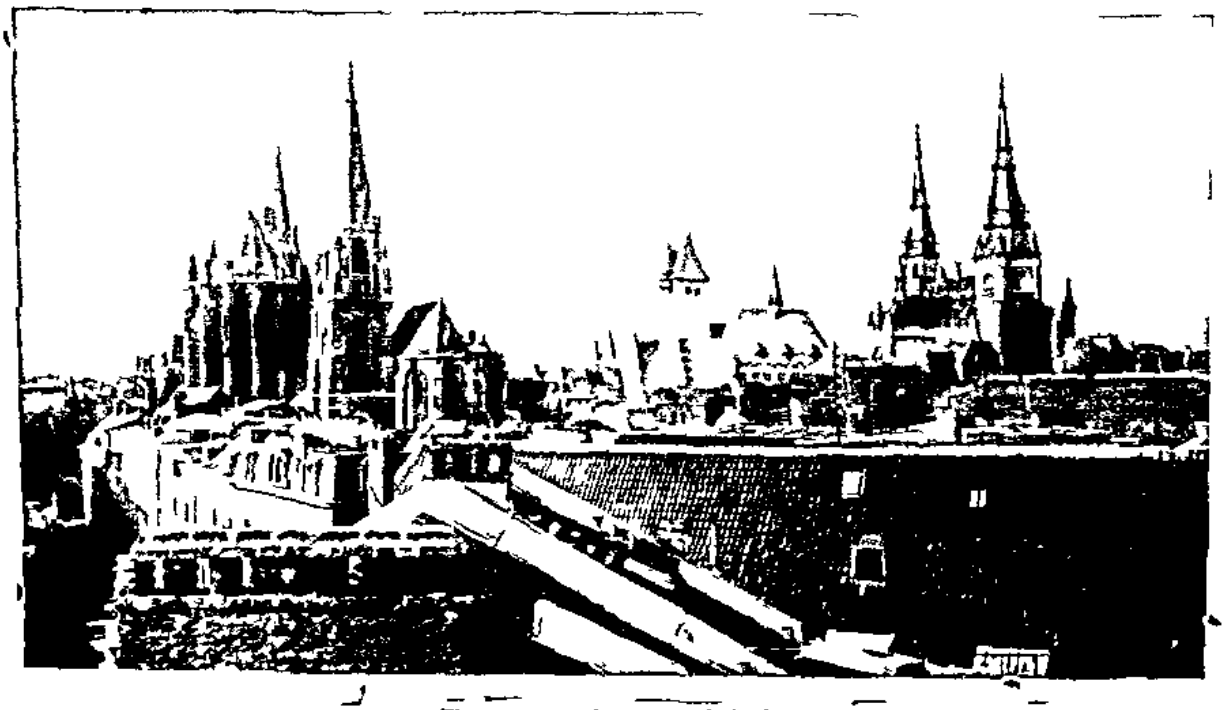
A full v ew of the Cologne Ca hedral



The c y of Berl n from a r



A view of Emmerich in the Rhineland



The spires and towers of Aachen

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By Prof KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, ph d

I

To pay exaggerated compliments to the members of the fair sex has come to be considered as a necessary accomplishment of a well-bred man in society and an essential ingredient of his sense of chivalry And in recent times the most coveted compliment for a smart, self-conscious, modern woman has been the recognition of her equality with men specially by the members of her opposite sex A man not recognizing this equality is sure to be dubbed as old-fashioned, reactionary, conservative and inimical to progress Women's Societies will declare him as the arch enemy of the race of mothers and if he does not take care to make amends in proper time by openly abjuring his lack of faith in women's equality he runs the imminent risk of losing probably the favours of his sweet-heart and such other female relations whose friendship he can ill-afford to lose It is therefore perhaps that wise men at the helm of social and political organizations have found it politic to flatter women by showing disproportionate sympathy (at least verbally) to their cause and by going to the absurd length of offering posts and positions to women even when suitable female candidates for the job in question were not available and better qualified men were going abegging for the work

To an objective student of social phenomena such an atmosphere is not only uncongenial for carrying on his impartial investigations but is positively perplexing if not distressing A scientific investigator of social problems is much more ill-placed than a politician or a leader of society, inasmuch as he is debarred by the very nature of his calling and undertaking to deviate from the path of impartiality and truth Much as he prizes and owes to the friendship of his female friends and relations, he would be failing in his duites if he were to compromise his conviction for the sake of retaining the friendship of his fair friends Nevertheless, rather leave a paper in the eternal obscurity of the study than lose the valuable affection of a single woman friend through its publication—is a motto worth remembering even by the gods And yet is it too much to expect from women, anxious to demonstrate their absolute equality with men in every walk of life, to bring to bear upon social problems that impartial and critical mind which has so long been regarded as the monopoly of man The conclusions arrived at in this paper through observation and study will, it is hoped, be received by women and their admiring friends (among whom to be able to count himself as one is an honour of which the author is justly proud and a belief with which he flatters himself) with an open and impartial mind without indulging in irrational hysterics (a word said to have close affinity with *hystera*, the Greek equivalent of womb, a bodily organ, the possession of which is justly the proud monopoly of women)

It is not without purpose and intention that I have made a mention of the *hystera* or womb which to my mind is at the root of all the problems of the sexes in human economy It is true, as the joint authors of the *Science of Society* say that

"the fact that the Homo is a bi sexual organism remains and will ever remain, one of the steadfast and inexorable ultimates of human life."[1]

And out of this bi-sexuality has sprung up two different types of human beings, man and woman, of which the latter is naturally weaker and less aggressive The physical disabilities and handicaps from which a woman suffers and must suffer due to the peculiar biological structure and function of her sex and generative organ, are too patent to escape the notice of any thoughtful man and they have been emphasized with precision and ability by men of science Campbell in his *Nervous Organism* says .

"As structural complexity increases, the female *generative system becomes* more and more complex All this involves great expend ture of energy, and we can clearly see how an ovum producing organism would benefit by being spared the additional *effort required* for seeking out and impregnating another organism and how, on the other hand, organisms whose main reproductive feature is simply the production of the spermatozoon would be better fitted for the work of search and impregnation if unhampered by a cumbersome female generative system."[2]

(1) Sumner & Keller: *Science of Society* Yale 1927 Vol I, p 111

(2) Campbell: *Nervous Organism*, p 29

"No amount of reasoning, complaining and protesting can alter the fact that woman bears children and man does not and that the former is rendered periodically weaker than the latter not only by reason of the accompaniments and sequels of child birth but also because of more frequently recurrent incapacities incidental to female sex life Maternity is a disability in the struggle for existence and a special peril"[3]

Sedgwick has wisely remarked

"The fact is that sex, instead of being a comparatively unimportant and superficial difference between man and woman is a deep-seated structural diversity affecting *probably every organ every tissue and every cell of the* entire body"[4]

But though the physical disabilities of woman arising out of the peculiar structure of her sex organ is admitted readily, the peculiar mental structure and outlook which result from the peculiarities of the physiology of her generative organ are perhaps not so easily noticed nor so widely recognised The basic diversity in the structure and function of the female and male generative organs, we submit, produces such fundamental differences in the spiritual orientation and psychological make up of man and woman and such a lack of common measures between them that it becomes almost impossible to compare the stage of the development of their faculties on any plane higher than the physical and to say with any degree of certainty that the one is inferior or superior to the other

On the physical plane, however, the superiority of man is to be admitted by any observer of human behaviours, and it appears to us to be indulging in a piece of sentimental nonsense to try to make out a thesis that given the necessary freedom and opportunity (which is supposed to have been systematically denied to her by man) women could be men's equal in physical prowess as well Even if it is taken for granted (notwithstanding all the evidence to the contrary) that there was any such thing as the restriction on women's freedom of movement in primitive society, the very fact that women submitted to such restrictions provides a proof of her inferior calibre Such has, however, not been the history of early human society Even in the present age (leaving aside the small section of upper class women in a small number of oriental countries who are still kept in seclusion) women athletes and gymnasts get much better facilities of coaching and practice than most men players and yet prove no match for the sportsmen of the sturdier sex The following extracts commenting on what happened when two leading tennis players of the world, of opposite sex, went on the court for a practice set, may be read with interest and profit

"Our national champion then conclusively proved *what the world's champion man tennis player could do to the best woman player* by taking the set at love without the slightest exertion For the first three games of the set Mlle Lenglen played hard, then evidently convinced that she had no chance slackened her efforts and several times asked Tilden to give her thirty in each game *But he jokingly insisted that she was too good a* player to receive any such handicap and played out the set"[5]

Instances like this may be multiplied

This natural physical inferiority of woman is a feature of abiding importance to human history and an important factor in humanising our civilization This physical disability imposed upon woman by the very fact of her sex has helped to create an aroma of sweetness and tenderness around the very concept "woman" whose protection and safety (even though these have often degenerated into subjection and slavery) afforded the greatest incentive to man for a settled and orderly life But for it he might have remained a nomadic hunter even to this day

With the onward march of civilization, to take advantage of this physical weakness of woman by man came to be regarded as cowardly and criminal with the result that women's capture and slavery gradually gave place to matrimony and wifehood As an extraordinary projection of this social phenomenon is to be viewed the medieval institution of chivalry under the inspiration of which every knight "*did desperate deeds* in tournament and war" on behalf of his lady love "to whom he gave the devotion of his heart" Further, by the very virtue of the physical disabilities inherent in her sex women came to command a special measure of consideration and respect from man

"The queen of Alfonso VII besieged in Azeca in 1139 needed but to show herself at the window and the siege was immediately raised."[6]

The measure of woman's respect and consideration won at the hands of condescending man is also doubtless the measure of the admission of her physical inferiority

This inferiority is, however, no proof of lack of courage or bravery in woman Woman's coolness at the face of imminent danger, her fearless bravery for protecting her offsprings from attacks of enemies and guarding her

(3) Hegar in "*Geschlechtstrieb*" on p 20 Quoted by Sumner & Keller *Supra*, p 112.

(4) Sedgwick in his "Feminist Revolutionary Principle" contributed in *New York Times* January 18, 1914. Quoted by Sumner & Keller, p. 122.

(5) *New York Times* August 29 1926

(6) *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Vol. III, p 442.

prove woman's equality (which they often misinterpret as identicality) with men they cannot deny this central fact about her life, for that will be repudiating her very womanhood The following illustrations may help to convert the sceptic and deepen conviction in the believer

(*a*) A spinster (on the wrong side of 50), who despised the race of men (for having come in early youth in contact with certain men who proved to be false and dishonourable) and who has persistently on that score refused to marry (in spite of her physical charms traces of which are still discernible and wealth) was found to be the best unpaid nurse of young boys, girls and students in the neighbourhood whenever they happened to fall ill or require her help, her professed abhorrence of family (and even of society) notwithstanding She was moreover maintaining at her place a family of five cats and a dog with care and devotion of a mother *What man would yoke himself to such voluntary obligations* ?[10]

(*b*) A big robust girl (at least 5 ft 10 in) of about 24 years of age was a very keen aviator and apparently very serious about her business It was her greatest pride to 'shock' *her friends by saying that unlike the common* run of girls she did not like to be a goody goody wife and bring up children and that the aviator's life, which has opened to her a new domain of freedom and joy, she will not barter for any other life She came to be regarded as a he girl among her friends and that very fact made her an object of close observation of a gentleman who was interested in the study of girls who are it is supposed going to occupy identical positions with men in future society Time passed by, the girl and the man became friends they addressed each other by their Christian names It was a summer evening they were rowing a paddle boat Suddenly an aeroplane appeared on the sky, made a buzzing noise over their heads and within a short time disappeared in the immensity of space 'What restless fellows these fliers—I can t understand how *you* came to like it' observed the man 'Indeed,' replied the girl, 'but what else would you do if you were a girl and the man you loved were to disappear the day previous to the one fixed for your wedding ?' Big pearls of tears rolled down her cheek and it was only after some time that she regained her composure The rowing excursion that evening was a failure [11]

(*c*) "An official of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company has stated that a majority of their operators quit work to be married after an average duration of service between four and five years It is well known that telephone companies are obliged to train and keep available a considerable body of substitutes to replace such defections"[12]

Any one who has had the opportunity of coming in contact with girls in any University where, unlike in India, they are allowed to mix with men and express their views freely must have found it being freely admitted by the majority of the girls that the main object of *their joining the University* was for bettering the prospect of marriage (ostensibly by adding to their academic qualifications) but chiefly by availing the opportunity of coming in contact with desirable type of young men (with a view to matrimony) If this is true of educated and advanced class of girls how far truer is it not for their less advanced sisters who have much less scope and ability to keep themselves engaged in works other than those connected with family and household This is so because the major interest of woman's existence centres round her sex-life with which is inseparably bound up her strongest instinct—motherhood and love

"Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
'Tis woman's whole existence."[13]

Obviously there can be no comparison between the abilities of so differently equipped and so dissimilarly constituted mental and spiritual entities as man and woman He is the meditative thinker (Shiva), she the actual executrix and primordial creatrix (Shakti) He is for endless innovation, she is for tradition and stability He is by nature a nomad, she a citizen And all these peculiar traits of woman's character—love, stability and status-quo—are to be traced back directly to her *mother instinct, the essential concomitant of* her sex *She is, by the very fact of her motherly sex, the senior partner in the process of creation, the first nurse and protector of the human race the prime reservoir of human affection and love* and it is only through a long and strenuous process of coquetry and charm, exercised with all the native intelligence *of her race, that she has been able to bring her physically* stronger and more aggressive partner under her control and to harness his wild energies to the benefit and protection of herself and her progeny *The gradual evolution of the human*

(10) Personal observations in Europe
(11) Personal observations in Europe.
(12) Sumner and Keller *Supra*, p 121 (footnote).
(13) Lord Byron . Don Juan, I CXCIV.

civilization is a steady record of the progressive super-imposition of woman's civilizing will upon the nomadic vagaries of man

This imposition of woman's will (upon man) for directing the activities of man in channels conducive to human happiness and progress was however never endeavoured through superior might for the simple reason that woman never possessed greater physical strength but by a successful manipulation of that coquetry and charm, that sweet persuasiveness and that instinctive insight into the nature of pagan man (which is so amenable to flattery and indignant to coercion) with which Nature has endowed her perhaps to compensate for the physical weaknesses and disabilities accruing directly from her complicated generative organ and sex-life The inequalities or dissimilarities of the sexes is a clever device of Nature to make them agreeable to each other and to enable them to live in comparative amity and peace Man devoid of his cultural gloss (and often in spite of it) is a braggart and a vain creature, ever conscious of his physical superiority Freed from the complicated generative functions (with which women are encumbered) he is no less conscious of his capacity to achieve greater success (than woman) *through the exercise of his intellect His stimulation* therefore, to obey woman's request and provide her and her offsprings with daily necessities is directly proportional to the flattery and recognition he receives (at the hands of woman) of his superior ability and strength His very sex has endowed him with an aggressiveness which has and will always refuse to submit before any force which woman may amass to enforce against his masculine will That to him would be unmanly He will readily undertake however, *to do anything for woman* if she can appeal to his masculine vanities Schopenhauer has wisely observed that women as a sex destined to be the weaker (by Nature) are dependent not on strength but on cunning This cunning, coquetry, sweetness, tenderness, dissimulation, refinement, craftiness or call it what you will, is in essence a womanly capacity to make a clever appeal to man to come to her help and succour to which man has readily responded in all ages and climes provided it did not lack in that feminine appeal The all conquering Akbar was immediately turned into a brotherly ally as soon as the Rajput Rani sent him the Rakhi (the thread of sisterly affection)

In the light of the above observations it becomes easy to understand the true import of Rousseau's dictum that:

"The education of women should always be relative to men, since to please men was the supreme object of their existence"

Or, Dr John Gregory's maxim that

'A woman should be cautious in displaying good sense, and should conceal any learning she might have, lest men should regard her with a jealous and malignant eye.'[14]

Admittedly there are in these passages traces of archaic carelessness of a bygone age in expressing in suitable language any reference to the fair sex defects which can be easily rectified by substituting the verb 'inspire' for the 'please' in Rousseau's saying and replacing the phrase 'jealous and malignant' by 'boring and disgusting' in Dr Gregory's advice This apart the correctness *of the statements* is difficult to dispute When Rousseau said that *the education of women* should be always relative to men it might have been wiser and more equitable for the prophet of equality to add 'just as the education of men should be relative to women' still, if the women would permit me to put a kindlier interpretation to these words of Rousseau, it can be very well seen that in the very omission to say what I have suggested he should have said he admitted that women exercise more humanising influence on the moral well-being and improvement of man than *vice versa* The worth of Dr Gregory's sound advice to young women (not to parade their scholarship) cannot be over estimated knowing as we do how such exhibitions irritate man It irritates him for the following sound reasons

(i) There are very few women who are really so scholarly as to be able to add to the academic knowledge (or even evoke any interest) of their male friends and relations amongst whom they move or have been brought up

(ii) Men are but too conscious of the fact that in actual reputation and career making achievements (both through physical strength and intellectual labour) men easily surpass women of the same class

(iii) Men of the intellectual class have enough intellectual work at their own place of business or office During their leisure when they associate with women what they seek is not intellectual hair splitting but relaxation and recreation. It becomes particularly disgusting when (and this becomes the case often) such exhibition of scholarship betrays extreme shallowness of the fair performer's knowledge It is again not only the inadequacy of the knowledge of the lady in question that irritates. In exceptional cases this knowledge may be quite adequate, but the feeling of disgust arises *out of* the disappointment which a man experiences when he discovers in his female companion a third class imitation of the same masculine breed to which he himself belongs and with whom he had had enough to do through out his day's toil. His tired and jade brain seeks in the companionship of women things very different to dry

(14) *Cf* Prof. Jethrow Brown *Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*. London, 1917, p 81.

intellectualism I think no sounder rule of conduct can be laid down for the guidance of a young woman anxious to win the friendship and admiration of her men friends than to avoid discussing at the dinner table Kant or Einstein even Meredith or Shaw

The dissimilarities of the sexes moreover point to the central fact about life, *viz*, that the sexes are not competitive but complementary The moment woman tries to compete with men as identical human beings in any sphere of activity man feels that she forfeits all considera tions which is shown to her for the disabilities of her sex, and then with that aggressiveness peculiar to his species he ceaselessly tries (and stops not till he succeeds) in establishing that he is capable of registering superior perform ances in the domains of physical and intellectual achievements The net result is that when women make the chief object of their existence competing with men in those fields they never attain to the stature of men they succeed in making themselves tenth rate caricatures of masculinity—disliked by men, disowned by true women

CONVENTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

By BOOL CHAND, M.A
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It is proposed in this paper to consider two questions regarding the conventions of the constitution, (1) why conventions are obeyed and (2) how conventions arise

I

Why conventions are obeyed ?

That is the question which 'puzzled' Dicey and occupied most of his attention 'What is the sanction by which obedience to the conven tions of the constitution is at bottom enforced? [1]

He first gave to it what he called a 'partial answer, that as a matter of fact the conventions of the constitution are not obeyed in their entirety 'The invariableness of the obedience to constitutional understandings is itself more or less fictitious'[2] and the 'special articles of the conventional code' are as often disobeyed as they are obeyed To put it in other words, Dicey meant that the conventions that are occasionally disobeyed are only those which are 'not considered as true constitutional rules,' while all those conventions which are considered to be a part of the consti tution are almost invariably obeyed[3] Put in other words this would imply that 'in fact, obedience to the conventional precepts of the constitution is ensured by the force of public opinion'[4]

Although, as we shall show later, this answer constitutes the best possible explanation that can be given of the sanction behind con-ventions, yet it did not satisfy Dicey He started arguing in a different direction, and came to the conclusion that 'the sanction which constrains the boldest political adventurer to obey the fundamental principles of the constitution and the conventions in which those principles are expressed, is the fact that the breach of these principles and of these conven tions will almost immediately bring the offender into conflict with the Courts and the law of the land'[5]

To support his conclusion, he gave two examples[6] (1) That the rule that the Parlia-ment must assemble at least once a year, even though not derived from Common Law or any specific statutory enactment, is obeyed quite rigorously, for a violation of it would involve the Ministry as well as hundreds of other people concerned with the government of the United Kingdom in distinct acts of illegality cognisable by the tribunals of the country (2) That similarly, the rule that the Ministry ought to retire on a vote that they no longer possess the confidence of the House of Commons is universally followed, for a breach of it would again involve the Ministry in all the inextricable embarrassments which immediately follow upon the omission to convene Parliament for more than a year 'We have, then, a right to assert that the force which in the last resort compels

1. Dicey *Law of the Constitution* 8th edition page 435
2. Dicey *Op cit* page 436
3. Dicey *Op cit*, page 437
4. Dicey *Op cit*, page 440
5. Dicey *Op cit*, page 441-42.
6. Dicey *Op cit*, page 442-46.

obedience to constitutional morality is nothing else than the power of the law itself The breach of a purely conventional rule of a maxim utterly unknown and indeed opposed to the theory of the law, ultimately entails upon those who break it direct conflict with the undoubted law of the land'[7]

But Dicey's explanation, although seemingly plausible *so far as it goes*, is, *in reality, very* inadequate As pointed out by Dr Jennings,[8] the result thus elaborated by Dicey would not necessarily follow in the second case until a substantial time has elapsed when the financial legislation and the Army and Air-Force Acts have passed the House of Commons as they normally do by the beginning of July, the Ministry may remain in office without breaking *the law at least until the following* April In any case, Dicey's examples do not exhaust the whole stock of the conventional code It is not difficult to think of other conventions than the two mentioned by Dicey, which are obeyed quite as surely as these ones, but which are not at all supported by law Dicey himself admits that 'the rule that a bill must be read a given number of times before it is passed *is though a well established conventional* principle a convention which might be disregarded without bringing the government into conflict with the law of the land A ministry who induced the House of Commons to pass an Act *e g*, suspending the Habeas Corpus Act after one reading or who induced the House to *alter their rules* as to the number of times a bill should be read would in no way be exposed to a contest with the ordinary tribunals'[9] And yet a bill is habitually read the same number of times and no ministry does normally think of changing the rule Similarly all 'administrative' conventions could be broken without any fear of having finally to break the law and incur the penalties of a law-breaker

Dicey's explanation, therefore, does not apply to all conventions By referring to the 'fundamental principles of the constitution and the conventions in which these principles are expressed' he, in fact, himself unconsciously excepted from his explanation all those simple conventions which do not involve any fundamental principle but which are recognized conventions of the constitution all the same But even within the sphere of 'fundamental' conventions Dicey's principle falls to the ground in the case of the conventions governing the relations of the British Government with the Dominions Although, before 1931, the Dominions were, in point of law, definitely subordinate to the Imperial Government, so that no measure of the Imperial Parliament, however flagrantly interfering with the internal *affairs of a Dominion, could have conflicted* with the law of the land, yet it is unimaginable that the British Parliament would have ever, in moral circumstances, contemplated any measure of that kind Similarly, today, even though it is legally open to the British Government to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with any other country and commit the whole British Empire including the *Dominions to such an alliance*, it is hard to believe that the British Government would ever think of doing so

It will, thus, be clear that Dicey's argument, although it applies to a few important cases which determine the relations between the Cabinet and the House of Commons, is, on the whole, extremely inadequate It does not explain the problem as a whole It applies even to those few cases because of the typically illogical manner in which the Bill of Rights *changed the law of England in* 1689 It divided the powers of government between the King and the Parliament in such a way that neither by itself was able to carry on the functions of government Each had the power to hamper the other's activities As a natural result of it, there came into being a highly *inter-twined system of governmental authorities*, in which each depended upon the other's co operation Since, in such a scheme, conventions developed to make that indispensable co-operation possible, naturally the observance of those conventions would be obligatory, for otherwise one factor would automatically come into conflict with the other, and ultimately with the law of the land But what is true of these conventions governing the Cabinet system of government is, from the very nature of things, not always true of other conventions Conventions do not always develop out of an illogical legal system They do certainly develop in order to bring the constitution into line with the progressive changes in the political and social ideas of the people living under it, but that would not imply that conventions depend for their existence and observance on the security of the law that would rather imply that conventions depend for their observance upon the security of public opinion It is not, therefore necessary that the breach of conventions must be accompanied by a conflict with the law of the land in order that a convention may

7 Dicey *Op cit*, page 446
8 Jennings *Law and the Constitution* (1st ed., 1933) page 100
9 Dicey *Op cit*, page 26 footnote

continue to be observed, what is necessary is that the breach of a convention should mean a conflict with the public opinion of the land

The truth of this position was recognized as early as 1886 by Sir William Anson, who wrote in his *Law and Custom of the Constitution* 10

'But we must not forget that the possible violation of the law is not the only reason why a ministry should retire when it is shown to have lost the confidence of the House or of the country Ministers are not only the servants of the King they represent the public opinion of the United Kingdom When they cease to impersonate public opinion, they become mere group of personages who must stand or fall by the prudence and success of their actions They may have to deal with disorders at home or hostile manifestations abroad they would have to meet those with the knowledge that they had not the *confidence or support of the country and the opponents* at home and abroad would know it too

We arrive then at this point that the King as represented by his ministers must by harmony with public opinion as represented by the members of the House of Commons The legal necessity lits only in the back ground it forms an ultimate sanction, which is not often present to the mind of those who act upon it

There is certainly a legal necessity al though, as Anson says it provides only an ultimate sanction, not often present to the minds of those who act upon it, in the case of conventions governing the relations between the ministers and the House of Commons, but, as we have shown before, in the case of a very large majority of other conventions, there does not exist any ultimate legal sanction at all It is wrong, therefore, for Dicey to lay down a general principle that conventions are obeyed because of the sanction of law Primarily the obedience to conventions is due to the sanction of public opinion

The same thing was said by Dr Jennings, when he wrote11 that, 'the working of a constitution implies an integration of many individuals Each has rules which he must follow if he is to play his part If the Cabinet does not resign when it clearly cannot get a majority, it will no longer have a tool in Parliament Some officers in the army may possibly refuse to obey orders Some tax-payers may refuse to pay illegal taxes What is indeed, certain is that they are unlikely ever again to secure public confidence, and if they wish to continue in office, they must overthrow the whole constitution Similarly, if the British Parliament breaks conventions relating to Dominion Status, difficulties relating to the Dominions will at once face them'

Public opinion, or what is the same thing fear of social and political difficulties and complications, then, is the real guarantee for the observance of conventions, or, indeed, of laws themselves Rules are normally obeyed because it is the habit to obey them, whether they are laws or conventions When that is not enough, it is the prospect of serious difficulties that acts as a restraining and compelling force

II

That brings us to the consideration of the second question regarding the conventions of the constitution, as to how conventions arise

This aspect of the problem of the conventions of the constitution was not tackled by Dicey at all In the introduction to his monumental work on the *Law of the Constitution*, he did analyse12 some of the notable conventions that have arisen during the last thirty years, but with the theoretical question as to how conventions arise he did not concern himself anywhere in the book The question has been tackled, for the first time, by Dr Jennings in his two books, *The Law and the Constitution*13 and the *Cabinet Government* 14

Dr Jennings starts from the hypothesis that 'conventions grow out of practice, and their existence is determined by precedents'15 But that hypothesis is much too simple to satisfy him, for he finds that 'precedents, like analogies, are rarely conclusive'16 One often comes across cases in which well established practices of over hundreds of years get suddenly dispensed with To take example of two such practices (1) Although from the reign of Edward III onwards the Convocation of the Church of England used to be summoned at the same time as the Parliament, yet in 1921 it was suddenly decided that, that was a matter of practice and that, therefore, a Convocation could be dissolved at any time without a dissolution of Parliament (2) Similarly, for quite a century the king's speech to Parliament used to be approved in Council, but that practice was also dispensed with in 1921

The conclusion, therefore, that Dr Jennings comes to is that, in order to give rise to a convention, mere practice or mere precedents are not enough The fact that an authority has once or even for a long time behaved in a certain way is no warrant for saying that it

10 Sir W R Anson *The Law and the Custom of the Constitution*, 4th edition, vol I, page 383

11 Jennings *Op cit*, page 104-5

12. Dicey *Op cit*, introduction pages xlvi i lvii

13 1st edition University of London Press, 1933

14. 1st edition, C U P., 1937

15 *Cabinet Government* page 5

16 Viscount Esher *The Influence of King Edward* page 67, quoted by Jennings

ought to behave in that way in the future, unless it can be shown that in acting in a particular way at any time the authority and those connected with it were doing it with a clear understanding and consciousness that it was incumbent upon them to so act Precedents create a rule, because they are recognized as creating a rule Practice creates convention, because practice is recognized to be normative

For the creation of a convention therefore, the most important fact is that of its general recognition A precedent becomes normative only when its existence and the duty to obey it are generally recognized Now, general recognition may be secured in one of the two ways It may be secured by the gradual crystallization of a practice into the form of a binding rule, or it may be secured by a definite agreement between the various factors to act in a particular way Past practice, therefore is not the only possible way for the creation of conventions conventions might as well arise by means of a formal agreement between persons and authorities as to how they shall act in the future We shall come to that however, a little later

Meanwhile, to go on with Dr Jennings argument After accepting that precedents become conventions only if they are generally recognized to be creating a rule Dr Jennings feels that such general acceptance cannot always be proved, and yet occasionally one simple precedent may overthrow a long standing rule

'Until Mr Disraeli resigned in 1868, no government had resigned on defeat at the polls and without meeting Parliament Until 1932 no modern government had agreed to differ Was it possible to say in 1868 that Mr Disraeli's act was unconstitutional or in 1932 that the Cabinet's act was unconstitutional? The approach to the answer to these questions indicates an important characteristic of conventions They do not exist for their own sake they exist because there are good reasons for them'[17]

Dr Jennings, therefore, comes to this final conclusion, that precedents create conventions simply because they have reasons of a general nature which relate them to the existing political conditions

'The precedent of 1868 was due to the recognition of altered political conditions. The precedent of 1932 was due to exceptional political conditions. It was created for what were alleged at that time to be specific purposes. It was said that the question of general tariffs was not one of the main problems which the government had been formed to resolve, but was merely incidental. Accordingly it was argued that members of the Cabinet might speak and vote against the proposal of the majority which became the proposal of the government The precedent therefore did not change the ordinary rule of collective responsibility It provided an exception to it, capable of application only when the conditions were similar For this exception special reasons were given they may not be convincing, but in 1932, as in 1868, there were reasons.'[18]

From Dr Jennings' explanation above, it is easy to see that his insistence upon reasons behind conventions is very misleading For if reasons alone, however unconvincing, are to be the criterion for the observance or non observance of earlier practices, then, surely, no custom of the British Constitution, however fundamental, may for long be safe It is not impossible to think of situations when even the King might be able to put forward strong and special reasons for using his veto or exercising any of his lost prerogatives In 1914, when the Parliament was considering the Government of Ireland Bill and when the people of Ulster were revolting for breaking up Ireland into two parts there was a good section of the British opinion that favoured the King's vetoing the Bill both inside the Parliament and outside in the press, arguments were being advanced to show that the King's prerogative to veto a bill passed by Parliament was still in existence, and that political conditions being of an exceptional nature, the King ought, if forced to that necessity, to exercise that prerogative in the case of the Government of Ireland Bill and force the Cabinet to appeal for a decision to the people[19]

From this it will be evident that it is dangerous to plead that a precedent becomes a convention only because there exists a good reason behind it In the rise of conventions, the important factor is not the existence of a reason behind a precedent, but the fact of the general recognition of that precedent, the belief of the actors in a practice that they are bound by a rule Certain small changes in the simple and formal types of conventions may, sometimes be made by people in authority, as for example in the two instances given by Dr Jennings of the years 1868 and 1932, but in such cases, neither the former practice nor the change introduced makes any material difference as to the working of the constitution In the

17 *Cabinet Government*, page 7

18 *Cabinet Government* pp 7-8

19 House of Lords Debates Lord Lodonderry's speech on 2nd July 1914 House of Commons Debates Sir Edward Carson's speeches.

House of Commons Debates Sir Edward Carson's speeches. *Also*

Bonar Law's speech at Edinburgh, on 24th January 1913.

Lord Halsbury's speech on 5th November, 1913.

(Both reported in the *Times*)

G Wallas *Our Social Heritage* 1921, chap X, pp 227-8.

case of the practices of a fundamental character, reasons alone should not be sufficient It is presumable that when a contingency arises in which general acceptance cannot be proved, it might be decided one way or the other by the pressure of public opinion, which may and would certainly be influenced by reasons adduced by the two parties to the conflict, but to say that reasons, although they may not be convincing, would by themselves lead to the rise of conventions is surely a mistaken view

The rise of conventions then is ultimately due to the fact of the general recognition of a practice But general recognition, as we said before, may be secured in two ways It may be secured by reason of a long practice finally crystallizing into a rule, or it may be secured by means of a definite and formal agreement even before the practice begins As to how it is secured in any particular country amongst any particular people would be determined largely by the conditions of life and the temperament of the people of that country In England, for instance, where people are naturally compromising and less logical, believing only in tackling the most immediate problems and solving them rather than in working out long winded and absolute theories, general acceptance would usually be secured by the first process A practice would grow up unconsciously, would be followed unflinchingly for a long time, and would finally become hardened into a principle Persons of authority would start asserting in their writings that the practice exists, and for all practical purposes the practice would be recognized to exist as an integral rule of the constitution The same process has taken place in some of the Dominions In Canada for instance, self government has largely arisen as the result of certain incidental practices followed for a long time

But that does not mean that, that is the only or even the best way in which general acceptance for conventions may be secured Amongst a more logical and less compromising people than the English, conventions would often arise as the result of a difinite and formal agreement In Ireland, whatever conventions have arisen, have arisen by means of a formal agreement The same is largely true of France In India recently, the Congress party was demanding a definite and formal assurance from the provincial governors that they would not exercise their extraordinary powers of interference in the ordinary day to day activities of the ministers

This difference in the procedure for securing general acceptance for conventions comes into play not always on account of differences of racial instincts Sometimes, in the same country, people of different temperaments prefer different methods of establishing a convention. It was in England, for instance, that in 1839 Sir Robert Peel thought it expedient before forming his ministry to ask for a definite assurance of confidence from Queen Victoria, laying down that the evidence of this confidence was to be two-fold (1) That the Queen would dissolve the Parliament and hold new elections on Peel's advice, and (2) That she would agree to change at least a few of her Ladies of the Bedchamber on Peel's recommendation, for Peel was afraid that since all these ladies belonged exclusively to the other party they might influence the Queen's judgment against his own party [20]

In considering how conventions arise, there is one more point which we must not forget Whether conventions arise through practice or through a formal agreement, there is always a pronounced tendency for their ultimate codification and legalisation This is particularly true of the fundamental conventions, because of their great importance in the ordered scheme of government Even in England, most of the determinant conventions have already been codified the relations between the two Houses of Parliament and the relations between the United Kingdom and the Dominions have been legalised by the Parliament Act of 1911 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 respectively The relations between the Cabinet and the House of Commons alone have not been put in terms of law For that the reason is that the Cabinet system of government is so well inter-twined with the legal system of the country that it cannot possibly be superseded

This analysis leads to the clear conclusion that codification and definition or legalisation is ultimately the only way by which fundamental conventions are really secured This definition may come first or it may come last The process whereby it comes is comparatively less important than the fact that it does come That is often forgotten by British constitutional historians when they complacently talk of the British Constitution as being unwritten

20 G K Clark *Peel and the Conservative Party*, pp 315-25
Queen Victoria's Letters, 1st series vol I, pp 198-218.

THE VISION OF HISTORY

By SHISHIR COOMAR MITRA

It is difficult to say when for the first time man felt within him the impulse to project himself on the screen of time by leaving on it the impress of his activity But the fact is there that though his effort in that direction had not been so conscious at the beginning of his career there has always been a tendency in him to give some form of articulate expression to whatever he felt within Another phase that characterises the early mind of man is his passionate search for something that he himself did not know It is a quest as it were a quest perhaps for the key by which to unlock the door of the future But the future when realized becomes the present and so the quest goes on to show that man will never be satisfied The divine discontent' maddens him and he feels that discontent is life con tentment is death' The law of evolution operates in the organic world by bringing about changes which are more remarkable in the case of man whose mind distinguishes him from the lower forms of creation in that he could grow out of his animal stage to evolve into the human through the effort and the consequent development of the powers of the mind The sights and sounds of nature the vastness of the panoramic wonders of the universe roused up the imagination of man and opened before him infinite sources of knowledge And he started out to conquer them and master their secrets so as to make them useful to his own advance ment It was not an easy victory that he could possibly expect over his own nature and over the nature outside both of which tried to bind him to his primitive moorings But each obstacle in the way gave him an added impetus to exert more strenuously in the fight with the result that conquest after conquest have crowned his efforts and that he has been progressing steadily towards the acquisition of more knowledge and more power In this way he laid the foundation of his great civilization But man has struggled and travelled long enough on the pathway of progress He there fore stopped awhile and took stock of his achievements and found to his surprise that it was not only he but the world as well has changed out of its old form Thus with the gradual dawning on him of a sense of his inner powers and the widening of his outlook, his passion for knowledge began to increase And there grew in him a desire which deepened with time to know how he and his fellowmen under different conditions and in different ages have played their part in the common drama of humanity This longing for an idea of human progress created a new tendency in man to collect facts and then gradually to record them The knowledge so gathered soon began to be widely transmitted and a sense of his tory dawned on the human mind stimulating it to pierce the veil of the past Historians and thinkers commenced thinking about the values in which history should be assessed so that it might fulfil its purpose in the life of humanity They collaborated in defining the content and the intent which are the objective and sub jective aspects of history Thus was produced a literature through which can be traced the varying extent of the impression on the human mind of the ever growing vision of history through the ages

Researches reveal that the earliest attempt to prepare royal annals was made in Egypt by the scribes who were engaged to describe the reigns of the Pharaos in pictorial writing on the *papyrus* rolls which have been discovered from under the Pyramids of Egypt where they were preserved along with the mummies of the kings The code of Hammurabi engraved upon a diorite cylinder giving an account of the reign of that historic King is one of the earliest sources of Babylonian history The Yahvist sections of the Pentateuch Joshua and Samuel written during the tenth century before Christ are believed by some scholars to be the first truly historical literature of the early world The central story in them strikingly coincides with that of the *Mahabharata* of which the *Bharata Yuddha* took place about the same period In the *Mahabharata* God incarnates Himself to cru h the forces of evil and thereby to vindicate righteousness The authors of the Pentateuch to whom religion was an instrument of statesmanship as it was to some extent to *Sri Krishna* characterised Yahveh as a predomi nantly imperialistic God who fights for his people as fiercely as the God of the *Maha-bharata* The way in which these stories are told takes on the character of a definite attempt on the part of the Semites in Judea,

and the Aryans in India, to record and propagate the stories of their struggles with the object of achieving didactic ends China's historical literature, which is a section of her vast "Classics," is a wonderful production depicting in minute details the slow but steady evolution from the earliest time of the social and political life of one of the oldest peoples of history The passion for inquiry (for which the Greek term is *historic*) and for accurate knowledge were the two remarkable habits of mind which the Greeks developed through extensive travel No wonder that the Greek conception of history should be as clear as it could be in the sixth century before Christ

With the shifting of the scene in the drama of history, gradually rose the rhetoricians of Rome whose dominant voice inaugurated through Cicero a new era in history writing It was about this time that Livy brought his rhetorical gifts to the writing of a history of Rome, and Tacitus showed his artistic brilliance in narrating the story of the Roman Empire History writing did not thrive to any remarkable degree in the medieval age when only dry annals and jejune chronicles were prepared, in spite of the fact that it had a rich heritage from the past both in the secular and ecclesiastical forms of history But the later medieval period was marked by a tendency to historical expression brought about by the renaissance of Islamic learning of which a notable protagonist was Ibn-Khaldun of Tunis who wrote, *inter alia* a *Prolegomena to Universal History, which re* markably justified the view expressed by its author in the same book that the science of History is noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim

The period of transition from the medieval to the modern time was signalized by a revival of humanistic learning in the fifteenth century when Italy played an imporatnt part through that typical Florentine, Machiavelli His contribution to the humanistic interpretation of history was marked by his conception that, human nature being fundamentally immutable, human history moves in a regular curve with upward and downward tendencies at fixed intervals of time in the life of humanity The writing of history was facilitated in this period by the discovery and elucidation of hitherto hidden texts which revealed many interesting facts leading to the Laurentius Valla's brilliant attack on the so-called *Donation of Constantine, one of the central pillars of the papacy and to* Ulrich Von Hutten's rehabilitation of Henry VI from monkish tales

"My object is the history of the human mind, and *not a mere detail of petty facts nor am I concerned with* the history of the great lords, but I want to know what were the steps by which man passed from barbarism to *civilization*"

So said Voltaire in the third quarter of the eighteenth century His was the first attempt to write a universal culture history which was unique for its comprehensive treatment of social and economic as well as political and religious affairs of humanity of the then known world, including China, India and Persia The supernatural explanation of events, and the descriptions of wars and dynasties were scrupulously laid aside by Voltaire For this neglect of superstitious lore, and specially for his indifference to kings he was many a time inhumanly insulted and, at last, exiled from France *Deeply impressed by the French Revolution*, Kant thought that the whole meaning and movement of history lay in the ever greater restriction of pugnacity and violence, and the continuous enlargement of the area of peace The foresight of this great German idealist towards the close of the eighteenth century is as full of significance as his pacifistic conception of history, which struck a new note in historical idealism But the reaction on the European mind of the French Revolution gave birth to a romantic relapse into a blind faith in, and obscurantist obedience to, medieval traditions and customs The works of Perrot, Digby and James were full of over-coloured glorification of medieval knighthood, and history became a biased narration of the activities of a particular phase that was past in European life The dialectical movement in history, propounded by Hegel, passes through a series of revolutions in which people after people, genius after genius, becomes the instrument of the Absolute, and helps in the process of the political development of the human race through the gradual realization of the idea of freedom This is the evolutionary standpoint in history, and indicate how profoundly the idea of evolution influenced Hegel and other philosophical thinkers of the period The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of scientific ideas, and among the various phases of the evolution of human thought consequent upon it, was a deep and active interest in historical idealism Buckle may be said to have led this movement by starting to write a History of Civilization in which he expressed the view that human actions are governed by mental and physical laws, and that the real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind and not of the events which are discovered by the senses The view of Droysen

that history is the "Know thyself" of mankind, its conscience was mystically but more sublimely echoed by the American transcendentalist Emerson who said that history is the record of the works of the one mind common to all individual men

In the course of his letter to the contributors to the *Cambridge History* Lord Acton said

"By Universal History I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand but a continuous development and is not a burden on the memory but an illumination of soul It moves in a succession to which the nations are subsidiary Their story will be told not for their own sake but in reference and subordination to a higher series according to the time and the degree in which they contribute to the common fortunes of mankind"

There cannot indeed be a higher ideal of Universal History Lord Acton may be said to have suggested the best pattern of World History With such a noble vision of history before it began the twentieth century when interest was steadily increasing in the study of the history of the whole human race from a synthetic standpoint, so well emphasised by Fredrick Harrison The growth of scientific ideas and the development of international relations through the expansion of trade and cultural interchange extended the scope of human knowledge, and gave man opportunities of coming into more intimate contact with the world outside He began to see the vision of the essential unity of the human race In the beautiful words of Bryce, 'the world is becoming one and world history tending to be One History' This was indeed a most important fact in the history of human thought of modern times At a time when the problem of world peace was not so acute as it is today, and the peoples of the world could, if they would come closer to one another for mutual understanding it was quite opportune that the thinkers of Europe should be clear in their stress on the need of a world standpoint in history so that it may help forward the cause of human unity

But the history books of the world have not substantially changed their outlook despite the ideas that were so cogently expressed about what should be the mission of history and the historian From Voltaire to Harrison there has been a regular stream of thinkers who gave their interpretation of history in the best interest of humanity as a whole But how can true history be written at a time when the clash of interests competes with the din of arms to drown the voice of reason and peace? Aggressive nationalism is shattering the prospect of human brotherhood and history is being prostituted to base use as an instrument of selfish national propaganda The history books that are being written today are conveniently suppressing and distorting truth to serve petty national ends The most glaring testimony to historical distortion to serve selfish ends is afforded in modern times by the fact that even today when the myth of 'War Guilt" has been dissipated by unbiased historical scholarship, history books for children containing those unfounded charges against Germany should still be current almost in every part of the world

Indian History is also a sorry victim to the selfish ends of interested parties and communities It has been rightly said that no true history has ever been written of India And whatever of the so called standard works on *history we have of our country today are* written by foreigners who betray an utter lack of sympathy for and understanding of her culture and society They emphasise only that side of Indian life in which she is believed by them to have made no special contribution, in spite of the fact that in recent times Indian scholars have proved beyond doubt that India did develop in the past not only political theories of a very high order but actually built up States and Republics and other democratic institutions It was given to a foreigner to declare that India gave the first internationalist in history but the story of Asoka in the text books will not say that The true fact about Sivaji though fully substantiated has not yet found place in our histories Neither do they for obvious reasons take note of the distressing conditions of modern India History is also silent about the cruel methods in which Africa was conquered and China was amputated The black *stories of colonial* expansion and of exploitation do not find any place in authentic history The result is that the oppressed are not allowed to plead their case before the bar of world opinion

Historic justice is impaired in the method of treatment in many of the standard works on World History Love of favourite theories not unmixed with other interests has weighed with many distinguished historical scholars in the matter of sifting and choosing of facts and events It is unworthy of the historian to put his theory above fact even when it does not stand the test of impartial inquiry Nobody will dispute your starting with Greece when you write a history of Europe But it will be betraying an unhistorical and short-sighted attitude if when you speak of the origin and growth of Hellenic culture you do not acknowledge its debt to the Orient Asia including Egypt is the oldest in history to have

excelled in elaborating all round civilizations on her fertile river-valleys, and it is now a fact of history that culturally she influenced her neighbours, the Greeks in particular in more ways than one In the words of Will Durant

"Asia was not merely the seat of the oldest civilizations known to us but those civilizations formed the background and basis of that Greek and Roman culture which Sir Henry Maine mistakenly supposed to be the whole source of the modern mind

But few histories would say that from Egypt and Mesopotamia Greece took the models of her famous Doric and Ionic columns and learned from the same countries her skill in sculpture and painting, that printing alphabets and writing were first developed in Asia and then went to Greece through her immediate neighbours that Indian influence on early Greek thought is unmistakable, that the ideas of the Egyptian and the Babylonian scientists helped greatly to stimulate scientific thinking in the Greek mind, that the city states in Sumeria and Assyria, and the administrative systems of Egypt and the village community in India were the prototypes of their more developed counterparts in Greece The reason why these are not referred to in the history of Europe and that of Greece is obvious To impartial antiquarians Asia may be the cradle of world's civilizations but to the modern man in Europe the Greek heritage of his civilization must be *independent of extraneous influence Perhaps* things might have been otherwise if all the countries of Asia had the power to assert themselves as free competitors in the game of world politics today

The story of the evolution of historic idealism shows how almost from the beginning of his civilized life on earth man has tried to express himself not always to glorify his own achievements but also to find an outlet for what he felt within when the reaction on his mind of the surrounding forces of religion and politics became irresistible The Pharaoh in Egypt must at his death be furnished with the story of his earthly exploits lest he should be deprived of his kingdom in heaven The early Jews must propagate the lessons of their wars against the infidels Through the mirror of history the Chinese must watch the procession of humanity The Hindus must know the changeless Reality in this changing world, and *history to them was the history of their quest* for the Infinite The Greeks must know the world and write accounts of their adventures The Roman orators must thunder against the corruptions of their emperors The Christians must give a theological basis to history to denounce paganism And through the mediæval times history passes to find its votaries in the humanists like Machiavelli, who wanted to fix the path for the march of man through the ages But the efforts so far made by man seem to have their exquisite flowering in the vision that Voltaire and the French Encyclopaedists saw of a Universal History of civilization The vision was always there, sometimes bright, and sometimes dimmed till at the beginning of the present century, it became clear again in the intellectual horizon of man, and inspired him to give a shape to it. But the world wide conflagration in 1914, blurred it for a time and shattered all the fond dreams of man and with them the dream of peace and unity In the midst of this darkness and despair, hope lies in the vision of history which *today emerges again from out of the surrounding* chaos as if in response to the call of the age to illumine the mind of man and, to beacon him to the path he has with his fellow travellers treaded throughout the ages in the common adventure both in the inner and the outer court of his life on earth

James Bryce has showed clearly enough that in the dawn of recorded history, some six *thousand years ago international relations* already existed on a large scale He insists that the world point of view—*Weltanschauung*—is essential to any real historical illumination of *the processes of society and civilization building* from that day to this He deplores that type of historical approach still well nigh universal in conservative historical circles which focusses attention upon national states, and portrays their foreign relations in a narrow juristic and diplomatic framework He contends that history, conceived in terms of the world setting devoting itself to cultural as well as political achievements might as well serve as one of the chief instruments whereby man could combat one of his greatest and persistent enemies—international war And to this end it is to be added the manner of historical presentation should be deep and penetrating enough so that it may bring home to the mind of its reader more intimately than ever that every movement that changes the social and political outlook of man is the outcome of a number of forces and influences whose genesis may be traced to some world movement or *world personality which is not in every case an* independent phenomenon This sense of unity, continuity and inter dependence so indispensable to a conception of history as a whole can be derived only by a study of that kind of history which will be so written as to stimulate inward

thinking by which to pierce the veil of facts and catch glimpses of the intrinsic forces of which the facts are the extrinsic manifestations It has been found that these forces have in most cases been of extraneous origin and that the growth or decay of a society or nation does not depend solely on the richness or poverty of its own power and resources, but that they are largely the result of forces which are not only unavoidable but are inevitably generated So the historian is in a sense a prophet too Great epochs in history are created not so much by the heroes with whom they are associated as by forces whose origin lay elsewhere Thus the Hellenic civilization was the sprouting of the Oriental seeds The message of a Nazarene was at the back of the Holy Roman Empire The Crusades had none the less a political motive behind them Dante is commonly believed to have been the inaugurator of the Age of Renaissance but the event that hastened it was the fall of Constantinople The history of the world abounds with such instances too numerous to mention The assassination of Franz Ferdinand might be the precipitant factor but the immediate causes of the Great War are to be traced to the wide pread imperialistic impulse to War in Europe at the beginning of the present century and to the diplomatic situation with respect to the Balkans and the tightening of the diplomatic relations between France and Russia So to history more important than the immediate cause or causes will be the remote but more powerful force or forces that combine to actuate an event or inspire a movement or prepare the ground for the appearance of a great personality Today when the world is more truly one than before because of the common interests of trade and the quick modes of communication and transport one nation cannot exist by ignoring the forces that affect another Every movement in any country of the world is the joint product of the whole process of human affairs It is therefore the right moment for the truth in the world vision of history to vindicate itself in the interest of human well being and of the peace of the world But there can be no secure peace but a common peace of the whole world And a sense of history as the common adventure of mankind in the words of Wells is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations '

What then should be the pattern of that history the history of the future which will uphold the world vision and will at the same time be exalting in its intention and impartial in its content ? The vision envisaged in recent times seems to indicate that world civilization (the life story of humanity with every aspect of its activity) should be portrayed as faithfully as possible in its proportionate detail, and that national history should be a record in world setting of a particular contribution towards the welfare of mankind as a whole Toynbee has developed the idea in his *Study of History* that for history the unit to be considered fundamental is not a nation ' but a civilization Nations are to be studied as variations on a single theme or as contributions to the orchestra of human civilization which are significant as a harmony but have no meaning as so many separate series of notes The writing of history should therefore be motivated by this integral conception History should not only reflect what actually happens, but should also bring to light much of what is hidden behind the visible phenomena It should unfold through its pages that humanity as a whole has ever struggled and is always struggling to achieve a common goal It should unravel the story of how from the earliest time of his life on earth man has been continuously endeavouring to reach higher and higher flights of existence and of how to that end he has been creating and evolving each of the various elements of civilization which are as it were so many scenes in a drama enacted by personalities the prominent amongst them being the finger posts in the path of human progress These elements the economic the political the religious the philosophical the literary the scientific and the aesthetic are so many different expressions of the one human mind all of which history will first analyse with regard to their gradual development and characteristic features and then co ordinate in the synthetic picture showing that each is a factor in the common human adventure but each is important only in its relation to the whole Here the historian has to be a philosopher since he will have to bring both his imaginative and intuitive insight to such a penetrating study of all these creative activities of man throughout the ages Wars and exploits and explorations history has had enough of them Should they not now recede a little into the background giving the place of prominence to those real and inexhaustible springs of human happiness which derive their spontaneous flow from the creative instinct of man ? Civilization is defined as social order promoting cultural creation It is a way of living to fruitfulness and not an end in itself New History has heretofore an unlimited scope The

horizon of human knowledge is ever extending and the mind of man is ever active in expressing itself in a myriad of forms The march is ceaselessly on—the triumphant march of Man which history accentuates and enlightens when necessary by the radiance of its universal ideal Coeval with his first impulse to drawing on the walls of the caves which he inhabited is the story of man s effort towards self expression Millenniums have gone by the same impulse is still there urging him on to the same end In the world of thought man sees golden dreams and in the world of action he gives them form And history weaves its fabric by building bridges between the world of thought and that of action The story is continued by every fresh step man takes towards the fulfilment of his creative destiny But is it a fixed destiny that will fall eternally to his lot? Or is it only a particular stage in the course of his evolution? Whatever it is man will strive on and the Cosmic Vision in the history of his life long and perpetual striving will open before him the vast vista of his future leading him on perhaps to the attainment of his divine goal!

HINDI AS THE LINGUA FRANCA

By P V ACHARYA *Madras*

The question of the establishment of a *Lingua Franca* for India has come now to the forefront due perhaps to the fact that in seven out of the eleven provinces the Congress Ministries are working The proposition of the adoption of Hindi as the *Lingua Franca* is being pursued by Mahatma Gandhi with the same religious zeal as it characterises his Khaddar Programme and the Temple entry question Already two Prime Ministers of major Provinces like Madras and Bombay have announced without any reserve their intention to make the study of Hindi compulsory in their provinces It appears as if the time has arrived when the question of the application of the Hindi or Hindusthani cult is to be enforced regardless of its impracticability for the cultural regeneration of India It is argued by the protagonists of the Hindi cult that Hindi if made universal will unify the masses of the various Provinces Thus the whole proposition of the establishment of Hindi as *Lingua Franca* presupposes universal compulsory education in Hindi as envisaged by the Congress leaders and Congress Ministers who attended the Wardha Educational Conference convened by Mahatma Gandhi

Bengal takes legitimate pride in fostering only her mother tongue Bengali which abounds in works of Tagore Bankim Chandra and a host of others So she is not very enthusiastic about introducing Hindi in her province In Madras Presidency there is a widespread propaganda for counteracting this evil of the Hindi cult The majority of Muslims resent this due perhaps to the fact that Urdu will suffer in importance if Hindi is made compulsory Influential Marathi and Canarese speaking people of the Bombay Presidency are voicing forth their protests People in Sind Assam and the Punjab are also very pessimistic over this question So the argument that Hindi is spoken or understood by a great majority of people in India will not hold good

Can Hindi after all successfully compete with English which has for over 150 years been the state language for India and which has been the medium of education? English is the only language which is current and understood in a greater part of the world today It is learnt and spoken more widely than any language of the world Its international character may easily be understood by the fact that it is current in the whole of North America and is understood by many persons in many countries of Europe and even in Japan and China in the East The vast knowledge and educational training available in this universal language is luckily available for us in India which can be assimilated and digested by the youth of our country in the achievement of the task of uplifting our countrymen English has attained such a currency in India that we need not regret its advent at this stage of our national reconstruction To banish the English language altogether in the scheme for universal education and to replace it by Hindi will be nothing but suicidal

The waste of energy and funds to popularise the Hindi cult purely out of misguided patriotic motives and to copy in Hindi or Hindusthani the world s great works in Science Art Industry etc can be avoided if only our leaders deeply think before they take a leap in the dark In the present conditions of this country which is yet to make a great way in progress all this unnecessary labour and the waste of intelligence and money in the import of another language in provinces which are quite unsuited to adopt Hindi as the *Lingua Franca* or the state language can be avoided and diverted to more useful channels

FOREIGN EXPERTS AND THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

By Prof. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D

The recent importation of two administrative experts from England gives us a clue as to the opinion which the Government of India cherishes about the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service We for ourselves do not hold any brief for this body But there is no gain-saying the fact that for long the reputation of this Service both for general administrative ability and for special knowledge of Indian problems was not only very high but it almost became legendary Not only the British Government reposed the highest confidence in the ability of this body of civil servants but foreign visitors to this country also invariably paid eloquent tribute to their efficiency

The capability of the I C S officers in fact so captivated the imagination of people that even such a shrewd observer of men and things as Mr Herbert Fisher of Oxford once thought it right to compare them with the philosopher kings of whom Plato had written Mr Fisher came to India in the early second decade of this century as a member of the Public Services Commission over which the late Lord Islington presided He had thus an excellent opportunity of studying the Indian Civil Service at close quarters Armed as he was with such first-hand knowledge, his opinion about the merits of the I C S was accepted by many as authentic and true Before a Glasgow audience in 1924 he gave it out as his definite view that if any administrative body of the modern world could be said to approximate to the ideal of Plato's philosopher kings, it was certainly the Indian Civil Service No higher tribute could ever be paid to the honesty, integrity impartiality and general efficiency of any administrative service Joseph Chailley, a French publicist, who visited India in the opening years of this century and who on his return to his native land wrote out a popular book on Indian administrative problems also paid a glowing tribute to the efficiency of Indian administration as conducted by the members of the Indian Civil Service No wonder that when such compliments were paid to the I C S from far and near, a legend would grow about the unimpeachable integrity, the highest form of efficiency and the strictest impartiality of this body

The Indian Civil Service was and still is the *Corps d'elite* of Indian administration Until recently all the superior administrative charges were filled by the members of this corps During the last few decades some technical services have no doubt been brought into being and members of these latter services have been allowed to rise to important and responsible offices in their respective departments The Commissioners and Inspector-Generals of Police, as for example, are no longer recruited from the I C S Directors of Agriculture and Industries have also been chosen as a rule for some time past from outside the sanctum of the Indian Civil Service But still it cannot be said that the members of the I C S are employed at the present time merely in charges of general administration The Chief Executive Officers of the districts and divisions in the Provinces and the Secretaries to the different departments of both the Provincial and Central Governments are of course invariably chosen from the I C S But these are not the only offices to which they are appointed They are also employed as Income Tax Commissioners Trade Commissioners, Development Commissioners, Collectors of Customs, Members of the Board of Revenue and in other highly technical capacities It should be noted that the present Governor of the Reserve Bank has been recruited from the Indian Civil Service The Auditor-General is also appointed, not unoften, from the same Service

Naturally we would expect that when the offices of the Economic Adviser and Commissioner of Income Tax were created they would be filled by some members of the Service which had acquired such reputation and had such tradition and experience to its credit But it has been pointed out in no uncertain terms that men of the requisite calibre were not available in the I C S and consequently they had to be imported from Great Britain Could we infer from this that the Government of India has lost its confidence in the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service? In view of the importation of experts from foreign countries it is certainly not impertinent for us to ask if in the opinion of the Government really capable men who can readily adjust themselves to the varying demands of administration are not coming out to this country as members of what has been called the "Heaven Born Service"

The Government of India may point out that the I C S is meant for the general administration of the districts and not for the discharge of any technical duties It may even point out that the system of recruitment and the methods of training of this Service do not make it possible for their rising equal to the demands of technical posts None of these assertions, if made by the Government of India, can be accepted The I C S has never been meant merely for general administration And as it has been pointed out already they are even now appointed to offices which are highly technical in character

Besides, there is the pertinent question that if an officer belonging to the Home Civil Service may turn out to be an expert why cannot an Indian Civilian so turn to be? The Home Civilians are recruited on the same basis and are given training practically on the same lines as the members of the Indian Civil Service So if the Administrative Civil Service in England can produce experts upon whom the Government of India may rely, how it is that the Indian Civil Service is turning out to be barren in this respect? It may be pointed out indeed that the members of the Home Civil Service remain busy with bigger problems and concerned with intricate issues On that account their imagination may become more vivified and their knowledge more comprehensive more wide and more detailed But it cannot be said that Indian administrative problems are very simple today and do not draw out the best in the officers Secondly, it should not be forgotten that the members of the Indian Civil Service have under the Lee Scheme the opportunity of visiting Great Britain at Government expense four times during their service in India A civilian who has this opportunity and who actually avails this opportunity should be in close touch with the development of administrative technique in Europe

In case men of the requisite calibre are not coming out to this country as members of the Indian Civil Service, it is high time that the Indian people should consider it seriously whether it is worth while to maintain such a fabulously paid service The salary scale of the I C S officers has always been very high It was further augmented in 1924 on the recommendation of the Royal Commission over which Lord Lee presided In 1921 Sir William Vincent, Home Member of the Government of India, was asked on the floor of the Legislative Assembly if the I C S was the highest paid administrative body in the world Sir William replied that until recently it was so indeed, but the emoluments of the Colonial Civil Servants appeared at the time to be greater This was a grievance and a serious grievance at that on the part of the Indian civilians It was, however, amply satisfied by what is popularly known in India as the "Lee loot" Today the British Civilian in India does not certainly suffer by any comparison with regard to his salary He starts his career on a monthly income of Rs 600 which rises automatically under the time scale arrangement to about Rs 2,600 a month Beyond the time-scale again there are numerous posts which carry with them higher and far higher salaries The maintenance of a service so highly paid cannot be justified in a poor country like India only on the ground of its efficiency But now even this efficiency is not beyond question If it is the deliberate opinion of the Government of India that it cannot put forth sufficient energy and talent for work of a specially responsible nature the Indian public must carefully search its heart if it should long continue to bear the burden of this body of civil servants

That the best products of the British Universities do not any longer care to enter the Indian Civil Service has been admitted by many British publicists on more than one occasion If they decide to enter the Civil Service at all, as many of them certainly do they prefer the Home Service There is consequently no denying the fact that the Indian Civil Service has fallen from its old traditions and men only of mediocre ability in Great Britain are thinking it worth while to enter this body But although deterioration of quality is writ large on the Indian Civil Service, that alone may not account for the importation of experts from Great Britain People may surmise that there are other reasons behind such importation

For about 15 years past the Finance Member of the Government of India has been invariably chosen from the British Treasury Sir Malcolm Hailey was the last member of the Indian Civil Service who was appointed to this portfolio Even a man of his sterling ability and singular merit was not allowed to continue for long in this office He was shifted to the Home Department and had to give place to an expert brought from England Since then Finance Members have been appointed only from among those who have been nurtured in the traditions of the British Treasury and saturated with the ideals of Lombard Street There may have been suppressed voices of grumbling against this practice on the part of the Indian Civil Service, but they have been in vain If a member of the Indian Civil

Service could be appointed to the important office of the Governor of the Reserve Bank we do not see why he could not be appointed as the Finance Member It seems that the reasons which were thought sufficient for excluding Indians very rigidly from the Finance portfolio might have something to do with the exclusion of even the British Members of the Indian Civil Service from this sanctum Possibly it was thought that a Finance Member recruited from the Indian Civil Service might not have acted in so close communion with the ideals and demands of the British Treasury as a Finance Member recruited from Whitehall

We do not know if the motive which inspires the appointment of Finance Members from the British Treasury has also inspired the importation of experts from Great Britain Another suggestion has of course, been hinted in certain quarters and it may be incorporated here for whatever it is worth It is to the effect that not any administrative need but only the lofty desire to distribute some patronage which lies at the root of this appointment of British experts Love of patronage is ingrained in human nature No man however great can be immune from its intoxication About a century ago Lord Macaulay told an audience at Westminster that even such a man of lofty outlook as Lord William Bentinck could not avoid it altogether Practically all the important appointments were then reserved for the members of the Civil Service He had himself no control over the recruitment to this service But the post of a Presidency Magistrate was not so reserved and he was constrained to appoint a friend to this office

Whatever may be the reason behind these appointments, they cannot certainly be justified But they have at least one silver lining They have succeeded in destroying the myth which had developed about the super-efficiency of the Civil Service

SISAL HEMP IN INDIA

By J K SIRCAR, F R H S , F.R.S.A
Late Fibre Expert, Punjab Government

The recent rise in the price of Sisal hemp in London has made Sisal planting in India an attractive proposition From the extraordinary depression of all trades and industries in the world, the present year seems to have ushered in an era of recovery in prices for all commodities Sisal, which was quoted at £12 a ton only six years back now stand at £28 a ton with prospects of a further rise *The Financial Times of London Supplement* definitely stated in October, 1936, that there was a world shortage of 50 000 tons of this fibre Several well known British authorities at London predicted the likelihood of a world shortage of 80,000 tons this year Africa, which used to supply a considerable quantity of Sisal hemp, abandoned some of her plantations due to the low and unremunerative prices it fetched six years back To add to the difficulties of Sisal grower its use for the manufacture of Binder's twine for agricultural purposes had to be curtailed due to the improvement in mechanized agriculture Mexico the largest producer of Sisal hemp, also suffered to some extent, but with the help of U S A the plantations there were kept in bearing, and are doing very well, indeed, now that prices have gone up Recently two big companies were registered at London to take up Sisal production in Africa with a capital of £3 00 000 a piece These companies have already sold their output for three years ahead at £25 a ton thereby guaranteeing a dividend of 7% to the shareholdeds A considerable progress has been made recently in utilising Sisal fibre for the manufacture of Marine ropes twines hawsers, cordage of every description, cloth for road making fibre sheets, rugs, carpets mats, door mats fibre belting oil mill press cloth as a substitute of camel hair, nets etc , the waste fibre or tow for the manufacture of "Rayon," high class papers and sheets , and the green pulp, which hitherto used to be allowed to be wasted, and which is obtainable to the extent of 94%, —the fibre content including tow or short fibre being only 6%,—for the production of a high class fertiliser, organic fertiliser with effective Nitrogen content of 1 88%, and lime 19.3%

This fertiliser was in great demand for Coffee, Orange, and Tobacco crops It is probable that it may be utilized in fruit gardens and orchards, and probably in Tea and Sugar-cane cultivation This was brought about by the Anami Research Station in Africa, the British Research Stations, and by private enterprise in India The British Admiralty have found Sisal ropes as good for Marine requirements as Manila hemp Germany has already discarded Manila hemp in favour of Sisal hemp for her Marine cordage requirements In the circumstance it is inconceivable that Sisal prices would ever go back to the depression figure The normal figure for Sisal in the world market was £20 *to £25 a ton This was the pre-war standard* There is little doubt that after the gap caused during the last six years in fresh planting, prices would go down to the normal figure within another 5 to 6 years, inasmuch as it would require immediate planting on at least 50,000 acres to meet the world demand five years hence It is improbable that such a vast tract can be brought under Sisal within such a short period in Africa or elsewhere In the circumstances Sisal certainly hold out the most alluring prospects to the capitalists in India

An extract from a letter on the subject addressed by Dr Harold H Mann D sc Former Director of Agriculture in Bombay, now Director, Woburn Experimental Station, Bleeohley, England to the writer would prove interesting Dr Mann writes thus

"*I do really wish I could set the question of Sisal* going in India Only yesterday I was talking to the Deputy Director of Agriculture Tanganyika and he told me that the Sisal industry there is doing extremely well now They can produce Sisal fibre for £14 per ton and at the present time (February 28th 1937), it is worth £28 a ton These are *the figures for fibre laid down in London I do think* that there is every prospect at present of a number of years of prosperity for a well run Sisal plantation In the past it has so often been planted on land which was no use for anything else and allowed to get weedy while it was never cultivated Of course, the natural result fol *lowed and the yield was disappointing and the concern* failed But there is no doubt that with a price in London of £20 and over for Sisal fibre a plantation on well selected land would be a very paying proposition I can see no reason why the price should not be well above the limit for a number of years I wish I could help you push the matter There *is* chance from what you say in the Chota Nagpur tract and I wish I had the chance of pushing it There does seem an opportunity for a profitable industry just now on the basis of the knowledge which our predecessors had not got It would be a pity to miss it"

It is necessary to go into the history of Sisal enterprise in India to understand why the industry failed to succeed in some parts of India It may, however, be mentioned here that two Sisal estates in the Chota Nagpur tracts of Bihar and Orissa have survived, and they are making decent profits even now The history of Sisal enterprise in India is unfortunately very sad This state of affair was not brought about by lack of enthusiasm, or want of capital, but owing to sheer ignorance and lack of knowledge as to the requirements of the different species of the plant in varying soils, climate and rainfall Sisal was first introduced into India in the beginning of this century The so called Agricultural Experts of the day went through the texts relating to Mexican Sisal, as East Africa had not at the time started her Sisal enterprise, and made the planters and others in India to understand that Sisal did not require any care save and except putting them down, and that it would grow on any soil where nothing else would grow, and in any and every climate with any quantity of annual rainfall from 15 inches to 150 inches This, as could be easily imagined led to the many failures at the time, thus making the very name of Sisal abhorent to the financiers and planters throughout the country None of the Experts had any idea of the botanical difference of one species of *Agave* from the other, and the requirements of a particular species of plant in a certain locality This was mainly the reason why the industry failed at several places Had there been a single experienced expert at the time, this state of affairs would never have come about India as also East Africa imported a few thousands of Sisal plants and bulbils from Florida for experimental purpose The Sisal plant of Florida or Bahamas is quite distinct from Mexican Sisal or Henequen Florida and Bahamas grow *Agave rigida var sisalana* whereas Mexico grows *Agave rigida var elongata* The former has been renamed *Agave sisalana*, and the latter *Agave Furcroydes* by that famous Fibre Investigator, Professor Lyster Dewey of U S A It was *Agave sisalana, which was imported into India and* East Africa In India the Experts confounded it with the Mexican species and as a result made many a planter and financier lose a lot of money uselessly Whereas in East Africa they recognised the difference between the two species, and found that while the Florida variety would do well in good soil, sufficient rainfall, and in good climate, the Mexican variety would require very little rainfall, and do well on soil where nothing else would grow without requiring any attention save putting them down This was mainly responsible for the success attained by the East African planters a success, which has never been attained

by the planters in Florida or Bahamas, whence the plants were first imported

Years of patient research work has enabled the writer to find out this error of direction It was in Chota Nagpur tract, and in areas adjoining it that *Agave sisalana* has been found to give very satisfactory results The two plantations now working there completely prove the statement herein made It has been found that Sisal would succeed in any of the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Sonthal Perganas, parts of Monghyr, Manbhum, Palamau, Singbhum in Bihar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur, Ganjam, in Orissa, and perhaps in Raipur area of C P The Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Department of Industries, when Mr B A Collins, I C S, was the Director of Industries, in a letter signified willingness to recommend any such plantation for financial aid under "State Aid to Industries Act" with a view to help the starting of Sisal industries in Bihar and Orissa Sisal can be produced in these tracts at £10 a ton inclusive of all-in-costs, *e g*, shipping and freight to England Vast tracts of land are lying fallow, labour is cheap and plentiful, climate healthy and ideal for Sisal and rainfall just sufficient for the crop Experimental plantations in Sonthal Perganas, and Palamau, as also Ranchi have demonstrated the possiblity of the industry when started on scientific and rational industrial lines It is a pity that no interest has been given to the development of this valuable industry in these tracts

It may not be out of place to mention here that apart from the two varieties of Sisal referred to above, *Agave cantala*, the Bombay Aloe fibre plant, according to Professor Lyster Dewey of U S A., is the *sine qua non* of the Sisal fibre of part of Java and the Philipines *Agave cantala has been found to stand a* rainfall of over 200 inches per annum, and as such it offers a great scope for its cultivation in Assam as an auxiliary to Tea cultivation Tippera and Chittagong Hill tracts also offer considerable scope for its planting It can also be introduced as a paying crop on the Western Ghauts of Bombay, the Malabar Coasts, Andaman and Nicobar Islands Its fibre is finer than that of pure Sisal, and fetches premia in the world markets *Furcroya gigantea*,—the producer of Mauritius hemp, also grows at many places spontaneously, and would do well in certain tracts where Sisal has no chance of succeeding But Sisal should be the first to be tackled The possiblity of the Mexican variety in Northern India has still to be explored

Sisal planting is now, indeed, a fine paying *proposition But it is certainly not a poor* man's industry To make it pay one should have at least 500 acres under it Scientifically speaking an area of 1,500 acres would be required to keep a Decorticating (Fibre extracting outfit) set in full work. The *modus operandi* is to select a suitable site for the plantation, and a site for the factory A good deal of technical knowledge is required to locate the site Then to start out planting with due regard to cultivation, etc, on 500 acres per annum till the whole area is planted within the first 3 years An additional area of 500 acres, if available, should be kept for future extensions

The plants would begin yielding from the fourth year onward when machinery for decortication, etc, should be installed The plantation would yield about ½ to 2/3rd ton of fibre from the fifth year onwards A 2,000 acres plantation is estimated to require Rs 1,20 000 in planting and upkeep at the maximum, Rs 1,15,000 in building, machinery, implements, etc, and Rs 25,000 in reserve Total capital needed for such a estate is Rs 2,50,000 at the most. The returns within a period of 10 years is estimated at in fibre alone Rs 13,30,000 less cost of manufacturing at Rs 150 a ton at the most Rs 7,50,000 So that by the sale of fibre alone it would yield Rs 5,80,000 If the tow obtained from the bagasse is taken into account, it would yield an additional income of at least Rs 66,000 If account is taken of the utilization of the green pulp obtained as waste for producing fertiliser, which by the way used to be sold in Coorg at Rs 40 per ton ex-plantation, it would yield an additional income of at least Rs 4,70 000 after allowing a large portion to the estate for renovation So that in all a net profit of Rs 11,16,000 can be expected within a period of ten years on an investment of Rs 2,50 000 if, of course, the plantation is started on right lines, and managed by an experienced specialist The price of Sisal has been taken at £20 a ton the average pre-war normal figure Co-operative planting by parcelling out the area of 2 000 acres in several blocks amongst a number of small planters is a way of developing the industry, which has never been thought of in India, though attempts on these lines are being made in certain parts of Africa Their example in the favoured tracts in India may be emulated for the economic welfare of the people, and the country alike

Apart from developing an overseas market for Sisal grown in India, Sisal growing in India

would not only help the Empire in becoming independent of foreign sources of supply, but would help the development of many Indian Industries—both new and old It would be news to many that a considerable quantity of Manila hemp and Sisal hemp *are imported into India today to meet the* requirements of some of the Indian Rope Mills Indeed a firm of Fibre Importers in Calcutta approached the writer to put them in touch with Fibre producers—*i e* Sisal and Aloe fibre —so that they may supply some of the Rope Mills with it In the circumstances it need hardly be pointed out how necessary it is in the interest of the country, and incidentally in the interest of the Empire, to develop this important industry It is to be hoped that *more attention would be paid to this industry,* and as a result we shall be able to see very soon the realisation of our hopes as to the future of Sisal in India,

PILGRIMAGE TO THE BLACK PAGODA

By K G RANDELL

Within twenty miles of Puri there stands one of the finest and probably one of the least known of India s many fine ruined temples the Temple of the Sun at Konarak

Yet of the many visitors to Puri few trouble to visit this monument of the past explaining their failure to do so by a variety of excuses Some profess to be daunted by the trying drive others plead lack of time and others say frankly that they came to Puri to laze and bathe and have no desire to journey sixty miles by *motor merely to gaze upon a ruin*

There are I believe two ways of reaching the Black Pagoda one by road, *via* Gop and the other shorter in mileage along the beach The latter is the most difficult for owing to the streams that flow across the beach and the lack of a road one s only means of transport is by elephant or bullock cart and this so I was told by one who had done it entails spend ing the night at Konarak In consequence the majority prefer the longer about 60 miles *but swifter journey by road which enables one* to return to Puri the same evening

It was by road that we set forth at dawn one hot morning three years ago and for a number of miles our way lay along the pleasant shady main road the red surface of which affords a pleasant contrast to the glaring white ness of the roads in other districts

Our pilgrimage began in earnest when we left the main road and headed across country towards the now distant coast Even so at *first the road was quite passable and our driver* with the engaging recklessness of the Indian Taxi wallah, hurled us around corners, and across dry river beds at a speed too great for the peace of mind of at least one of his passengers

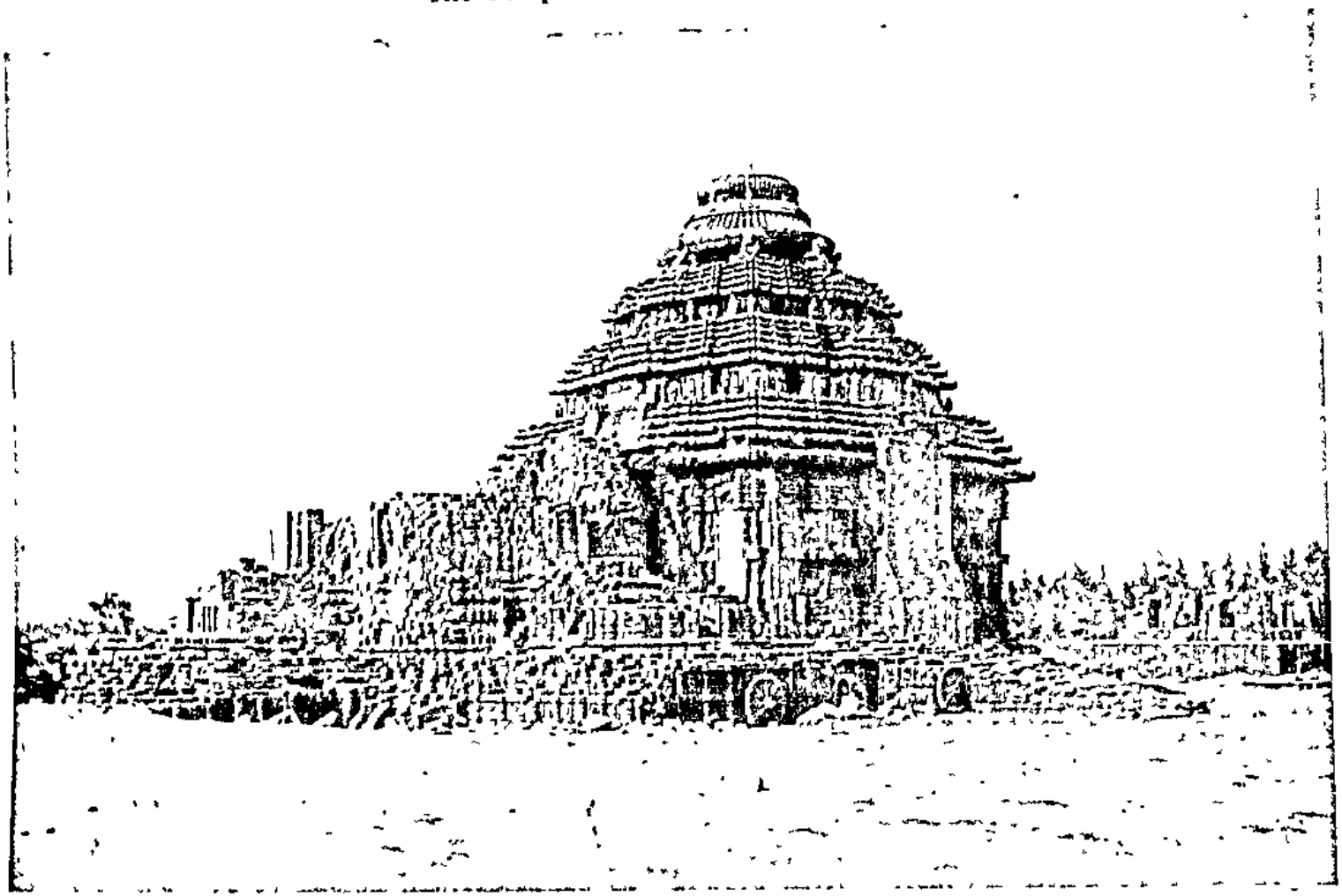
Through quiet narrow streeted villages, each with its palm embowered pond we passed, and by the peculiar fields where the *Pan* leaves are cultivated each with its forest of poles, looking somewhat like a Hop field gone mad

Through Gop we hurtled and as we approached the coast the scenery underwent a change and the villages became fewer and smaller Sandy fields and stunted twisted trees bore witness to the sea winds that shriek over the land and the countryside wore that air of brooding desolation so common the world over, to low lying coastal areas Gradually the road became worse until we were brought to a standstill by a section of road way that would have checked a tank However nothing could daunt our driver and with a reassuring grin he wrenched the wheel hard *over and with a skid and a jar we bumped our* way down the slope and on to the rice *khets* that bordered the road

Small bunds meant nothing to the truly marvellous car and she took them in her stride, while the three shaken passengers grabbed the bouncing bottles and prayed that the eggs in the gyrating picnic basket were truly hard boiled

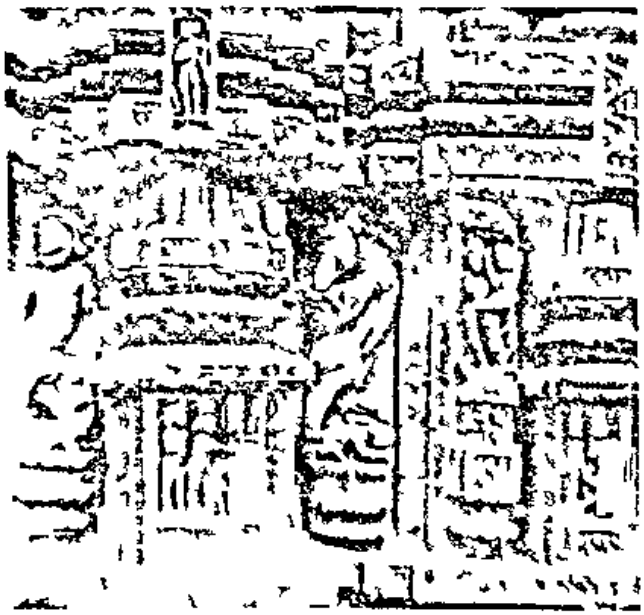
Soon however, we regained the road and crept slowly onwards cheered by a clear view *of the tower of the* Black Pagoda which, with its terraces and carvings stabbed the sky ahead of us like a fat and much beringed finger

THE BLACK PAGODA
The Temple of the Sun at Konarak



General view of the main temple—Surya Deul—Konarak

carriers brought the whole village swooping down upon us and it was only with difficulty and the help of a bearded patriarch that two suitable helpers were chosen A rupee to the



Figures of imaginary animals on the pedestal

patriarch some sweets and apple (unknown luxuries) to the children and a tin of cigarettes among the disappointed would be carriers and all was peace again and escorted by the whole village we set off on the last stage of our pilgrimage

Although it was barely ten o'clock the heat was terrific and we prayed that the estimated distance of one mile was correct Hotter grew the sun deeper became the sand and slower became our progress until having progressed at least a mile a halt was called for liquid refreshment

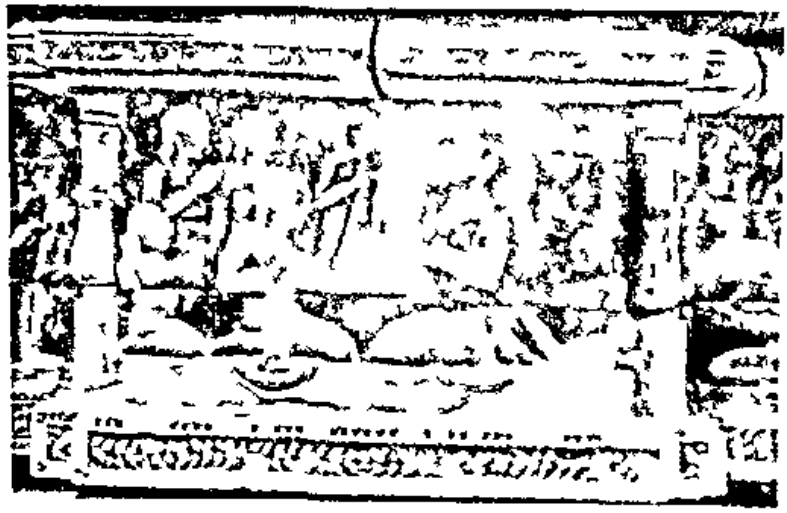
One by one our followers had deserted us and the sandy waste behind us was dotted with the figures of those who returned to the restful shade of the village With a sigh we again ploughed onward accompanied by the patriarch who still clung to us faithfully, who enlivened our trek with marvellous—but probably untrue—tales of the temple's past glories

At last we reached the grateful shade of the little wood that grows to seawards of the temple and there seating ourselves on a heap of carved and scattered masonry, we paused and gazed around us

Before us towered the object of our pilgrimage the great breath catching mass of the Black Pagoda behind us roared the surf, and all about us the air danced and shimmered above the baking sand dunes For a while we remained silent gazing across the sun filled court—or dry lake—that surrounds the Temple hardly able to grasp the fact that we were at last looking upon the Black Pagoda

For there was an air of unreality about the whole scene and the huge Temple, black and solid as it is seemed too dreamlike to be real None of us had hitherto seen an Indian ruined temple and this perfect building battered and ruined as it is was all that we had ever dreamed or imagined Somehow the Black Pagoda is *too* perfect—such an intrusion of fairyland and dreams come true into real life is too overpowering and one is so awed and overcome that one leaves with but jumbled impressions and a feeling of uncomprehending wonder

Imagine a waste of sand dunes wild and deserted silent save for the subdued roar of the tireless surf And there in the midst of this sun drenched desolation towers a mighty symbol of a great civilization Carved and fantastic the Black Pagoda soars upwards into the blinding sky, and one talks in whispers half afraid to disturb the priests and worshippers who one feels *must* be there It is incredible that such a building should be deserted and one looks instinctively for the thriving town that



King Narasimhadev on the throne with his priest and other attendants—Konarak

should surround it and sees nothing but the wastes of sand

Gradually we became accustomed to the silence and emptiness and it was with a distinct sense of shock that we saw a man round a corner of the mighty plinth hasten towards us The newcomer was the Government Caretaker the only dweller in this holy haunted spot—truly no place for those over burdened with imagination—eager to show us the wonders of his charge Gladly we followed him accompanied by the Patriarch slightly jealous of the newcomer across the court to the Temple of the Sun

So much has been written by experts about this remarkable ruin that it would be superfluous for a mere tripper knowing little about the temples past and less about Archeology to do more than give a brief



A monolithic elephant—Konarak

description of the wonders that greet one on every side

The main body of the temple with its soaring tower stands upon a mighty plinth the sides of which are profusely carved with a multitude of human and animal figures ranging in size from more than life size to figures perfect in every detail of microscopic size

The Temple is built in the form of a colossal Temple Car or chariot and placed at intervals along the sides of the plinth are huge stone wheels of about ten feet diameter each of which is covered with masses of intricate and delicate carving The interior of the temple is in ruins and it is now no longer



Specimens of carving on the plinth—Konarak

possible to enter but the exterior is in a most remarkable state of preservation the majority of the carving being nearly as fresh as on that day hundreds of years ago when the sculptor stepped back to survey his completed work Guided by the caretaker and still followed by our faithful patriarch we ascended the outside of the tower to a considerable height passing a huge image that, to a layman looks strangely like a statue from Ancient Egypt All around us were huge carvings of gods godlesses men women and heraldic monsters writhing and twisting upon the walls Everywhere are figures and it is not hard to believe the legend that it took over two hundred years to complete the carvings

The ruins stand in the centre of a shallow depression, the walled sides of which lend colour to the theory that it was at one time an artificial lake, and as well as the main Temple there are several small temples, or shrines, some completely ruined but two in nearly perfect condition. One of these is most exquisitely carved with figures of female dancers in action and repose—gems of art vibrant with life. The walls of the other are covered with lines of marching warriors bedizened war elephants and lines of subdued enemies and country folk bringing tribute to the victorious king. Here a man bearing two fowls swinging head downwards from his hand, there a laden bullock cart. Here a man bearing two jars of liquid slung on a bamboo pole over his shoulder there a girl driving a flock of goats—everyday sights such as one sees everywhere in the India of today.

Unchanging India indeed—it is hard to realise that the carvers of these figures have been dead these many hundred years.

Set side by side are two huge monolithic elephants practically life size and on the other side of the temple are to be seen two marvellously sculptured horses no what inferior to many examples of classical art to be found in European museums.

Tiredness and thirst were forgotten and it was with regret that noting the rapidly declining sun we tore ourselves from the Black Pagoda having seen not one quarter of its wonders, and all fully resolved to come again.

Accompanied by our carriers, who had slept stolidly in the shade all day and our tireless patriarch we set off across the dunes and, despite our tiredness made much better time. Once again the villagers turned out *en masse* to greet us and it was with regret that we waved farewell to these kindly village folk who had given us such a friendly reception.

Our driver was standing no nonsense from the road and we clung to our seats and hoped for the best. Behind us thrusting upwards into the yellowing evening sky, loomed the tower of the Black Pagoda—lonely, awe-inspiring, and mysterious—and many a glance was cast at it and many a vow made to come again.

Darkness had fallen before we swung on to the main road, and the dinner hour had arrived before we reached Puri. Cocktails were being consumed and enthusiastic optimists were casting their hard earned money into the Moloch-like maw of the "Fruit Machine," as we walked into the Hotel—out of the India that was is and will be, back into the ever changing world of today.

EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT AND LARGE-SCALE FARMING

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D.
Lecturer, Lucknow University

It has of late been the fashion in India to advise the educated young men to go back to the village and take to the agricultural profession. This is why the policy of giving a rural bias to the existing system of education is at present engaging the attention of the Government in different provinces and it is quite likely that before long the whole educational system in, at least the primary and secondary stages may undergo a thorough overhauling. In the Congress provinces at any rate, the nationalist leaders have already urged the government to undertake a drastic reform of education so as to make it more practical and less literary. The basic idea behind all this talk of reform is that in these days of acute unemployment our boys should receive such education as may fit them for business, or agriculture.

The cry of "Back to the village" is a natural reaction to the growing unemployment in the urban areas, but those who are fond of recommending agriculture as a suitable profession for educated youths forget more often than not that in these days of country-wide agricultural depression there is little prospect of success in small-scale farming. Even the poor, uneducated rural classes whose standard of living is very low are finding it difficult now-a-days to make both ends meet owing to the low prices of agricultural crops. In these circumstances, it is too much to expect that educated young men accustomed to a far higher standard

of living in cities will find agriculture a paying proposition Besides even if small scale farming were a profitable profession it is not likely to appeal to educated young men An unemployed graduate would prefer to starve in the town rather than go to the village and plough the field with his own hand This psychological aversion to manual labour or ploughing with one's own hand has got to be



A view of the waterfall

reckoned with These difficulties will not arise if opportunities for large scale farming with motor tractor are provided Tractor farming will not only increase production and thereby enable the gentlemen farmers to earn a tolerably decent livelihood but will also appeal to their modern tastes In tractor farming they will not be obliged to drudge with the plough from morning to evening but will have to drive the motor tractor for a few hours only whether it be for sowing or for harvesting purposes The quantity as well as the quality of the crops can also be improved by scientific methods applied on a large scale through tractor farming

I had recently an opportunity of studying at close quarters the possibilities of tractor farming in an obscure village of Bengal (now in Bihar), where an educated gentleman of a highly respectable family has been carrying on large scale farming with motor tractor for some year past in his own zamindary There is a picturesque village called Hariharpur in the Manbhum District at a distance of about 40 miles from Purulia The village is owned by Mr Rakhal Mohan Banerji a retired Deputy Magistrate of Bengal His son Mr Amiya Kumar Banerji decided after finishing his education to settle in this village with the object of starting a farming business of his own In the course of the last few years he has changed the whole outlook of what had formerly been the abode of semi primitive foresters He purchased a motor tractor of his own and started cultivating the extensive forest lands of his zamindary Being a trained mechanical engineer himself he could drive the tractor himself and make the necessary repairs His prosperous farm at Hariharpur is an example of what an enterprising and ambitious young man can achieve if he has only the means and facilities at his disposal

Hariharpur is beautifully situated amidst the Sal forests of the Manbhum District and the two hours journey from Purulia is delightful The road is excellent and is maintained by the Local District Board of which Mr Banerji is an elected member At Hariharpur one feels as if one had come to a rural paradise such is the idyllic beauty of this sylvan tract Mr Banerji's achievements in this out of the way locality would take a volume to describe I shall however make only a brief reference to his activities just to draw the attention of those who are interested in agriculture as a profession



The lake formed by the damming of a stream

Mr Banerji deprecated small scale farming with the primitive plough and urged that motor tractors alone can lead to the agricultural

development of India Along with his cousin Mr Ajit Kumar Banerji in whom he has found an energetic collaborator he owns a big farm of several thousand acres He has been successfully growing all the usual crops in addition to sugar cane and lac Mr Banerji complained



A view of Mr Banerji's private canal

of the low prices available for the crops but for which fact he would have earned a princely income out of his lands Even as it is his income is sufficiently attractive to warrant the assumption that young men would still find farming a paying profession only if they adopt scientific methods and use modern appliances

One of the outstanding achievements of Mr Banerji is a huge lake he has himself made at a heavy cost by damming a jungle stream that flowed through his lands It is a specimen of engineering enterprise of which any engineer could well be proud This lake is intended to supply water to Mr Banerji's fields and for this purpose a long canal issuing from the lake has already been constructed Both the lake and the canal are feats which deserve a special mention Had Mr Banerji not been so modest and unassuming as he is these achievements would have drawn the attention of the newspaper reading public long ago Mr Banerji is also planning a fishery business which the lake and the canal have made it possible There is a small water fall below the jungle by the side of the lake which Mr Banerji intends to harness for purposes of supplying electricity to his farm and for running a mill of his own

Mr Banerji expressed the opinion that there is sufficient scope for large scale farming in the neighbouring districts and he suggested that the Government should settle educated young men in selected areas and advance the cost of motor tractor and other appliances for each such co operative farm Those who are inclined to take to agriculture and require further information on the subject may freely write to Mr Banerji* He is prepared to advise and assist those who seriously intend to settle as gentlemen farmers To my query whether he would be willing to give practical training in his own farm to those who might seek it he replied in the affirmative with pleasure I wish some enterprising young men took advantage of such an offer



Mr Banerji driving his own motor tractor

It was both a surprise and a pleasure to learn that Mr Banerji is probably the only educated young man in India who is personally carrying on large scale farming as a private enterprise with motor tractor of his own The pioneer enterprise that I chanced to notice at Hariharpur is many times more creditable than Mr Banerji modestly considers it to be To me it was an object lesson of what may be attempted on a much larger scale if our educated young men had the necessary will and enterprise

* His address Mr Amiya Kumar Banerji Zamindar Hariharpur P O Mau Bazaar District Manbhum

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL*

A critique of the proposed Bill

I

EDUCATION in its broad aspects should be a well planned training for citizenship and should steer clear of confused ideas of separatist sectarianism and communalism and in the last resort even of biased aggressive narrow nationalism. Ideologies which are repugnant to the fundamental basis of human fellowship and amity and aim at fostering predatory chauvinistic instincts can have no place in any sound system of Education. The slogans of Christian education, Muslman education, Jewish education, Hindu education etc. by themselves have no meaning and justification if they aim at putting cultural groups into isolated and isolating pens and creating a type of segregated and exclusive adherents of an old world credal or religious consciousness rabid, fanatical, fiery in its limited loyalties but blind to the calls of Humanism, impervious to corollary filtrations from the living stream of human charity and tolerance, having no ears for the cries for succour and help from agonized and petrified elements of the countless millions who, without reference to community, culture, race or creed, *are in daily, deadly peril of their lives and possessions.*

Specially are these considerations valid and urgent for India where millions have hardly the wherewithal to feed their bodies and clothe their limbs. Sabre rattlings of creed against creed, denunciations of community by community, talks of special privileges and protected rights, *some very ill in a country which is a* country of paupers and beggars with a superficial varnish and veneer of wealth flaunting itself at the corners and edges. In politics and economics India dare not have divided counsels lest utter ruin overtake her, and if this is true of politics and economics how much truer is it in the realm of *education which is the bed*rock of all sound activity and thinking! The cry of communal power and privilege in Education is thus entirely a misleading mischievous ruinous cry which must be stifled by all true lovers of India. There is only one India on the map, an India criss-crossed by many languages, many creeds, diverse religions, an India of deserts and mountains, rivers and seas, of elevations and depressions on the physical and the spiritual plane; still it is *one*. Those who do not sense this unity have no vision of this rugged oneness, are but ignorant of the one Supreme Reality that should mould their faiths and lives.

We who are of this faith, we who know ourselves to be sons and daughters of this one supreme Mother—we cannot be wavering in our loyalties. We are bound in holy duty to fight the dissolving, disintegrating, dividing forces that consciously or unconsciously seek to cut our life into warring sections.

It is in this spirit that we raise our voice against the very perfunctory, idealess attempt at so called control and regulation of Secondary Education by the Government of Bengal in its proposed draft of the Secondary Education Bill. It is merely political claptrap; it has not even sound political ideas behind it. The dream of the domination of Bengal or any corner of India in the present age by a numerical political (or electoral) majority, Hindu or Musalman, is a stark futility, and the corollary dream of dominating Bengal's *education in this wise* is very short sighted and blantantly blind to realities.

Bengal wants her secondary schools to be expanded, revitalized and overhauled in the direction of providing first a group of young men and women who by learning to be self supporting will be in a position to make other self reliant and to popularise the gospel of self help among the people; secondly a group that will be efficient and patriotic servants of the National State; thirdly a group that will make the pursuit of culture and the practice of social service enlightened by this culture the end of their lives. For this three types of schools and teacher are necessary. In the first group which we may for convenience's sake call Vocational provision should be made for instruction in arts and crafts, in agriculture and small industries, in consonance with regional *needs and a sense of the modern machine* should be the pivotal centre of all studies. In the second type all provisions

* This forms a part of a pamphlet on the subject to be issued shortly by the Politics Club as a result of co-operative discussions in which the following members participated: Messrs. Nripendra Chandra Banerji, S. K. Lahiri, Nepal Chandra Ray, Anath Nath Basu, N. C. Bhattacharya, H. K. Sanyal, B. N. Banerjea and Sachin Sen.

should concentrate on a sound teaching of elementary history, civics, economics and the principles of administration joined to book-keeping accountancy, stenography, the principles of the cinema and the radio, etc In the third group, a love of the rudiments of arts and letters, science and philosophy, of the abstract science and of their practical applications should be instilled

For all this we require committees of *real experts, of statesmen who are educationists and of educationists who are statesmen,* of social service workers and thinkers of selfless and practical politicians, for all this we require a virility and freshness of outlook, uncramped by narrow prejudices or group-interests, for all this we require big finance This is neither a business for the hide-bound, mechanical educationist with 'vested' interests nor a business for Hindu Brahmin Pundits or Musalman Mullahs nor a business for the mealy mouthed, chqunsh, gingered party-politics wallahs This is a business for live men and women who believe in one undivided India and in one, undivided Bengal—not for the puppets of party politics 'dressed in brief, little authority' We have not the slightest doubt that there is any lack of such men and women irrespective of community or party in Bengal Whether a really democratic and representative and efficient State should or should not regulate or control Education is a question into which at present we need not enter for the State in India and in Bengal (under the new Reforms Scheme) is neither really representative, nor really democratic and certainly very inefficient as a Social Service State dedicated to the higher ends of human consolidation and progress

II

THE draft Bengal Secondary Education Bill, proposed to be introduced in the next Assembly session is at once unsatisfactory and mischievous The Bill accepts in part the principle of decentralization in the matter of creation of a Board but seeks to neutralize its good effects by providing for Governmental control in all vital matters relating to secondary education in Bengal It thus proposes to whitewash a rotten edifice without making necessary, even urgent, repairs, the work presented is that of an unimaginative, incompetent and impecunious architect

It is admitted that secondary education in Bengal as imparted, controlled and supervised, is defective and has grown irresponsive to the needs and ideals of the age The existing system and the subsisting technique of control need overhauling The situation which is undoubtedly tragic, has unfortunately provided an opportunity for an amateurish and irresponsible approach to the problem by Government The Provincial Government is dominated, as is evident from the Bill under review, by the principle of authoritarian state, interspersed with feeble patches of liberal outlook, conceding in a very miserly manner the principle of functional representation here and there This is highly mischievous inasmuch as real authority vests in the State and responsibility in the proposed Board This divorce of responsibility from authority is irritating and unwise

The Bill provides for machinery of control and supervision and the preamble thereto recognises no other purpose and is thus deaf to any other basic objective in the matter of secondary education in Bengal Thus is unfortunate

Secondary education is a matter of great importance to the nation, undoubtedly of greater importance than University education Its supervision and control are, therefore, matters of national concern Accordingly, care and caution are necessary for bending the machinery of control to the needs and ideals of the nation In the circumstances, three alternative methods of control may be suggested

(*a*) Authority and control vesting in the hands of the state
(*b*) Creation of a representative Board for the purpose under the supervision of the University
(*c*) Creation of an autonomous and representative Board for the purpose

We are not in favour of an authoritarian state controlling the nerve of the system of education through a subservient, packed Board, unrepresentative of the divergent interests involved Secondary education is a vital matter and to ensure its affiliation to the needs of the nation it should be left to a representative and responsible Board The principle of decentralization involving erosion of the sovereignty of the State is wholesome in the matter of education Liberal education does not and cannot possibly flourish in an authoritarian State where Government and their Party contrive to infect educational policy and education itself with their ideology and policy leading to unsatisfactory results in the growth of our boys and girls But at the same time it is one of the sacred functions of the State (to which we subscribe) to arrange for and improve the education of citizens Accordingly, we plead for machinery which would combine the responsibilities of the State with the utmost elasticity and autonomy of the organization entrusted with

the work of education This can be secured by the creation of a representative and autonomous Board functioning under lawful authority of the State but working as a self governing unit The responsibility of supplementing the income of the Board and of helping the widening of the activities thereof by recurring liberal grants belongs to the State and to that extent the *supervision of* the State is inevitable But such supervision must not extend beyond that end and the State can and will make its voice heard through their nominees on the Board The Board will lay down policies and administer them with the collaboration of and in consultation with subsidiary affiliated representative District Boards and methods should be so devised as to establish a cordial and close link between the Central Board and District Boards

It is also urged that a representative and autonomous Board of the kind referred to may function under the authority and supervision of the University There is one distinct virtue in this arrangement that an uniformity may be maintained with regard to the educational policies of both secondary and university education and should distinct ideals be thought necessary or divergent policies forged in the matter of secondary education it may just be possible for the University to mitigate their contrariness without allowing them to develop into contradictory forces with consequential, unfavourable repercussions on university education We are really enamoured of this view of the case, although we do not advocate it at present bearing in mind the fact that the University of Calcutta is much too officialized and that the Senate has a most unrepresentative character The achievements of the Calcutta University through the valiant efforts of distinguished persons who have guided the destinies of the University from time to time should not make us forget that

The Bill under review is an unhappy compromise of conflicting principles and as such the framework envisaged is loose and unsuitable to the needs of the situation The Board constituted under the Bill is neither representative nor autonomous, it is conceived in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust In a Board of 34 15 members are either officials or nominees of the provincial Government at least 15 members are to be Musalmans, it is certain that the Mahomedan community will be able to secure far more than 15 seats (or more than a majority of seats) out of 34 because they occupy a dominating position in the Assembly and Government The Board is thus clearly undemocratic in composition The nominated or official members should not exceed the one third of the total number, the remaining two thirds should be non official representatives of the different interests involved The predominantly communal representation in the Board is thoroughly mischievous as it vitiates the principle of representation and interferes with the freedom of electors and accordingly the allotted communal members are hardly representatives We object to elected seats being earmarked for Musalmans not because secondary education in Bengal has been furthered and widened by the energy, efforts and contributions of Hindus but because that reservation undermines the democratic *principle of representation If a contigency* arises that of the two thirds of elected members, Musalmans or any other community are not fairly represented on the Board it is the lookout of the provincial Government should they be convinced of the wisdom of representation on communal lines to shape their policy of nomination with a view to redress the inequalities found But the practice of reserving a percentage of elected seats for a particular community is highly detrimental and should be resisted by all who have any affection for democratic principles and for the progress and efficiency of education

The Board will in effect be a subservient body of the provincial Government. The President appointed by the Government will remain the master of the situation Even such a packed Board is not trusted by Government They propose to set up a Grants Committee, the majority of whom are officials to advise the Board on the distribution of grants The Central Board is again confronted by the District Advisory Committees each Committee consisting of eight persons of whom six are to be either officials or Government nominees The Finance Committee of the Board as contemplated is equally undemocratic The provincial Government are not even satisfied with all these subterfuges and weightages in favour of Government They have retained control over the Budget and are empowered to alter it in their discretion We do not propose to go into the details The mechanism of control and supervision as contemplated in the Bill under discussion is complicated clumsy and most unsuitable to the needs and ideals of the age When the Government are shy in initiating a bold policy of trust and progress they, instead of creating this hubbub might have more smoothly achieved their purpose by extending the scope and activities of the Director of

Public Instruction in the matter of regulating secondary education in the province There was then no need for taxing their unimaginative brains in devising this expensive and cumbrous mechanism which contains sufficient materials for friction and delay leading to deadlocks

We cannot and do not support denominational schools They are not conducive to the interest of the class concerned The building up of schools on exclusive lines creates artificial barriers and is not healthy for the growth of boys reading therein This is all the more reprehensible where secondary education is concerned it may have a faint logic in the matter of propagating specialized study of a particular culture Questions regarding Madrasah schools naturally irritate us and we do not know how a modern democratically minded Moslem leader can support this exclusiveness which shuts out Moslem boys from the liberalizing influence of education If they are meant to foster religious and theological bias the supporters of exclusive schools must have mistaken the objective of secondary education Accordingly we are not in favour of 'Muhammadan education' which will ultimately damage the Muhammadan community much more than others—a scheme of things which retards healthy nationalism

III

We want an autonomous and representative Board Can the Board as proposed in the draft Bill be autonomous and representative in character?

A Board designed to 'direct supervise and control' secondary education should have among others the following essential functions (a) Inspection (b) Recognition (c) Examination, (d) Preparation and selection of text books, and (e) Distribution of grants The autonomy or otherwise of a Board will be measured by the amount of autonomy it will enjoy in performing the above five functions Let us now examine one by one how far the Board shall enjoy autonomy in the performance of the above five functions

Sec 16 (1) of the draft Bill says that "the Inspectors necessary for the purpose of this Act shall be appointed by the Local Government" In the face of this statement it would be impossible to maintain that as far as inspection is concerned the Board shall enjoy any autonomy

In this connection we should like to draw attention to the proposed dual control of the inspectorate by the Local Government and the Board This dual control will, we are sure, hamper the work of the inspectors at every step Some years ago a similar experiment was made by the Local Government and the Sub-Inspectors appointed by the Department of Public Instruction were placed under the District Boards The arrangements did not work well, the experiment proved a failure and it had to be abandoned A similar fate awaits the proposed arrangement

In the matter of recognition the Board appears to be the supreme authority But two things are to be borne in mind in this connection First it is laid down in Sec 2 (5) that approval of the Local Government will be necessary before a school can be designed and treated as a secondary school Secondly, it will be on the report of Inspectors who are primarily the servants of the Government and not of the Board that the Board will proceed to recognize or disaffiliate the high schools Under the circumstances it will be very difficult, if not impossible for the inspectors not to be influenced by considerations other than educational Hence in the matter of recognition too, the autonomy of the proposed Board will be more apparent than real

As far as examination is concerned it appears that Calcutta University will hold the Matriculation examination but the Board shall determine who shall appear at the examination The Board of course shall have the power to institute and control its own examination, but for the present the final examination at the end of the secondary course shall be under the control of not the Board but the University Hence here too the Board shall not have much autonomy

Preparation or selection of text-books will be one of the most important functions of the Board But throughout the Bill there is not much mention of the duties of the proposed Board in this direction So we can assume that the present arrangements will stand, i.e, there will be the Text Book Committee to select books for classes up to the eighth and then the University to select books for the two top classes of the high schools By no stretch of imagination can we think of the Board as being autonomous as far as this function is concerned

Coming now to the question of distribution of grants, we must admit that in this sphere at least the Board shall be largely influenced by advisory Committees whose constitution has been defined in the Bill The composition of the Committee is, to say the least, obnoxious, and the basic principles underlying the forma-

tion of these Committees are vicious undemo cratic and unrepresentative Hence we can reasonably doubt if in the performance of this function too the Board will be guided by the principles of autonomy and equity

Thus in regard to four out of five major functions the proposed Board shall not, as we have clearly shown, enjoy any real autonomy and hence we condemn it without any hesitation In fact there are ample provisions in the Bill for curtailing all freedom of the Board Sections 8 and 9 give the Local Government wide powers *to remove a member* on one pretext or other Then again the Local Government will remain the final authority in the matter of approving and altering the budget prepared by the Board [*vide* Sec 24 (3)] Furthermore, Sections 36 and 38 vest the Local Government with extraordinary powers to control effectively all activities of the Board

So long we have been crying against the dual control of secondary education if the *proposals embodied in the Bill* be given effect to we shall have triple or rather quadruple control of secondary education

As to the representative character of the proposed Board the less said the better The *qualification for membership* of a Board designed to direct, supervise and control secondary education should be purely educational It should be open only to men and women whose sole and primary interest is education and not the furtherance of the interests of this or that community Hence communal representation *of any type* has *no* place in the field of education To introduce communalism in edu cation is to jeopardise the larger and wider interests of education and national welfare The true aim of education is to lift the mind out of the blind alleys of parochialism of every *form and to widen our contacts and intercourse* with the wide world *An educational system* built on communalism is undemocratic unrepresentative and it is sure to fail in the task of building up a united nation

IV

Among the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19), the creation of a Secondary Education Board was one In pursuance of this recommendation Secondary Education Boards have been constituted in many of the provinces It can not be claimed that in the creation of *such Boards the principles and* objects laid down by the Sadler Commission have been properly followed Neither are the different provincial Boards identical in their purposes, constitution and working It is profitable to enquire into the achievements of these boards *The Tenth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India (1927-32)* issued by *the Government of India* supplies the following information on the subject

The first Board of this kind in India was probably in *Madras* which was started in 1911 This Board which now consists of representatives of Government the Universities of Madras and Andhra and non-officials conducts the School Leaving Certificate examination which covers a wider range than Matriculation examination and stresses the importance of the school records of candidates

The main features of the revised scheme which has been put into effect during the quinquennium are that "the number of subjects for compulsory study has increased and the number of optional subjects has decreased"

In *Bombay* the School Leaving Examination Board, which was constituted in 1925 ceased to function in 1929 and the control of the Matriculation examination was resumed by the University The question of constituting a Matriculation Board as a separate University authority is under consideration

The University registers schools, after considering reports from a special Inspection Committee and from Government inspecting officers The Department also recognises schools for the purpose of presenting pupils for the various Government examinations and for admitting Government scholars "No serious inconvenience has so far arisen from the fact that recognition is granted both by the University and by the Department, though in a few cases the University has recognised schools which the Department has declined to recognise"

Though the Board of High School and Intermediate Education *United Provinces* includes university representatives it is a body entirely separate from university *administration In addition to the conduct of* examinations "it accords recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges, but *arranges for the inspection* only of intermediate colleges by means of a panel of inspectors with whom is associated the circle inspector"

Similarly a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education was formed for the Dacca University area in 1921 The main functions of this Board are the distribution of grants the inspection of all institutions under its control the conduct of examinations and the granting of recognition

In the *Punjab* the School Board deals with all questions relating to the Matriculation examination and *reports thereon to the* Syndicate *The Director of Public* Instruction is *ex-officio* chairman, and three members of *the Board are nominated by the Government*

In *Burma* there is a Secondary Schools Board the main functions of which are to control the English and Anglo-Vernacular High School and Middle School examinations and to advise the Director of Public Instruction on all matters relating to secondary education The Board consists of the Director (Chairman) twenty members appointed by Government and four members nominated by the University of Rangoon At least eight members of the Board must be non-officials

A Board of Secondary Education with the Director *of Public Instruction as ex-officio chairman was constituted* in *Bihar* in 1922 23 It grants recognition, subject to the approval of Patna University to secondary schools and distributes grants to these schools on behalf of Government It initiates policy in regard to the schools

under its control and inspects these institutions either through inspectors appointed for the purpose or through the agency of the Government inspecting staff.

A High School Education Board was constituted in the *Central Provinces* in 1923, with the Director of Public Instruction as *ex officio* chairman The powers of this Board include the recognition of high schools the prescription of courses of study and the conduct of the High School Certificate examination

Grave difficulties have arisen in respect to the Board of Secondary Education, *Delhi*

It is interesting to note that the *Review* admits that "these Boards have not achieved that success which is essential to a properly regulated system of secondary education except possibly in the *United Provinces*"

With reference to the United Provinces however, Dr Zia Uddin Ahmad (*Systems of Education*, Longmans, Green & Co, Ltd,) says, "that the general standard of teaching and examination has gone down by the transfer of Intermediate Examination from the Universities to the Board The Matriculation or High School examination has definitely suffered"

In Bengal, regarding the Dacca Secondary Education Board also similar unfavourable comments may be found in a recent official report

All this should give ample food for reflection to those who propose to introduce in a hurry a Secondary Education School Board of the type described in the Bill for Bengal

PROVINCIAL FINANCE UNDER THE FEDERATION

Some New Sources of Revenue

By B M PIPLANI, M A, B COM, PH D

THE decision of the Congress to work, at least in part (Part III), the Government of India Act 1935 has now brought into operation those of its clauses which provide for the complete autonomy of the federating units We are not concerned here with the merits or the demerits of the political reforms introduced by the new Constitution What is of interest to us is the financial side of the question For the real effectiveness of provincial autonomy must be measured by the extent of the financial means made available to the provincial governments *Without adequate spending power* to enable the Ministries to execute their economic and social programmes for the benefit of the electorate, provincial autonomy is of course a meaningless phrase Indeed provincial finances will be a vital factor in the future progress of the Indian people

The following article is an attempt to assess the real worth of provincial autonomy in the above sense This requires firstly an analysis of the distribution of financial powers, as regards revenue as well as expenditure heads as provided under the Act Secondly, further possibilities of reforms will be enquired into with a view to maximising provincial revenues, both old and new

The need for a large increase in provincial revenue is obvious Approximately three-fourth of the provincial revenues will be required for the development of various social services Since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms certain improvements in this respect have already been made though to a very unequal extent in different provinces In fact as a result of the Reforms the provinces have been able to build up a partially independent financial system under central control But owing to the meagre and inelastic nature of their revenues and the strict limitations of their financial powers in general, the governments have been hindered from effecting any substantial *improvement in civic conditions* In spite of the beginning that has been made, much leeway has yet to be made up before education, sanitation and medical relief in India attain standards in any way comparable to most other civilized countries Apart from social services, economic development through rural uplift and industrial regeneration have a clear claim on the sympathies and the resources of the provincial authorities Therefore, if the provincial governments are to perform their duties properly they must not only command substantial resources but be able also to expand them in future Do the financial provisions of the Act satisfy this fundamental condition?

Under the Provincial Legislative List the main sources of revenues open to the provinces are land-revenue, excises (on alchoholic liquors, drugs, and medicinal and toilet preparations),

stamp duties other than those under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, taxes on agricultural incomes professions, trades, and callings, taxes on the sale of goods and advertisements, and taxes on luxuries including amusement betting and gambling

Land revenue

Land revenue accounts for about half of the total revenues of the provinces Its importance in individual cases, varies in inverse proportion to the stage of industrial development attained by the province concerned In some of the provinces land revenue is permanently fixed But even where it is not there is a great difficulty in increasing its productivity In view of the changing economic conditions in India, especially since the great depression the idea commonly held that provincial revenues can be increased easily by raising the land-revenue assessment will have to be materially modified (Actually complaints of over assessment have been made from time to time) Not only have agricultural land values fallen, but owing to a world-wide fall in the prices of staple commodities and the policy of import restrictions practised by important countries for the protection of their national agriculture, there has been a substantial reduction in revenues from land On the other hand, income from industry and trade have been increasing continuously since the War The unmistakable growth of various large and small industries and the expansion of internal trade will in future, progressively relax the dependence of Finance Ministers, even in predominantly agricultural provinces on land-revenue as the chief source of their income A re orientation of tax policy is, therefore, essential in this respect in order to keep in conformity with the changing social and economic conditions, for we in India are passing through gradual but certain changes in our class structure, which broadly correspond to those undergone by most of the European countries at different times during the last half century or so Financial history all over the world proves the logical proposition that with higher stages of economic development public revenues from agriculture have to be substituted more and more by those from movable property

Few economists today would classify land-revenue under ' rent ' as understood in economic theory In actual operation it is nothing but a tax on agricultural incomes On various considerations of economic policy it would be best to abolish it and institute instead a straightforward and graduated tax on agricultural incomes with appropriate exemption limit Reform of land-revenue on these lines is in no way fraught with political danger such as would be sure to arise from the introduction of an agricultural tax over and above the land-revenue assessments For the landlords will now be subject only to a single and unified tax This will ensure also a better utilisation of the elaborate machinery for the maintenance of land records and the administration and collection of land-revenue, which is bound to lose its importance in any case A special advantage of a tax on agricultural incomes would be that it would discourage uneconomic investments in land of savings accumulated in industry in order to escape taxation Further, from the point of view of the Provincial Treasuries too, reforms on these lines denote a simplification, bringing agricultural incomes in line with incomes from trades and professions The objection that it would yield less does not in reality hold ground, for the probable loss of revenue would in no case be greater than that which would in any case take place owing to the changing place of agriculture in Indian economic life visualised above Finally the abolition of land revenue and the introduction of a tax on agricultural incomes is in the nature of a political compromise Whatever our ideology may be it is foolish to ignore the fact that any class having long enjoyed a privilege will tenaciously hold on to it It is superfluous to add that every step in financial policy that brings about a workable compromise between the conflicting interests is a mark of political acumen, for the country is thereby spared unnecessary convulsions which must inevitably set back the clock of national progress

Irrigation Canals

The decline of provincial revenues from land foreshadowed above can be staved off at least temporarily, by further improvements in the methods of charging for irrigation water The successful financial results shown by the operation of irrigation departments in important provinces should not make us rest on our laurels The most predominant system of charging for water now is by the area of the crop matured, the rates varying for different crops Since water is sold per acre the cultivator has no incentive to economise in its use This has actually led in many parts to the grave danger of water logging of arable land Charging by volume would not only help to remedy this evil, but would also afford the provincial governments a better method of practising the system of manifold prices with a view to help in both their treasuries and the

small cultivator As a matter of fact, in so far as the preference of the cultivator for one or the other crop is partly determined by the total area irrigated, the theory of monoply price is already recognised under the method of differential water-rates This however, is at *best only a crude application of the theory* It is a further question worth enquiring into whether crop-classification of water-rates could not advantageously be substituted by one that would take both the total area and the nature of the holding irrigated as the determinant factors for charging Under such changes it would be possible to give further application to the principle of capacity to pay without ignoring the economic principle of costs Their introduction depends essentially on the ability *of engineering* technique to devise a cheap instrument for measuring the volume of water From the economic point of view the principle of charging *is clear enough and is synonymous* with the system applied everywhere in the determination of the tariff structures of public utility undertakings Revenues from irrigation have to be maximised under a well designed system of multiple charges Rate schedules will have to be framed with special forethought so as not to burden the small cultivator with that share of varying costs which he cannot afford over and above the attributable costs

Excises

Excises form the second main source of provincial revenues They frankly raise certain delicate issues While the governments have to utilise every available source of income public opinion in India is rightly determined to see the *evil of drink eradicated* Excessive consumption of alchoholic liquors among lower classes especially in the industrial areas is undoubtedly a *scourge of the first magnitude affecting* national efficiency Here it is a question of adopting the most effective means to uproot the evil While the motives inspiring some of the Ministries must be upheld as very laudable it is doubtful whether the experiment started by them in certain districts can achieve its end without proving a heavy sacrifice to the provincial revenues How often has ultimate harm resulted from well-meant but misconceived and premature notions of public policy? One has only to bear in mind the consequences of the post-war economic policy pursued by certain European states to be able to benefit from foreign experience Not only will the excise revenue decrease, but a great deal of expenditure will also be necessary to put down smuggling and illicit distillation Indeed a cheaper and ultimately more effective plan would be to tackle the evil from the other end, namely, education, propaganda, welfare work, and *improvements in the facilities* for the industrial worker to utilise his leisure time Actually expenditure on this kind of work should form *a first lien on provincial revenues from excises* Side by side with this programme the policy should be pursued to reduce the number of liquor shops to regulate the strength of drinks, and to curtail the hours of sale These are mainly legislative measures that can be effectively applied by the excise departments without entailing any further costs

Once the industrial worker is abstracted from the discussion of the drink question the intensity of the problem almost disappears *Indeed a dispassionate analysis of liquor* consumption might actually show that the incidence of excises is predominantly borne by the well-to do classes So far as this part of the society is concerned the moralists' strictures are surely not entirely justified It could hardly be maintained even according to Hindu ethics, that the fate of countries where citizens of average means indulge in drink moderately is sealed for eternity In view of these and other considerations the problem must be treated with moderation both from the economic and from the moral point of view Though the statesmen must keep before them the abolition of drink among the poorer classes as their goal, any impatient and drastic policy must prove very costly, owing to the absence of alternative *sources of revenue in the near future* Limits to reforms are, therefore set by the stark realities of financial conditions In this connection the *present Ministries would do well to peruse* carefully the report of the Bombay Government Prohibition (Finance), which reported in 1927 on the probable financial consequences of such reforms

The sources of provincial revenues next in importance are stamps, and receipts from forests; fisheries may yield small amounts in certain provinces, but cannot be regarded as a source of revenue Stamp revenue, which shows expansion since the War, may increase further, especially from non-judicial stamps on the growth of industry and trade Forests require large expenditure of capital before they can be transformed into an important source of provincial revenues, The manifold advantages that a well developed system of forests offers in the field of agricultural economy and industrial development and for climatic improvement supply further justification for bold provincial schemes in this direction

Income-tax

The taxes listed above exhaust the list of provincial taxes under the Act It is clear from the discussion that, taken together, they cannot be regarded as expansive sources of revenue for the future, and are likely in fact to bring in less than before Barring the fiscal realisation at a future date of an enlightened economic policy designed to increase national taxable capacity, to which we will return later, it must be realised that under the new political conditions the relinquishment by the central government of some major sources of revenue for nation building work, which falls to the lot of the provincial authorities, is an imperative necessity This is not the place to discuss the pros and cons of the provincialisation of income-tax The Niemeyer Award, now accepted by the Government of India, is nothing more than a compromise based, as it is on an inadequate appreciation of the various possibilities in the sphere of Indian federal finance In fact its fulfilment, in spite of the recent improvements in railway finances is in no way a future certainty The transference of income tax to the provinces is not to take place so long as the distributable sum at the Centre together with any contributions from the railways aggregates to less than Rs 13 crores Now the very probable recession of trade activity in the next few years will not only reduce the direct yield from income-tax, calculated by Sir Otto Niemeyer at Rs 12 crores, but may actually transform the railways into a burden on the general budget, unless rigorous measures of economy are introduced This is not being unduly pessimistic, but represents a realistic opinion based on future probabilities The whole tragedy lies in the fact that the recommendations of the eminent expert make the material, intellectual, and physical progress of a great nation dependent upon the "uncertain" state of railway finances In India, much more than in any other country in the world, born under unhealthy circumstances the railways have further grown into a diseased limb of the national economic organism It is imperative to restore that limb to its proper status under a major financial operation rather than let the toximia generated by it stunt indefinitely the growth of the whole body politic The sooner a substantial part of the inflated capital of the railways is written off the back of the Indian tax payer the better it will be for his future progress Apart from the re-organization of their capital, the swollen railway expenditure must be drastically reduced under a thorough overhaul before the next depression sets in Indeed the Provincial Finance Ministers have it in their power, if they work in unison to bring to bear a pressure upon the Railway Administration by threatening to start competitive provincial omnibus services

Defects of the Niemeyer Enquiry

Sir Otto Niemeyer's recommendations are open to further objections The formula recommended by him for the distribution of income-tax to individual provinces may be passed over It satisfies nobody, Bombay and Bengal coming off best, perhaps as a compensation for their step motherly treatment under the old Meston Award, and no wonder that the Punjab Government, which will actually receive less under the new arrangements has been the first to appoint a Committee to report on the potential sources of revenues It is natural to expect that, owing to a certain reduction in the functions and responsibilities of the Government of India as a result of complete provincial autonomy central expenditure will diminish in future Indeed one must go further than that We must endorse the oft-reiterated demand for the reduction of the defence expenditure, notwithstanding the major political importance of the question Moreover, various Imperial services need a thorough overhaul, especially with a view to reducing their present wide disparity from provincial services which, owing to their future importance, have to be raised by such means to a higher calibre of efficiency Retrenchment by provincial governments would appear to have reached its saturation point, and further attempts in this respect would not only be fruitless but are actually unsocial and dangerous in character, for they affect mostly the low paid employees It is now the turn of the Centre to undergo this healthy process of pruning and purging

In view of these considerations and possibilities Sir Otto Niemeyer, by recommending a more generous proportion than 50% of income-tax for transference to the provinces, would not in any way have gone against the canons of prudent finance Nobody would deny that in all proposals for reforms the financial stability and the credit of India must remain the paramount consideration But there is no ground for the extra caution shown by Sir Otto Niemeyer Indeed, apart from a possible reduction in central expenditure, there is further scope for increasing the yield from income-tax by making it more progressive in the case of higher incomes Since, unlike the English system, the Indian income-tax does not

distinguish between the earned and the unearned incomes there is a special ground for this policy The reduction of certain fabulous salaries and progressive income tax jointly furnish the most straightforward and effective method of diminishing the glaring inequalities of wealth in India It is surprising to notice that while recognizing that the general scheme of Indian taxation central as well as provincial operates to relieve the wealthier classes to an extent which is unusual in taxation schemes Sir Otto Niemeyer refrains from recommending the maintenance of surcharge on incomes which the Government of India have promised to remove as the opportunity arises We in India are yet far removed from that stage when progressive taxation hinders the accumulation of capital by removing the incentive to save and thereby proves detrimental to national economy Long before that stage is reached it would be necessary to make taxation on medium and large incomes not progressive but proportional so as to encourage thrift

Further it may be asked what prevented Sir Otto Niemeyer from recommending the introduction of state monopolies of tobacco and matches on the lines adopted in other countries? Surely he was not hindered by his terms of reference This fruitful source of central income ought to be utilised to enable the provinces to start the federal experiment under better auspices The introduction of state monopoly would in no case alter the present incidence on the consumer for what would happen would be the complete elimination of private monopoly profits It is an accepted axiom in public finance that when fiscal considerations are predominant direct state monopoly is more productive of revenue than government regulation of private monopoly under excises Indeed in tobacco at least the superior advantages of private enterprise in production can be preserved on the lines of the state monopoly in Italy These considerations do not apply to the manufacture and sale of salt The gradual abolition of salt tax should be made the definite aim of public policy

Finally, Sir Otto failed to suggest the taxation of certain windfall profits that have been reaped since the War by certain individuals at the cost of the citizen at large Huge profits from the sugar mill industry provided until a few years back the most representative type of such unearned incomes It is generally argued that the consumer is not burdened as the higher efficiency of the home industry has actually reduced the internal price to a figure which is lower than that for Java sugar This however is no criterion The real cost to the consumer is measured by the price that would have ruled in the market in the absence of enormous protection to the Indian industry That the tax payer has the right to share such incomes earned at his expense is hardly deniable

In summing up the above defects show that the Niemeyer Enquiry lacks breadth of vision Faithful to the British tradition of conservatism and regardless of the consequences of a narrow perspective on Indian national development Sir Otto fails to adopt that boldness of conception which is necessary to the solution of the problem of federal finance on a comprehensive basis

New taxes

It has been shown above that (1) the present important sources of provincial revenues are of a stagnant nature and that (2) the proposed financial settlement, in view of its limited scope does not provide the provinces with the means necessary for future progress The theoretical ideal of federal finance is no doubt there in the Act But the provincial governments unlike the units of a democratic federation do not possess the power to determine the scale of central expenditure Herein lies the real core of the trouble

Under these circumstances the Provincial Finance Ministers will do well to bury their proverbial beggar's bowl for good and fall back as best as they can on their own resources These may be subdivided into new taxes and non tax revenue from productive equipment as well as a long term increase in provincial revenues following from increased taxable capacity under a well directed economic policy

Unlike the Reforms of 1919 the residuary powers of taxation now vest in the provincial governments But an examination of various potential tax heads soon reveals the futility of these powers Taxes on land and buildings under the present state of property investment, are inconceivable Certain larger municipalities may however improve their receipts by the assessment of increment in urban land values Specific taxes on trades and professions are out of the question Transit dues and municipal octrois are actually a hindrance to the free movement of internal trade Taxes on advertisements and on luxuries such as excises on aerated waters etc may bring in something but are fit sources for local bodies to tap The only important exception that may develop into an important source of revenue are taxes on succession or acquisition by survivalship of property It is however doubtful whether

social conditions in India are yet ripe for such a vital step in financial policy In any case in the interest of uniformity this policy will have to be put on an all India basis

Non-Tax Revenue

In view of the strictly limited possibilities of old as well as new sources of taxation it will be to non tax revenues that the provincial and local governments will, in future, have to turn their attention increasingly Indeed this is virgin soil in India and promises rich harvests All kind of agricultural and industrial property and mineral resources will have to be administered under suitable commercial policies with the utmost economy The commercial enterprises of monopoly character or, to use their common name, public utilities such as electricity, mines forests cement works, etc, have to be socialised, if not already owned by the governments, and transformed into important sources of revenues Such monopolies cannot, of course be taken as milch cows for an indefinite length of time But it is clear that under well-designed rate schedules the incidence of large revenues derived from them in aid of the tax-payer can under the present limited diffusion of the demand for such services as electricity be made to fall on the well to do classes for a number of years to come Indeed apart from fiscal considerations state owned public utilities can be deliberately employed under a scientific system of price discrimination to practise a policy of veiled taxation of the richer class in the interest of greater equality of wealth Where such undertakings have been started from the outset under governmental ownership the problem is simple enough But in the event of purchase of development rights from private companies great caution on the part of the authorities will have to be exercised in order to safeguard the tax payer from inflated valuation figures Indeed if the rights in question are held by foreign companies as is often the case in municipal utilities, certain constitutional difficulties are sure to arise Such difficulties however, should not be made the justification for procrastination

The same considerations apply to special local services which will have to be operated by municipalities and district boards Examples are tramways in cities, municipal and interlocal bus services, water works, etc As a workable principle decisions regarding provincialisation or municipalisation as the case may be must be made according to the quasi-monopolistic nature of the enterprise concerned Numerous examples, especially in the sphere of local government, will suggest themselves, such as motor launch services, ice factories, brick-kilns, etc It is of the utmost importance not to lose sight of this fundamental criterion, for an abnormal extension of public and municipal enterprise based on misconceived notions of public policy, is fraught with great economic dangers and must in the long run rebound to the detriment of the tax-payer The authorities must steer clear of the competitive industrial sphere so as to avoid any waste of national capital resources

A step further from provincial and municipal enterprises of directly remunerative character leads us to self-supporting services, which are more of social than economic importance Typical examples are cemeteries, burial grounds, and crematoriums, which on various considerations provide the most suitable field for municipal management Charges for such services should be so regulated as to defray only the actual costs—their distribution within these limits taking place on the economic principle of monopoly price according to ability to pay As a matter of fact, from the cultural point of view it would be preferable for the governments to encourage the local autonomous bodies, like Beradaries, Sabhas and Panchayats to take over these and kindred activities of public welfare Our age-long tradition indeed offers us ready made agents for the performance of manifold services of social and economic nature It is only the formulation of a definite policy and the introduction of suitable legislation so as to make these beneficent bodies into autonomous legal entities that is necessary for transforming these defunct institutions into instruments for enrichening Indian life on modern standards

Raising the Taxable Capacity

Finally but not least in importance, we come to the formulation of a constructive economic programme on the basis of varying provincial needs and resources A far sighted development of agriculture industry, handicrafts trade and transport, invariably in co-operation with private enterprise will increase the national taxable capacity In other words, there is a necessity for a comprehensive economic plan

The whole programme, both of immediately remunerative public works and of schemes that will prove productive in the form of increased taxable incomes after a number of years, depends upon the right use of the borrowing powers of the provinces Possibilities in this respect so far neglected will have to be utilized with due caution and forethought It will have

to be ensured under central supervision that provincial and municipal borrowing does not, under misconceived notions of public policy, transgress the safe limit as determined by economic conditions Other related matters for control would be the rates of borrowing, co-ordination, on a national scale, in respect of the timing on the money market of the divergent provincial loans, and the control of foreign borrowing in view of its special consequences on the rupee exchange Indeed these matters connected with public borrowing will form an important function of the newly created department of the Economic Advisor to the Government of India The actual execution of the different provincial borrowing programmes can, for the greater part, be undertaken by the respective Provincial Treasuries or Banks under the guidance of the Reserve Bank

THE RECENT CRISIS IN FIJI

By C F ANDREWS

The Indian community in Fiji has always had the sympathy of every party in India because of the very great suffering that it has been obliged to undergo in the past The Indian labourers were drawn there by an evil system called 'indentured labour' which was really a form of slavery

Thousands of very poor agricultural villagers were deceived by recruiters, called *arkatis*, who were paid so much per head for those whom they could bring to the Calcutta emigration depot There they were shipped off in thousands to some unknown country thousands of miles across the sea These recruiters received more for a woman than for a man because women were not easy to obtain

When I investigated the whole disgraceful affair more than twenty years ago I found out that the commonest form of deceit practised by the recruiters was to go to Benares or Muttra or Hardwar, at the pilgrim season, in order to find women who had lost their way and were crying in their trouble They would then promise to take them back to their relatives But instead of doing so, they took them to the emigration depot When once they had thus been deceived these poor women lost heart, and in fear that they would not be taken back into their home again, they submitted to the evil situation and were shipped out to Fiji

On two occasions, I was specially asked by the Indian National Congress to go out to Fiji on their behalf, with Mahatma Gandhi's full support For the records of suicides and murders which came back to India from the plantations showed that something was cruelly wrong Mr G K Gokhale, Pundit M M Malaviya Mahatma Gandhi, and Mrs Besant had condemned the whole indenture system But first-hand evidence was needed if both the Government of India and the Colonial Office were to be convinced of its harmful effects

On the first occasion, Mr W W Pearson, of Calcutta who was very deeply loved by all who came into contact with his marvellously winning personality, went out with me Naturally we received a hostile reception from the planters and also from the great Sugar Refining Company, called the C S R (Colonial Sugar Refining Company) On the other hand, the Indian community welcomed us with open doors and fearlessly told us about the evils for which they suffered Some of the missionaries also such as Mr Burton, Mr Lelean and Mr Piper gave us great help

I have always been profoundly grateful to the Marwari Community, in Calcutta, for the assistance they rendered to us on this first occasion when so much was at stake They provided a part of our expenses while the Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay provided the rest Mr W W Pearson in the year 1924 (long after we had returned) was killed in a railway accident in Italy The loss, to me personally, to all those who loved him, and also to Santiniketan which he had made his home, was inexpressibly great No Englishman ever understood Bengal, or won the hearts of the Bengali people, as he did I am hoping to come down to Calcutta this December in order to meet the Marwari Community again and to thank them once more for the great gift which they gave me, at that critical time, in providing the expenses for Mr W W. Pearson

and also for printing at their own charges our *Joint Report*, which we published directly after our return

But I must turn rapidly from that story of past history to the recent political crisis which has threatened and is not yet over

Last year, I went out again to Fiji, and saw the conditions under which Indians are now living While there has been an advance, in almost every direction, since the first time I visited the islands (when the semi-slavery of Indenture still prevailed) yet there are very many things where help is badly needed Most of all, at the present moment, a crisis has arisen in the political field The whole community stands united in resisting some recent actions of the Governor, which, if allowed to go unchallenged, might lead to serious consequences and deprive them of some of their rights as a free people The facts are briefly these

The Indian community agreed, after a long struggle, to give up their rightful claim for joint electorates (on an education and property basis) such as exists in British Guiana and Trinidad and Jamaica They were practically forced after passive resistance to accept what has sometimes been called the "Kenya Franchise," that is to say, a franchise on a racial basis of separate electorates in which each race votes apart For a long time, my whole heart was with them in this passive resistance struggle and I was strongly opposed, along with themselves to this racial franchise ever being accepted Also I wrote against it very strongly because it seemed to me to be wrong that Fiji should differ in this respect from other Colonies

But the argument was put forward that the Fijian race to whom the islands rightly belonged, could not possibly join as yet in a common or joint electorate The Indian community on that account, and also in order to make peace, agreed at last to waive their right of joint elections This itself was a big concession and should have satisfied the Europeans

But then followed a further demand on the part of some of the leading Europeans, whom the late Governor, Sir Murchison Fletcher supported They petitioned the Colonial Office to do away with elections altogether and to make the whole Legislative Council nominated by the Governor

This was to ask for a Dictatorship, pure and simple

The Indian community very rightly objected to such a forfeiture of their own rights A considerable number of Europeans joined them in the protest The Colonial Office compromised in their decision The elected seats were retained for each community, but two nominated seats were added

The Indians agreed, for the sake of peace, to work the elections even on their conditions They did not non-co-operate, as they had done on a previous occasion No community could have been more considerate than they have been all through the crisis and they deserve every commendation for their wise statesmanship

But then the trouble began The New Governor immediately began to take advantage of his position as the nominator of two Indians out of the five, who would act on the Legislative Council Before the election took place he announced his own two nominees The Indian community lodged a protest against this extraordinary procedure For in the normal course of things, such nominations by a Viceroy or Governor, are kept back till the elections are over For a mischance may happen in an election to some candidate, who is obviously the right person—some technical flaw in the election which everybody regrets, and in that case the Governor has the golden opportunity of rectifying it by his own nomination But if he nominates *before* the elections, he throws away altogether such an opportunity

The Colonial Office however, upheld the Governor, and so the elections were held Pundit Vishnudeo, Chattur Singh and Tularam were elected The choice made by the electors, when I heard of it, seemed to me admirable They are all men, who would work very hard and unselfishly for the community

Then came the question of leadership in the House For some reason, which I have not yet been able to discover, the Governor himself was asked to settle the orders of precedence or leadership—at least, this is what appears from the concise cables which have come to us The Governor appointed one of the nominated members, who was his own nominee This also was appealed against to the Colonial Office for it seemed entirely to flout the will of the electors, if one, who would have stood no chance in an election, were put above those who had gone through that supreme electoral test and had actually won at the poll Such favouritism, on the part of the Governor, for his own nominee, would obviously make the whole electoral system a farce The Governor would, in that case, be setting up his own will against the will of the people The old Dictatorship idea would come back again

All Parliamentary precedent would have pointed to the Indians themselves deciding such a matter, and I cannot yet understand why the

Governor intervened If the two nominated Indian members refused to work with the elected members, they should have formed a small party of their own If, however, they agreed to work, as one body along with the Indian elected members, then the vote of the united party should have been taken and the leader should in this way have been chosen

But the Governor's direct interference in this manner, together with his appointment of one of his own nominees to take precedence over the three elected members, was surely unconstitutional At least it appears to be such at this distance

While the situation was thus strained on both sides a further trouble occurred owing to a misunderstanding of the Governor's action For the elected Indian members stayed away from the first Council meeting as a silent protest against the Governor's actions Then later, when they attended the Council they were told to vacate their seats by the Governor himself

At first, this was thought by the elected members to be a cancelling of their election, but it seems that he told them to vacate their seats *for the time being only until they were* sworn in But the fact that such a mistake occurred appears to me itself to point to a state of very high tension, which is extremely unfortunate Now they have gone back to the Council and have been sworn in In this way it may be supposed that for the time being the dispute between the elected members and the Governor has been so far settled

But there is a further question beyond this that is even more important and is not likely to be settled so soon After all, the Legislative Council in Fiji, with its permanent official majority, can only ventilate grievances Nothing can be finally voted for against the wishes of the Governor, for the official *bloc* is always on the Governor's side But the *Executive* Council has much more important functions It is the inner Cabinet, where proposed legislation is actually decided upon and put into shape before it comes to the Legislative *Council for final confirmation so as to be made* law

It has been felt for a long time past, that Fiji was far behind the other Crown Colonies, because its Executive Council (where lies the real seat of power) has hitherto been purely European While in British Guiana, Mauritius, the Gold Coast, Jamaica, Trinidad, etc, Indian members have served on the Executive, with great distinction no Indian has hitherto been taken into the Executive by the Governor of Fiji Now that the dispute about precedence or leadership has occurred in Fiji, with regard to the elected and nominated members, the question of appointment to the Executive becomes an acute one Can the Governor nominate his own Indian nominee, over the heads of the elected members, to a seat on the Executive? Can he thus completely over-ride the will of the constituencies? This is the new question, which is certain to arise as soon as ever the Colonial Office decides, as it must do sooner or later, that an Indian must serve on the Executive Council Indian opinion, while eager that a seat on the Executive should be given to an Indian, would claim at the same time that one of the *Elected* members should be chosen, and in making this claim they should be fully supported by unanimous public opinion in India



COMMENT & CRITICISMS

"Making India Self-supporting in Cotton Goods"

An Article 'Making India Self Supporting in Cotton Goods,' by Mr Narayandas Bajoria, B.A., appeared in the November issue of *The Modern Review*. It demands criticism. Here is my humble criticism of the scheme mentioned therein.

The idea is excellent but there is a practical difficulty which I think requires attention of the public. *If the duty of* 150 per cent and 100 per cent can be imposed on foreign and British manufactures, there is of course, much possibility of reducing the import of foreign cloth, at the same time there is a danger of rise in the price of our mill made cloth.

Duties of 25 per cent to 50 per cent must be imposed on our cotton mills (when we have imposed duties of 150 per cent and 100 per cent *on foreign cloth), and* at the same time the State must be ready to check the prices of the cloth manufactured in our mills. Our mills are not working for the masses but for the so-called agents and directors. As soon as the foreign competition is gone there will be a demonstration of the real nature of our mill agents.

Also the whole additional revenue of 20 crores should not be utilized only for primary and compulsory education. Half of this revenue (ten crores) should go for village, *cottage and small-scale industries.*

Last but not the least difficult is the question of imposing duties (of 150 per cent and 100 per cent) as mentioned above. Public opinion even today is in favour of imposing duties. There is a National Government in each of the seven provinces, but the Government of India Act, 1935 is not in favour of such things. If there is a *will of the Nation, nothing is impossible.* My vote is in favour of imposing duties.

S. N. Bhidibhatti

"The Royal Veto in the New Constitution"

Reply to Prof. Bimalendu Dhar

Prof. Dhar has made a naive insinuation regarding my probable ignorance of the *Royal veto* under the previous constitution. If this assumption gives him any satisfaction, he is free to have it. I may point out to other readers that I considered it needless to give an exhaustive survey of the position under the old constitution and gave only an *idea of the normal procedure.* Prof. Dhar's talk of "Two fold mistake" on the basis of my obviously general expression "a year" is in his own words, "amusingly fanciful." If he had only soberly read my article—third and fourth paragraphs pp. 246-47, —he would have found the period precisely described *twice* as "*within twelve months*." Under the new Act, the Royal veto *may* be *exercised legally upto the last* hour of the last day of the last month in the year, hence if I had used the popular expression "a year" for this, just to make a pointed criticism of it, no unpardonable offence was committed, particularly because the exact period 'within twelve months" was stated more than once in the article. I must repeat whether Prof. Dhar likes it or not that *this specification of the period is an innovation.* I had also stated in my article that a Royal veto of "*this type*" had never been considered necessary so far. The significance of the phrase "*of this type*" has been deliberately ignored by Prof. Dhar.

It is a pleasure to know that as a result of my rejoinder Prof. Dhar has now been able to learn for the first time that the Imperial Conference of 1930 formally approved of the abolition of the Royal veto and that two dominions have gone to the length of formally abolishing the veto by special legislation of their own. His reference to my being "boastful of" and "elated" over these facts requires no answer. I merely stated hard facts of which *he was unaware! Prof. Dhar uncritically thinks that* as only two dominions have abolished the veto by law (even this fact he never knew before), it exists in its old form for the remaining five dominions. As a student of constitutional law he should remember that once the principle of the abolition has been unanimously approved by the Imperial Conference, sanctified by the Statute of Westminster and confirmed in two individual cases by actual enactment, the Royal veto is dead and gone, whether there be special enactment in other dominions *or not.* Owing to the *predominant non-English influence,* South Africa and Ireland abolished the veto by legislation simply on account of excessive antagonism to Britain and national reluctance to be satisfied with mere amicable agreement. It is quite likely that the other dominions which are predominantly English and are not so opposed to the Commonwealth idea may not immediately ask for *formal legislation now that the principle of abolition has* been agreed upon.

As regards the King's acting in accordance with the advice of his Dominion Cabinet, I have merely to say that I cited the analogy between the position of the King and his Governor-General not as the only argument, as Prof. Dhar hastened to suppose in his usual fashion, but as a point supplementary to all that I had stated in the preceding paragraphs regarding the Imperial Conference, Statute of Westminster, etc. as will be apparent from the *words used by me* "*Thus after the developments following* the Statute of Westminster ..." I repeat with due deference to Prof. Dhar that the King cannot now constitutionally accept the advice of his own Cabinet (*concerning purely dominion matters*) in preference to that of his Dominion Cabinet, and I further repeat that such a conflict will never normally arise.

Even Prof. Keith has in his latest work on the Constitutional Law of the British Dominions referred to the power of disallowance more than once as "*dead*." Some jurists, however think that the King may disallow an Act of secession from the Empire, because secession is obviously not a domestic matter alone, but affects the whole Commonwealth. As regards even the secession question, Prof. Keith (in whose opinions Prof. Dhar seems to have a blind faith) has expressly stated, "... if any Dominion should really decide to sever itself from the Empire it would not be held proper ... to prevent it from doing so ..." I make a present of this latest opinion of Prof. Keith to Prof. Dhar, and if even this fails to satisfy him, I should respectfully agree to differ *rather than carry on a futile wordy warfare in The Modern Review* and thereby tire the patience of the Editor and the readers.

Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.

[*Editor's Note.* This controversy is now closed.]

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc are not noticed The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered No criticism of book reviews and notices is published —Ed for, THE MODERN REVIEW

ENGLISH

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELATIVITY By A P Ushenkó, Associate Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan U S A George Allen & Unwin Ld, London 1937 Pp 208 Price 8s 6d

This book, from the pen of a Russian born author now settled in America who has already made his mark by his contributions to the Theory of Logic is decidedly, as the title indicates a philosophical treatise on the various concepts involved in the Theory of Relativity The Relativity Theory has brought in its train a vast literature—mainly from the physicists' point of view but the contribution of genuine philosophers too has not been negligible, for in this borderland of the *Grenzwissenschaften* as the Germans put it physicists and metaphysicians have an equal right of way and so are found rubbing shoulders together And the present treatise is essentially a metaphysician's contribution

The author has been frank enough to admit as much at the very outset— this book is primarily for philosophers ', he says in the opening lines of his Preface But one must not run away with the impression that he has slurred over the physics of Relativity for that certainly he has not done—for no less than five chapters out of ten have been devoted to a systematic exposition and step by-step deduction of the main equations of Relativity, both Special and General Still the main interest of the treatise is philosophic—it sets out to expound an original theory of events change and space time, and to offer a new explanation of perception

In discussing the theory of events, the author has stressed the implications of the fact that events are described by "positional characteristics" i e, characteristics which are not manifest unless an observer is present —in other words the ' secondary qualities" of classical psychology, though in a more extended sense, which leads to the conclusion that "an event in order to exist in its own right must have an essence distinct from its positional properties and that this essence is a fusion of space with time because the various specifications in perceptual perspectives of the event's date and size would be impossible if its nature did not partake of both space and time"

In dealing with the question whether the "space-time" concept is merely a conception or corresponds to objective reality—to which latter view the author himself leans—he discusses the theory of measurement and the correlation of different perspectives of the same "source-event," and further digresses into topics of more general interest, such as the cognitive function of Art and the famous paradoxes of Zeno

In rejecting the category of "physical substance" and installing in its stead the category of "events" marching along a "world line" in the "space time" continuum the author has indeed taken his stand against Classical Mechanics and shown himself a zealous Relativist but it is satisfactory to note that in his Relativist zeal he has lost neither his philosophical balance nor the essential humility that characterizes the real lover of truth for he candidly confesses that he does not expect that we shall ever attain an unquestionable philosophy of process and immutability, for we are, to quote a Russian poet "lost for ever in the blind passages of space and time"

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED ADULT *Edited by Ira S Wile Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd Museum Street, London Price 7s 6d net 5½"×8" Pp 320*

The book is a symposium on the sex life of the unmarried adult population of America The problem has been approached from various standpoints by a number of distinguished American men and women professors In the introduction Ira A Wile discusses the remarkable change in attitude towards sex that has come about at the present time in America 'Unmarried adults are approaching sex as a fact rather than a theory' 'The war itself was a factor in breaking down modesty Young women sold their kisses patriotically with Liberty Bonds The bonds went, the liberty remained—the morals of the war continue' The statistical disclosures regarding the adultery of the married, the sexual experiences of the unmarried and the clandestine abortions are enough to shock even the mother of 'Mother India' The anthropological side of the problem has been very ably put forth by Margaret Mead The biological side has been elaborated by N W Ingalls The chapters on psychological and ethical discussions do not come up to the standard of the other sections The economical the medical the legal and the literary aspects of the problem have all been analysed in a very interesting manner The legal discussions by Morris L Ernest is full of freshness The final chapter by L Pruette on 'Conditions Today' forcefully draws one's attention to the magnitude and the importance of the problem In spite of the fact that the different sections have been contributed by different specialists a synthetic unity runs through all the chapters Great credit is due to the editor for having brought out such an interesting publication Nowhere is there any sign of any dogma, no attempt has been made to draw conclusions from insufficient data questions have been raised and discussed but no final solutions has been arrived at A wonderfully unbiassed objective attitude pervades the whole book The book is well worth reading even by a busy man

C BOSE

A NEW HIGHWAY *By T Wigley, M.A Published by Messrs George Allen & Unwin Ltd Museum Street, London Pp 272 Price 8s 6d.*

The book attempts a re-orientation of the Christian faith in the light of modern science, and seeks to prove that it is yet possible to be a Christian without treachery *to one's scientific conscience*

There was a time when science was in mortal dread of religion and with good reason The fate of Galileo is a classical instance But science is irresistible now and religion has to justify itself at the bar of science This means that many old ideas must undergo radical change As the author before us has candidly admitted, "It is time that it was generally recognized that the identification of Christian thought with extravagant and untrue claims made for the Bible is one of the chief reasons *for the alienation of the modern mind from any religion* whatsoever" (p 25) And we agree with the author when he says that "A theology of the modern world must work out for itself in its own terms to meet its own needs" (p 263) But the immediate problem is How much of the older creeds can be retained? Can we continue to believe in immortality because physicists hold the doctrine of Conservation of matter and energy? Is Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy a proof of the freedom of will? These and many other questions have got to be faced and answered candidly

It is a happy thing that Christianity takes courage in both hands and faces the criticism of science It is medieval m yet survives and there are religions which still elude the search light of science for minds steeped in such medieval sm Mr Wigley's book will be a healthy eye-opener

U C. BHATTACHARJI

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA *By S G Panandikar M.A., D.Sc., Econ. (London) Publishers Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd 1933*

The aim of this book as has been stated by the author himself, is to show that the main obstacle to the industrial and economic progress of India is the absence *of an efficient steady and contented labour force* An attempt is made to suggest measures for overcoming this obstacle keeping in view the growing consciousness of the workers as much as the apathy of the employers of labour In a programme of further protective labour legislation the author recommends reduction in the hours of work, progressive tightening up and extension of the *operations of the Indian Factories Acts*, setting up of better machinery of inspection and enforcement of the recommendation of the Labour Commission in regard to the employment of children and women

With regard to the recognition of Labour Unions, which has been causing the greatest amount of dissatisfaction amongst the working classes today the author *suggests that the best policy* for the employers is to recognize such Unions, even if they include some outsiders in the Executive In case there are leaders who are not working sincerely for the welfare of the Unions they will soon be found out and dismissed by the members within a short time unless they are helped by the antagonism of the employers. The unhealthy character istic of the *Unions are* more likely to be removed by toleration than by hostility

The book will be read with considerable interest by all those who are concerned with the problems of industrial labour in India

N SANYAL

THE MUSIC OF ORIENT AND OCCIDENT *By Margaret E Cousins, B Mus Publishers B G Paul & Co Madras Rs 2*

This book of 199 pages contains numerous articles contributed to the press during 1915-'35 by Mrs Cousins Twenty two different subjects are touched in as many chapters They range from Internationalism in Music, its national value, its emotional nature to personal studies of the Composer, Scriabine the Veena player Seshanna A comparative study of Eastern and Western Music is also given *Rather a bewildering variety! Mrs Cousins* herself confuses that the book is without a plan

Nevertheless the keynote is clear It is emotional understanding The theme cannot be missed either It is an attempt towards the mutual understanding of the East and the West by a comparative estimate of different musical systems. Those who believe in the emotional approach and the observation of similarities between national idioms more than in the scholarly tackling of musical problems and in the study of differences in idioms *which are the bases of comparative semantics*, for the above-mentioned laudable objective in the domain of culture cannot fail to appreciate this volume Mrs Cousins' enthusiasm is genuine and her ears sensitive The middle class of India is just now getting interested in music Its interest will increase by Mrs. Cousins' essays. The value of the book could have been increased by studies of the northern Indian system

DHURJATI MUKERJI

KANDAN THE PATRIOT (SECOND EDITION) *By K S Venkataramani*

JATADHARAN AND OTHER STORIES (1937 *By K S Venkataramani*

ON THE SAND DUNES (SECOND EDITION) *By K S Venkataramani*

PAPER BOATS (FOURTH EDITION) *By K S Venkataramani*

The above books have been published by the Svetaranya Ashrama, Mylapore Madras Their printing and get up offer testimony to the excellent progress that our press has achieved in recent years and their prices are quite reasonable

Mr Venkataramani, I am afraid is not known in this part of the country although he has been highly spoken of both in India and abroad and what is more, some of his books have run into several editions It appears from the pressnotes of Madras that in his own province he is esteemed as a great writer His *Paper Boats* was published in 1921 with a Foreword of Dr Annie Besant

Kandan the Patriot, is a novel of New India in the making and gives us an interesting picture of the reaction of the Non co-operation Movement in Madras Presidency I have seen a more penetrating picture of its influence on Upper India in the famous Hindi novel *Premashram* of Premchandraji *Kandan* has not indeed grown to the fulness of that great book but it presents a delightful *sketch of the village life of the Cauvery Valley* as it was roused from its age long slumber at the call of the country *Kandan* is the type of many silent workers who sacrificed all they had and martyred themselves for the motherland, and Rangar who gave up his Indian Civil Service for love and self respect is not an unfamiliar figure I have met him elsewhere The end is tragic for the innocent Kandan is *shot dead by the military* in a riotous meeting and Rangar and Rajeswari, the heroine are sent to jail The author I am sorry to say, has failed to reproduce the pathos of the situation He lacks the dramatic-

power without which no author can come out successful in a situation like that

I liked *Jatadharan* better than *Kandan* because Mr Venkataramani is a better story teller than a novelist. Jatadharan is a lovely character He obtained a triple first class of Madras University and would have shone in the Indian Civil Service but sacrificed all his earthly hopes and served for fifty years as a humble village school master

Mr Venkataramani excels in description but his dialogues suffer from a sense of unreality Apart from the fact that his characters speak chaste prose his Panchamas shout "Hip hip, hurrah!" (*Kandan*) and his gipsy beggar says "The jin will fetch you a damsel fairer than water nymph or an Ariel and build you a palace nobler than Ducal mansions (*In Quest of Power*) *Immediately after a railway collision for which* he is responsible, Sundaram the Station master quietly talks with his wife about the past of *Kandan* the patriot. Chandru the boy of five, speaks thus of his truant uncle "He has left us all for ever to roam the world over like a free boy How I wish I could join my uncle and wander with him for ever in pathless tracks in jungles and winding foot line by the side of streams

His musings *On the Sand Dunes* left me cold Far from being original they seemed to me as stale as a book read and reread for an examination The wild sea breeze has not inspired the writer with thoughts throbbing with freshness and life

The *Paper Boats* are excellent studies of our village life in the South It is not surprising that the book was *well received in Europe and America for it offers vivid* picture of a Hindu village

My Little Arundam is a thing of beauty It is a nice little sketch written with love and sympathy The author rose to the greatest expression of his genius when he caught the pathos of the unfortunate Parsha life One begins to think that he is the *junnee* of the fields he tills and has sprung from them like the golden harvest that he gathers Like the Mother Earth he is ever cheerful forgiving and generous.

Mr Venkataramani's English style has been highly admired by Mrs Besant and other English critics C R Reddy calls him the Keats of English prose Though goodness knows what he means by that undoubtedly Mr Ramani's command of the English language is very *great* His books ought to find a good market in Northern India

S N RAY

HISTORY OF THE KAYASTHAS, PART II By Gopinath Sinha Varma B A LT Published by the Varman & Co Mahalla Quanungo Bareilly 1935 Price 2-8 Pp iv+289

The author is to be congratulated for bringing out the second part of his interesting book *The History of the Kayasthas* It comprises a mass of material collected from various sources such as inscriptions, ancient literature, traditional accounts and social history of the present day and is, as such a useful book for the proper understanding of the history of the Kayastha community as a whole

The present part is divided into two chapters In the first chapter the author gives us an account of the different castes of India with their clans or sects and tries to determine their respective position in Hindu society in the second part he gives a detailed account of some royal families which are in his opinion Kayastha *in origin*

One cannot however always comply with all the opinions of the author, nor is it expected that one should It is however necessary to point out certain statements with which one might disagree Thus there are few who would share with the author the view that "the highness or lowness, purity or impurity of a particular Hindu caste does not depend on the birth but is actually determined by the *power and the influence*, the wealth and the affluence the knowledge and the pushing nature of its members (p 20)

With regard to the history of the name Kayastha a clear distinction ought to have been drawn between the term used as an office-designation and as the name of a particular caste for the Kayasthas as a caste came into existence only in the 9th century A D while we hear of Kayasthas even in the Yajnavalkya Smriti (I 336) which is dated as early as the middle of the 4th century A D The derivation of the word Kathoi which as he thinks, *came to be designated as Kaiths or Kayasthas, does not* seem to be very sound (p 69)

The author's claim of the Kayasthahood of many ruling families is not always laid on sure foundation Thus at p 45 he describes the Sena kings as "the Sena Kayastha families", while at p 92 he describes them as Kshatriyas who freely married with Kshatriyas. It has however been proved by historians that the Senas were Brahma Kshatriyas It is also doubtful if the Pala kings *were Kayasthas (pp 73-4) the grounds* for such an opinion being rather insufficient

The printing of the book leaves much to be desired, and a table of errata would have been a welcome addition

T C. RAICHAUDHURY

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A SUPPRESSED PEOPLE By J C Heinrich (Allen and Unwin) 1937 18 cm. 148p 3/8

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first two of them deal with "Oppression Stimuli" among the depressed classes in India and in the case of the Negroes The author concludes that there is a parallel between the Indian sweeper and the Negro in America The last chapter refers to "The Indian Church at Work" He seems to have some pet theories which he endeavours to prove by copious quotations from other writers and has thus obscured his own views on the subject He was a Missionary in the Punjab and as is usual with his class of people speaks with an authority on Indian Christians in the Province Evidently there was no love lost between him and his flock But he had no justification whatever in referring to the poor Indian Christians in the Punjab in such derogatory terms. Throughout the book *he refers to them as* "Christian Sweepers Recently the Punjab Government, in response to an appeal by Christians issued an order that they should not be described as "Christian Sweepers" in *official documents He has deliberately hurt the feelings* of Christians in the Punjab. It cannot be that he did not know that they resented this label He mentions a report by a certain district missionary in which it is stated that the police records in his district "show an increase in major crimes including murder among depressed classes since they have embraced Christianity" This report of a brother missionary can be challenged and the motive of the author in quoting it is fully revealed "Christian Sweepers," as the learned Divine is pleased to call Indian Christians in the Punjab have sufficient influence now They ought to demand from him a statement to substantiate these remarks failing which he should be called upon to withdraw these words from his book and tender an unqualified apology If however Indian Christian leaders do not help their poor brethren and sisters whose feelings are outraged by the author, the "Sweeper Christian" will be well advised

to abandon these leaders and look for help elsewhere. This reviewer can say without any fear of contradiction that the moral degradation of the class of Indian Christians to which a reference is made by the author is directly traceable to the low moral standard of the white missionary who induced them to embrace Christianity At any rate it is wrong to generalise so as to misrepresent a whole community Another missionary friend told the author, "The Indian Christians of—are the most selfish, self-satisfied, self-centred people on the face of the earth." The fact is that the friend was describing the moral calibre of the missionary in-charge of the place. Further we are told, "The extent to which Indian Christians adopted skirts, stockings, shoes, hats, neckties, topees, etc., and the number that passed to the status of Anglo-Indians has long been a concern of thoughtful missionaries." This is simply not true. In the olden days when a man or woman decided to turn Christian, he was often advised and sometimes forced by the missionary to put on European clothes. I have just been reading the auto-biography of an eminent Indian Christian of the Punjab. He says that his old mother was crying when they took her to the church for baptism not because she was going to be a Christian but because against her wishes she was forced to put on a skirt. Needless to say that that was the first and last time she ever adorned herself in European attire When Indian Christians along with Hindus and Muslims became advanced in western education they naturally took more and more to the western style of dress. Indian Christians went a step further and their women adopted skirts but they did not give up the head dress. The more frequent use of the English language for daily use among Indian Christians inspired in them a certain amount of self confidence and they asserted equality with missionaries which the latter resented This resulted in the "concern of thoughtful missionaries" The author is talking of things that happened about 30 years ago though the book was published this year We should have been told that many Indian Christians who owing to circumstances were obliged to pass as Anglo-Indians are gradually coming back. Has the learned author recently seen any Indian Christian woman in the Punjab wearing skirt?

This book will not serve any useful purpose.

S A. Wadia,
in *The Servants of India*

YOGA IN DAILY LIFE *By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Himalayas. Published by Em. Asri, Editor, Ideal Home Magazine, Amritsar 1 p. 193. Price Rs. 1 10*

This is a wonderful little book of extraordinary merit and is written by a Yogi in simple English language. It contains the most practical hints on various kinds of Yoga. The Foreword and Introduction covers 19 pages and there are 9 sections. The first section deals with the preliminary practices for yoga, the second section deals with Bhaktiyoga, the third the Karmayoga, the fourth the Rajyoga and Jnanayoga. Different kinds of Asanas are explained in the fifth section, the sixth section gives particulars of three defects of mind that confront the beginner and remedies thereof have been suggested the seventh deals with the most difficult subject of Brahmacharya and how to attain it. In the eighth section the author describes yoga in a nutshell, and the last section contains narratives and stories of the lives of great Yogins. In the Appendix some very important letters, some routine duties of the householder, and a spiritual diary, etc., have been given. The most interesting feature of the book is the very happy reconciliation of the different cults of Jnana, Bhakti, and Karma and their relation with Yoga, and so this part of the book may be said to be invaluable to all those who would practice Yoga, containing all the necessary information about Yoga itself It will be no exaggeration if we repeat the remarks of the Publishers—"This inspiring and soul stirring little volume will undoubtedly contribute its mite to the moral and spiritual perfection of the human race in general and the aspirants in particular"

Rajendranath Ghose

ENGLISH SANSKRIT

MANAMEYODAYA, AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE MIMAMSA OF NARAYANA *Edited with an English translation by C Kunhan Raja and S S Suryanarayan Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras 1933.*

This is an elementary but important work of the Bhatta School of Mimamsa composed in the 16th century A.D by Narayana Bhatta of Malabar, a versatile scholar poet and philosopher It was first published in 1912 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No 19 The present edition by two well known South Indian scholars presents a much improved text with the help of an additional Madras MS., and includes an accurate and reliable English translation as well as notes which bring the contents of this lucid yet terse philosophical treatise within the easy reach of the general reader There is a detailed table of contents and a comparative list of doctrinal differences between the various schools, which undoubtedly enhance the value of the edition. The book deals chiefly with two Mimamsa topics in accordance with the views of the Bhatta school viz., Mana or recognized means of valid knowledge, and Maya or the categories constituting the deceptive content of valid knowledge, but there are critical references to the views of other Indian philosophical systems. We have no doubt that this substantial publication will not only enhance the reputation of the series in which it is included but will contribute efficiently to the study of Indian philosophy in general and of the Bhatta phase of Indian Realism in particular

S. K. De

ENGLISH TAMIL

TOLKAPPIYAM (PORULATHIKARAM) *Done into English, with exhaustive comments and illustrations by R. Vasudeva Sarma, M.A., B.L. Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit and Superintendent of Studies in Indian Languages in the National College, Trichinopoly, etc., etc Murugavilasa Jnanambudhi Press, 1933, first fasciculus. Pp 48, paper cover Price As 12.*

The publishing of this edition of the third part of the *Tolkappiyam* is sufficient indication of a revival of Old Tamil studies in Tamilland which is most refreshing to observe. *The Porulathikaram* or the section on the subject matter of Poetry is the earliest treatise on *alankara* or poetics and rhetoric as well as lists of themes for Tamil poetry The work was compiled at a time when pure Tamil ideas were reigning dominant in Tamil literature—extraneous, North Indian Aryan elements not yet being able to create much impression. When Dr P S Subrahmanya Sastri's edition of the *Porulathikaram* is published as a part of the entire *Tolkappiyam* which is evidently contemplated by him there will be a certain amount of overlapping, the two Tamilian scholars working in the same special line, but that is unavoidable when we are concerned with some work of fundamental

importance. Mr. Vasudeva Sarma gives the Tamil text in Tamil characters, with the English translation below each *sutra*, and then he has an elaborate explanation or commentary in English. The subject matter of Tamil poetry as classified in the *Tolkappiyam* and other works has already been made known to English readers by scholars like V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and others. We are now glad to have the original text of the *Tolkappiyam* for this important and what may be described as the most characteristically Old Tamil *topic with* an English translation and with exhaustive comments and illustrations. It is quite a new world, absolutely different from that of Sanskrit poetics, the Old Tamil division of subjects for poetic treatment into *akam* a 'inner matter' meaning 'love', and *puṟam* or '*outer matter*' meaning life in general, excluding love and including chiefly warfare. The subdivisions or consideration of *akam* with reference to the various situations in which the lovers find themselves and with reference to the terrestrial and seasonal environment and *temporal conditions*, and other influences or surroundings, and a similar classification of *puṟam* in reference to the geographical surroundings and the various stages in warfare, are rather elaborate and categorical, rivalling certain aspects of Sanskrit rhetoric when it gives elaborate classifications of lovers and sweet(h) arts and their various moods. These are too detailed matters to be discussed or debated upon. All this we find promulgated in a systematic manner in the *Poruḷathikaram* of the *Tolkappiyam*, and as a repository of the Old Tamil view-point of criticism of Old Tamil life 1500 to 2000 years ago, deducing the law from earlier and contemporary Tamil literature and also giving the law to it, the importance of *this section of the Tolkappiyam* is patent to everyone. Mr. Vasudeva Sarma has brought to bear the result of his wide reading in Early Tamil and general literature in his commentary, and altogether his work appears to be exceedingly well done. We hope *he will with other Tamilian scholars help to make much* more widely known to the outside world the great literature in his mother tongue, by means of similar translations. I only wish to mention in passing the manifold advantages of using the Roman script in a *proper transliteration* to make such works doubly useful to the outside public which certainly has a good number of lovers of Dravidian in general and of Tamil in particular, without their being readers of Tamil.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

SARVA LAKSHANA SAMGRAHA. *By Bhikshu Gourisankara. Price Four annas only. Pocket book size. Pp. 158. Obtainable from Manbhari Devi, Village Puthi, P.O. Bawni Khera, Hissar (India). Fourth Edition.*

This little book contains definitions of 3231 words of *Vedas, Vedangas, Darshanas, Smritis, Puranas etc.*, of Sanskrit literature, which are generally met with and it will thus be the most helpful compendium for study of Sanskrit philosophy specially. The definitions are generally quotations from the most well known and authoritative works and are therefore, quite dependable. It serves the purpose to a certain extent of "Nayakosa" the most renowned work of Bheemacharya of Poona. This publication *has already been well received by the* scholars of the East and West. The price has been reduced to one-third of what was in previous editions.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

BENGALI

KADAMBARI: *By Prabodhendunath Thakur. Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta. B.E. Aswin, 1344 (1937). Price Rupees 5.*

One of the most notable features of this highly *attractive rendering* of the first part of Banabhatta's classical romance into Bengali is the fact that the author *has succeeded in shaking off* the burden of cumbrous Sanskrit and producing a really Bengali version, which is eminently readable. Without departing from the *original but without being tediously* literal and unintelligible, he has given us the romantic story in an easy and smooth form suitable to the genius of Bengali. He has not attempted to achieve the impossible, and within the limitations which he has imposed on himself he has been *eminently successful*. The limitations have naturally produced a mixed result, attended with both loss and gain. Those who are conversant with the original will perhaps miss the real Banabhatta in it, on the other hand, readers of Bengali will gain in it an almost new creation, *which is not unfaithful to the original* but which presents it in a more suitable Bengali form. It is well known that these Sanskrit romances, in spite of their sentimentality and extravagances, still retain their hold on the imagination of the reader by these very peculiarities, no less than by their wonderful spell of language and vivid picturesqueness of imagery. But these things are in themselves almost untranslatable. In the last century Tarasankar made an attempt to reproduce, as far as possible, these characteristics, but the result had been a heavily Sanskritised and alien form which never made a wide appeal. Our author has profited by the experience of his predecessor, but in trying to avoid one extreme he has often gone to the other. In the letter printed as a foreword to the work, the wonderful literary instinct of Rabindranath is undoubtedly right in pointing out that the version has, in many cases, suffered lapses from its proper dignity by the intrusion of popular and colloquial *expressions. The youthful love depicted in Banabhatta's* romance moves in a somewhat strange and fantastic atmosphere of myth and folk tale, and is perhaps more sentimental than passionate in its expression, but this unreality of the dream pageant acquires a new vitality *and interest not only from the graceful treatment of the* tenderness of human love and friendship, but also from the nobly wrought diction in which they move with royal dignity and splendour. The extravagances of the luxuriant style have been condemned by many a modern critic, but its undoubted melody, majesty and picturesqueness, eked out by an exuberant fancy, help to make it a fit vehicle for the strange story, which images the supreme realities of a love having its root not only in this life but also in the recollective feeling of cycles of existence. As such, the fancy, the sentiment as well as the verbally finished form is inseparable from the poetic expression, and every translation should take cognisance of this fact. But *in an analytic language like Bengali it is difficult to* reproduce the graces, beauties and subtleties of a synthetic language like Sanskrit. The extraordinary power of compounding and compression which Sanskrit possesses gives it a peculiar capacity of expression, and the effect on the mind is that of a perfect whole in which the parts coalesce by inner necessity. This impression cannot be produced in an analytic speech like Bengali, still less in *English, in which the content is to be conveyed*, not in a single sentence synthetically merged into a whole, like the idea which it expresses, but in a series of loosely connected predication. These are some of the inherent difficulties of translating a Sanskrit work, but they become doubly accentuated *in the case of a strangely stylised* and elaborate work like that of Banabhatta. Our author

is aware of these difficulties and does not minimise them But the method he proposes gives us only a partial solution, and he has not always been able to avoid the dangers of adopting an easy rather too easy, and familiar style and diction in adapting the highly factitious work of Banabhatta Nevertheless our author's attempt is indeed highly praiseworthy, and considering the difficulties is no mean achievement in Bengali We offer him our sincere felicitations for a labour of love which testifies to his great attachment alike to Sanskrit and Bengali

S K De

ABHIJNAN *By Upendranath Ganguly To be had of the Author 27 1, Fariapukur Street Calcutta.*

Abhijnan is the name of a modern Bengali novel by Sj Upendranath Ganguly It is the latest of his masterly productions

Though the author like a mature artist keeps himself and his views always in the background yet in course of the natural development of the plot one meets with two of the most vital problems of the Bengali society The first problem is the increasing tension between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the society and the second is the utterly helpless position of a Hindu woman *however innocent* under circumstances that cannot be prevented by her own society

The intensely humanistic outlook of the author gives him a correct perspective of the Muslim society which surely like any other society consists of both good and evil elements Sandhya, the heroine of the piece while proceeding immediately after her marriage ceremony to her father in law's house in Calcutta from the latter's village home is carried off by a band of ruffians some of whom are Musalmans. She is lodged thereafter in the safe custody of two Muslim brothers belonging to the gang The captive life of Sandhya within the clutches of such ruffians would certainly take the reader's breath away had not the catholic imagination of the author brought in nothing short of an angel in the form of the ruffians' sister Amina, the solace and saviour of Sandhya in her hour of crisis Amina, her husband her father in law her brother in law in fact the entire lot will illumine the whole of Muslim society of Bengal with the consciousness of the essential spark of Divinity in the heart of each of its individual members This correct understanding and frank statement of the brighter side of Muslim life by a Hindu writer will no doubt look almost like a bridge over the gulf between the two sections of the Bengali society

This however is only a side-light The main theme concerns itself with the second problem, namely the unenviable fate of Hindu women supposed to be polluted by the breath of ruffians They are disowned by their near relatives though the latter are unable to give them the necessary protection The society has no decent corner where they may find a shelter and they have perforce to walk out either to make an end of their life or to lead a life of shame

Indeed, there is something absolutely rotten in the body of the present-day Hindu society Tyranny of men over women has perhaps gone too far The whole burden of preserving the *spiritual health of the society* appears to have been transferred entirely on to the shoulders of women Libertinism among the male section is hardly looked upon as a social crime It is *allowed to pass* almost as a normal event The society is not ashamed even of harbouring public women for aiding and abetting the male section to violate the laws of chastity Chastity, undoubtedly is the very life-force of a society. Self restraint is the central formula of human growth The history of the cultural advance of humanity is nothing but a record of the progressive realisation of the blessings of self restraint by the human race since the first appearance of the Cave man And chastity has to be preserved both by men and women Any inequality in this respect is bound to disturb the moral equilibrium of a society Chastity and equality have to go together in order to preserve the love harmony and sweetness of the Hindu home and to keep up the vitality of this hoary race that has outlived innumerable catastrophic changes on the surface of its social and political life But long before this may be achieved Hindu women have to learn to shake off their age-long habits of cringing servility to recover their self respect and to feel that they too have a voice in carving the destiny of society

The author in his Abhijnan has astonished us and filled our hearts with high hopes by depicting with his masterly strokes such an intrepid and intensely self respecting female character as Sandhya the heroine of Abhijnan Sandhya is not a mere individual player in a particular drama of life She represents a type moulded by the deft fingers of the author a type into which Hindu womanhood is to evolve before it may be expected to restore the spiritual equilibrium of society Sandhya is not a mere clod of earth, a mere doll that may be played or trifled with or thrown away in the ditch to rot or to be broken into pieces at the sweet will of her natural male guardians

When her husband Priyalal who had so lately on the honeymoon night sealed his heart with hers with all solemnity pleaded his helplessness in the presence of his strong willed father to do anything for her she appealed to him in the name of their conjugal love to leave his father's house and accompany her to the wide world where she promised she would find a living for them both But Priyalal was too docile to honour his love by displeasing his father Sandhya was stunned but that was only for a moment In an instant she pulled herself together brushed aside the thin crust of her feminine servility and dazzled her weak husband by the lustre of her self respecting womanhood She said that she pitied his weakness but could not excuse it With a lightning spark in her eyes and her head raised high, she told her husband "When you don't mind forsaking me remember that I also am going to forsake you No amount of your overtures will ever be able to bring me back" Sandhya remained true to her word to the last day of her life And this she did without treading the usual path of physical or moral suicide Nor did she choose to follow the footsteps of a wild revolutionary in discarding the fundamental laws of chastity of a Hindu wife With her self respect of an extremely aggressive type she very wonderfully harmonised the code of honour of a Hindu wife This marks her out as an original creation of the author Even when she parted for life from her offending husband whom she could never pardon she did not forget to take the dust of his feet. This was undoubtedly an expression of her unflinching loyalty to the ideal of a chaste Hindu wife

Of course Sandhya felt intensely for her husband yet she was firm in her resolve of vindicating her injured womanhood Her stern refusal to follow her husband like a bitch as soon as he was pleased to whistle is a lesson for rousing the self respect of Hindu women It is an epic protest against the inequities to which they are being subjected by Hindu society

Sandhya will live long to inspire Hindu women with the strength, self-confidence, self respect and moral courage of self-conscious womanhood

[Swami] Nirvedananda

CHHOTODER ARABYA UPANYAS OR THE ARABIAN NIGHTS FOR CHILDREN *By Gajendra Kumar Mitra Mitra and Ghose 10, College Square, Calcutta Pp 80 Price Rupee One only*

The stories in this collection have been watered down, *perhaps with a view to making them suitable for very* young readers to such an extent that much of the charm peculiar to the *Arabian Nights* is lost.

The publishers have secured and published in this book one of the famous illustrations of the Arabian Nights by Abanindranath Tagore which testifies to their good taste not always to be found in our publishers so *far as the artistic quality of book illustration is concerned*

PULINBIHARI SEN

PANJABI

GIDDHA (*The Popular folk-dance of the Punjab*) *By Professor Devendra Satyarthi. Punjabi Pyare Amritsar Price R 5 net*

Professor Davendra Satyarthi has travelled all over India fascinated by the romance of village life and has collected folk songs of U P Bengal Maharashtra and other parts of India Giddha is the first fruit of his labours The songs that village girls and young lads sing when *they dance with the joy of living in the* Punjab No one knows who composed these songs but they have come straight from the heart of men and women and express desire and hope joy and sorrow with a directness which is rarely found in the works of sophisticated urban poets

There is a spontaneity about them and freedom from *any communal divisions which shows that in the villages* truths of life prevail and people not only share their joys and sorrows together but respect the beliefs of each other For instance singing hymns with a prayer and the singer starts with invoking "Devi" the Goddess of song Then he offers his homage to "Allah" the name which the Muslims give to God and then he bows *before the Sikh Gurus The same way there is no* exclusion of any community from the singing parties Describing the "Giddha" the song runs —

Adorned with jewels from their house started
"Patan" and "Partapi"
All blooming maids came to dance
They sparkled in the light of moon
As sparkle *golden* threads in the sun
The beautiful girls danced
As dance young deer in wilderness

The Punjab supplies soldiers to the army and a whole chapter describes the sorrows of love lorn wives left behind by their husbands

"The *sand on which you trod*
I put in my heart"

Thy figure I no more see
A dust cloud fills my sight

The moon will rise again
But without thee
My sight will have no light

He came to me in my dream
I opened my eyes and he was there no more
With every turn of the spinning wheel
I spin the story of my suffering

Handful of paper has come
But it brings no news of thy coming

My eyes are tired of waiting
For sake of God turn home again.

The little book gives picture of the simplicity and sweetness of village life and shows that rich and poor alike share in the joy of life and paths of meetings and partings, happy and unhappy marriages That civilization can provide glittering trappings for the setting of a dance but can not surpass the joy of those who gather in the village-common under starlit skies and under impulse of emotions which dancing and singing invoke

J S

MARATHI

SIR BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA BHATAVADEKAR *By Miss Gargi Bhatavadekar, Bombay Vaibhav Press Price Two Rupees*

That a grand-daughter should write an exhaustive biography of her distinguished grand father is I believe, a unique instance in biography writing and therefore Miss Gargi Bhatavadekar is to be heartily congratulated on bringing out an authentic biography of her grand father the late Sir Bhalchandra The authoress has not allowed her relationship to the subject of the biography *to influence her judgment and the treatment of the subject from beginning to end is absolutely* impartial and exemplary Sir Bhalchandra was not an All India Leader of the type of Sir Pherozshah Mehta or Gopal Krishna Gokhale He did not certainly shine with the fierce light of either but he was the gentle moon's mellow and soothing light that pleased all that came *in contact with him and that endeared him to all* Sir Bhalchandra did not start institutions but he was connected with every institution which aimed at the promotion of the good of the people Being a medical man by profession matters relating to health and hygiene claimed his first attention It was therefore no wonder that he took a deep and abiding interest in the pro*motion of temperance For more than twenty years* he was the soul of the local branch of the Temperance Association His services to the Bombay Municipality where he was the uncrowned king's (Sir Pherozshah Mehta's) first lieutenant were long and varied Politics of the moderate type had a soft corner in his heart It was a wonder that in spite of a highly extensive and exacting medical *practice Sir Bhalchandra found time* to take an active and often a leading part in the numerous activities and institutions with which he was connected In many respects Sir Bhalchandra was a typical person Gentle in speech and manner neat and tidy in dress honest truthful straightforward in speech and act ready to oblige the needy even at considerable monetary sacrifice to himself it was not surprising that he was loved by people of all communities alike He was singularly free from the communal virus and that was how he could claim staunch and unfailing friends *and co-workers from every community He was a man of* boundless dexterity and robust optimism and was trusted both by the Government and the people His private life was very simple A loving patriarch that he was he commanded the affection and respect of a host of children and grand-children and relatives The authoress tells us that there were at times forty persons in his domestic service and that his hospitality was princely As in public so in private life he paid the utmost attention even to the smallest details Prosperity did not spoil him and the financial shock which he had *did not sour his temper He was orthodox in his* religious views but this fact did not prevent him from sympathising with the religious sentiments of others In bringing this very inadequate review to a close it would be impossible not to mention the name of his devoted brother Mr Vishnupant who was of immense assistance

to him in all his activities. His sudden death in 1911, left a deep mark of sorrow on Sir Bhalchandra, to the end of his days. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that men like Sir Bhalchandra are the salt of the earth. Selfless, unassuming obliging straight, honest truthful and charitable even to opponents, he never offended any one by word or act and always commanded every body's respect As Carlyle has said, Biography is the most universally pleasant and most universally profitable of all reading" and the biography of Sir Bhalchandra written in chaste and flowing Marathi will certainly be found to be very profitable indeed

V S S

PESHWA KALIN MAHARASHTRA (*Maharashtra during the Peshwa Regime*) *By Vasudev Krishna Bhave B A Poona 1935 Pp 558 Price Rupees 3-8.*

Mr Bhave is an author of considerable fame in Maharashtra and some of his books enjoy great popularity among his people But none of his earlier books perhaps deserve a more sincere tribute of praise than this latest work of his on social economic and administrative institutions of Maharashtra during the rule of the Peshwas The chief merit of the book under review lies of course in much original research on the part of the author but in his able handling of facts already brought to light by the laborious researches of eminent historians of his country The first attempt to portray the social life of Maharashtra was that of Mr D V Kale Mr Bhave's book has removed a long felt need for well written treatise to popularise the more beneficent phases of Maratha activities than their race for empire in the North

The book under review consists of 32 chapters on topics of varied interest Chapters 2 and 3 give us the history of the city of Poona and its buildings and temples. The city of Poona grew up piece meal out of the village of Poona which again had been an agglomeration of three Khedas of Poona Kasari and Kumari Out of the important *Peths* of Poona namely Adityar Budhvar Shukravar Sadashivpeth, Ganeshpeth Rastapeth and Shanvada all except the last named one—which formed the citadel of the city—were built by private individuals. Taxes were realised from the people partly in cash partly in kind consisting of articles produced by different castes and sub-castes

K. R Quanango

GUJARATI

SHRAVANI MELA *By Umashankar Joshi Printed at the Vanijava Printing Press Ahmedabad Published by Vora & Co Bombay Cloth Bound Pp 238 Price Re 1-8-0 (1937) Illustrated cover*

Shravani Mela (a fair in the month of Shravan) is the title of the last of fifteen stories found in this book The story reminds one of the annual Sipi fair held near Simla, where jungle maidens and youths assemble in their hundreds, dance their jungle dances, make purchases and also arrange (matrimonial) matches. The description of the fair and of its chief visitors Ambi and Devo are graphic vivid and appealing The other stories are written also on an equally high level The first story for instance depicts the innermost desire of old men of the older generation who consider their life wasted unless they see their grandson (son's son) playing in their lap and in depicting it, the author paints the light and shade in the domestic life of the middle class Hindu householder with an unerring brush. The whole collection is a welcome addition to the story literature of Gujarat.

RAJ HATYA *By Chunilal Vardhaman Shah Printed at the Prabandhu Printing Works Ahmedabad Cloth bound Pp 373. Price Re. 1 12-0 (1937)*

Mr Chunilal Shah with his usual facile pen presents in this novel the decline and fall of Hindu Rule in old Gujarat The objects he wants to set forth is that when a king neglects his official duties he must prepare himself for the worst of fates that even in old times in India people know the principle that the subjects of a king were justified in driving him out when he behaved in an unkingly fashion and carrying administration through their chosen representatives. King Ajayapal was done away with to enforce the above principle In three parts in this novel the author has brought out various aspects of the history of Gujarat in that period in a felicitous way

K. M J

(1) MANDACNI (2) MANDABAD KEM MATA DAVO? (3) MANAS MANDO KEM PADE CHHE? (4) BRAHMACHARYYA

These four pamhlets are all from the able pen of Dr Jatashankar Nandi N D (New York) N D (Bezwada) M M S A (N Y) Vice-President of the Academy of the Indian Naturopathic Association and form parts of a series called *Jeevanprakash Granthamala*, published by a society with a suggestive title "Arogyarakshak Jnan pracharak Granthamala" *and available at a very cheap price from Savarmati (Ahmedabad) The pamphlets* are designed to preach the natural laws of health among the masses and discuss Brahmacharyya loss of appetite etc

P R. Sen

TELUGU

KARUNYAM (Eight short stories) *By Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao Yuva Karyalaya Series No 1 Price As 4 Pp 96 To be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Patapet Tenali.*

Mr Kutumba Rao would have done well had he been more realistic in the choice of his material for these society stories

PAPAM (Nine short stories) *By C Venkatachallam Yuva Karyalaya Series No 2 Pp 93 Price As 4 Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Pathapet Tenali*

Mr Venkatachallam's place is very high among the story writers in Telugu But the subject matter of the stories in the present book does in no way record the past reflect the present or reveal the future of the society we live in

R. S Bharadwaj

BOOKS RECEIVED

GUIDE TO THE ALL INDIA EXHIBITION OF ARTS AND INDUSTRIES LAHORE *Pp 83+6 plates Price Annas eight*

PROFESSOR'S PAROXYSM *By Mahankali Sriram Murthi. Published by the C S P F Godavary district Comes available from M S Murthi Nalam's Lane Cocanada Pp 32 Price annas two*

A short drama depicting the struggle of a cultured young man trying to live upto his best traditions.

JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN youthful Jagadish chandra the unknown enthusiast first set out along the arduous road to fame beset as it was with wearisome obstacles at every step I proclaimed both in prose and verse my unquenchable faith in his eventual attainment In this day of bereavement I have not the same strength of voice to pay tribute to his resplendent memory For it is but a short while ago that the call also came to me to voyage to the same unknown bourne I was fated to return but my body and mind are still clouded by its mists and I feel as if my friend who has gone before has left for me his invitation to follow At any rate I cannot have long to bear the sorrow of our separation

The sorrow is not mine alone but is shared by the whole country And yet it is not as though his pursuit in the realm of Science was abandoned unfinished—of its results the world is not deprived by his leaving it that which is unfading immortal in his achievement remains to us His absence in the flesh but makes the gains of his spirit more vivid—the truths revealed by his work are a bequest that will become more fully ours For me personally there remains the consolation that what friendship urged I was enabled to do what further was in my power to give as poet I offered when that power was at its height and my salutation to his genius remains enshrined in my poems

Science and literature occupy different apartments in the edifice of culture but there are connecting passages through which offerings may be exchanged and of these Jagadish made constant use wherefore it became possible for the Scientist and the Poet to be in close communion Science it is true had but little room in my work—none the less it occupied a large space in my thoughts and the same was the case with Jagadish in regard to literature So the windows of the minds of both of us were ever open for an interchange of atmosphere And another thing that brought us together was the love of our motherland

Life lies invisible in some hidden recess in the depths of matter The hope that the researches of Jagadish would some day place this truth on a scientific foundation intoxicated me with joyful anticipations, for I had from childhood been familiar with the teaching of our *Rishi* **All these which are the process of creation flow from and are vibrant with Life** Of that all pervading vibration Science was becoming more and more cognisant but it had not been able to gather into its storehouse of facts any proofs of its identity with Life So when the experiments of Jagadish began to disclose the life like responses of matter I felt that the day of the recognition of this truth by Science could not be far distant

Then Jagadish brought the resources of his laboratory to bear on the vegetable world where though the existence of life was not in doubt a difference of kind had been taken for granted Exquisite was the delicacy of the apparatus evolved by the genius of the Master,—apparatus that proved its no less wonderful power to probe the secrets of vegetable life and our explorer awaited with infinite patience the messages of the similarity with animal life of its workings as they came to be yielded up

I had not the scientific equipment to follow his conclusions in detail and my untutored imagination may have leaped beyond the inferences warranted by the facts still I believe my unbounded enthusiasm afforded my friend real delight though perhaps not unmixed with a quizzical amusement Competent appraisers amongst his visitors were rare in those days and the stimulating breeze of my unstinted wonderment may have been of help to speed the barque of his endeavour on its way My unfaltering belief in Jagadish's success added strength I am sure to his own conviction as to the reality of the goal of his quest

So far for the first chapter In the next, our professor accompanied by his worthy helpmate, went off on an expedition over the seas to announce the truths he had gathered and offer them to the scrutiny of expert criticism Then was my mind filled with a rapturous foretaste of the glory that awaited our motherland in the appreciation of the genius of her gifted son in foreign lands And as acute was my distress when I learnt that money difficulties were standing in the way of Jagadish's expected victory for had I not my own bitter experience of how sadly achievement could be frustrated by mere lack of material resources? For that very reason my own means, at the time, did not

permit of my coming to his aid personally so I had to cast our burden on a friend —a wonderful friend whose noble unostentatious generosity I have the melancholy pleasure here to make public

This friend was the late Maharaja of Tippera Radhakishore Manikya and the deep affection and high regard which he happened to conceive for me has remained a mysterious marvel throughout my life At that juncture the wedding of his son was about to be celebrated in right royal style I seized the opportunity to tell him that I was supplicant for a favour worthy of the occasion He smiled when I set forth the nature of my request I do not know said he nor am I competent to judge of the work of Jagadish Bose But to you I can refuse nothing and I am not concerned to inquire what you will do with my gift with which he handed me a cheque for Rs 15000 That gift I dedicated to pave the way for the triumphal march of my friend and this I deem a fit occasion for placing the credit where it is due

Thereafter as everybody knows Jagadish carved his own way to universal recognition His European reputation attracted the attention of a high Government Official whose influence enabled him to extend his researches into the flora of different localities till at length his growing fame made it practicable for the splendidly equipped Bose Institute to be founded near his home

Thus was the apparently impossible made possible by sheer dint of his keen insight, his unwearied perseverance his indomitable courage It was I think the first time in India that a solitary worker was able to draw from the coffers of the Government as well as from his own wealthy countrymen such large contributions to help on his work Once Jagadish chandra overstepped the period of initial stringency the goddess Lakshmi came forward with abundant favours and gave up for him her usual fickleness

In the day of his success Jagadish gained an invaluable energizer and helper in Sister Nivedita and in any record of his life's work her name must be given a place of honour Thenceforward his renown spread all over the world overcoming every obstacle

That was for me the time when cruel inclemencies beset my own field of work as I struggled on through sunshine and storm labouring with my embankments of clay that kept melting away one after another Thus immersed and drifted apart from kith and kin and friends I was unable to follow the later development of Jagadish chandra's researches and so it becomes me not today to attempt to embellish with my feeble testimony the acclamations of the world at large

[Authorised translation by Surendranath Tagore of the Poet's talk to the students at Santiniketan on receiving the news of death of Jagadish Chand a Bose.]

WOMEN AS PEACE TEACHERS

By KEDARNATH DAS-GUPTA
General Secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths

Whatever may be the outcome of negotiations for world peace one thing is certain that we must find a different method for the realization of peace and happiness Men in the past and the present failed to keep war out of the world Our hope now lies with the new generation and women

Millions of men were killed and billions of money were wasted in the last world war from which we have not yet recovered, thousands are being murdered at this very moment in the East and the West yet almost all Governments of the world are preparing for a still greater war If another world war come—may God forbid it—it will completely destroy civilization in a few days with modern scientific armaments, but still there is a ray of hope to keep the world out of war

The wars in the past were all creations of men women had no responsibility in starting them Why not then let the women have a greater share in the management of the public affairs in the world today ? They manage their homes well and I believe they can govern the world as well Men failed in their allocated task, but women succeeded in theirs.

The Census report of the population shows that there are more women than men in the world It is the law of democracy that the majority should rule Many men of thought hold the view that women are superior to men in the power of the heart The man of intellect can be a villain, but he who has a good heart can never harm anybody In statistics of murder cases we find that the number of women murderers is very small Women are born with protective instincts—mother to protect their children A wife is called the 'better half of man'—the supreme ruler of the homestead

In 35 years of my public life, I have come into close contact with several great women leaders, who were all members of our organi zation. Among them were the great social worker, the late Jane Adams, who was the President of our World Fellowship of Faiths, the late Dr Annie Besant, Poetess Sorojini Naidu of India, the Rev Doctor Maude Royden of England, the world-famous English Actress, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Mrs Franklin D Roosevelt of U S A and the famous Educa tionist, Dr Maria Montessori They are all as great in their particular sphere of action as any man of their time

I am very happy that the World Fellowship of Faiths has elected a woman as its International Director, Mr Clarence Gasque, of Los Angeles, London and Paris, who has brought new light to our great movement

The most excellent book *Women in World History*, written by Miss E M White, of London, tells us the stories of the great deeds of the eminent women of many races, creeds and countries I learned from this book the position of the women, past and present I recommend everyone to read this admirable book

In our Hindu mythology we find that when there were wars between Gods and demons, the Gods invoked the Mother Goddess to save the world from destruction She incarnated as Durga, Kali, destroyed the evils and established the Kingdom of Righteousness Women are made in the pattern of the Mother of the Universe—they should have no enemies Among the peace workers today there are more women than men I believe more than ever before that if women take the lead in world affairs they can make the ideal of peace real In 20 years' time a new generation could be brought up by them, who would know that war is a crime against humanity. Until 7 or 8 years of age a child does not come much into contact with men. During this impressive age a mother can help to build its character any way she likes, which is not so easily done in later years when the character is more or less formed. The clay when soft can be moulded into any form

If you let a child play with a toy gun his inclination will be to kill If you tell a Christian child that his Saviour was killed by the Jews, naturally he will hate the Jews If you teach children to love all people as themselves, naturally they will grow with that consciousness Many great men in the world's history were made what they were by the influence of their Mother

The world is spending millions in scientific training for war Can Peace be obtained without any scientific training? I therefore wish to put before the public, the idea of starting an experimental scientific training college for women to educate children for world peace Just as women learn music, dancing, acting, painting, cooking, sewing and other professions as their accomplishments, they should also learn how to educate children scientifically for world peace Diplomas and badges should be given to them for such accomplishments, which will increase their value in the public eye

I hope in the near future every *woman will be a peace teacher* and then the world will be a better place for heroes to live in. I therefore put the following Resolution before the sixth International Montessori Congress at Copenhagen

Be it resolved that the Sixth International Montessori Congress, assembled in Copenhagen, recommend that, Madame Dr Maria Montessori establish *special classes* to train Mothers and Women Teachers to give peace education to children and that she be requested to take the initiative in such a movement, and to be empowered *to formulate and direct* the programme and to work out such details by the appointment of Committees or otherwise as she may deem wise for its success.

(It was unanimously adopted with great enthusiasm)

Dr Maria Montessori observed that the plan was very practicable, and she agreed *to prepare* a course of ten lectures on the subject The World Fellowship of Faiths proposes to hold an experimental class next summer *in London to* train Women Teachers to educate children for World Peace

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE RESERVE BANK ACT

By AMAR KRISHNA GHOSE

THE Government of India, on the recommendation of the Central Board of the Reserve Bank of India propose to move at the forthcoming session of the Central Legislative Assembly an amendment of the Reserve Bank of India Act in order to limit the holding of shares of the Bank to a maximum of 200 At present a shareholder may hold any number of shares but his voting capacity is restricted to 10 votes only one vote being awarded for 5 shares The reason for this amendment so soon after the passage of the Act is that there is a growing tendency towards a maldistribution of the share capital of the Bank as originally allotted and the proposed amendment is a measure designed to correct it

It will seem not a little remarkable that in December 1933 when the Bill was on the Legislative anvil, Mr S C Mitra proposed this very amendment But on that occasion unlike the present one, the proposal was from the Opposition, Sir George Schuster on behalf of the Government strongly opposed the amendment which was finally defeated by a margin of one vote The arguments for allowing free transfers of the shares that were used by the Opposition then are being used by the Government now for they believe that shares have been tending to concentrate in the hands of a few rich capitalists and that already more than 13 per cent of the votes have been 'frozen' The possibility of undesirable results arising out of free transfers of shares from one area to another must have been present in the minds of both the Joint Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill and Sir George Schuster The Joint Committee had considered the idea but had concluded that the advantages of free marketability were so great that transfers from one register to another should be freely allowed The Committee had confidently hoped that the contingency of one or other register being denuded of a large number of votes was extremely unlikely to arise, as original holders would hold them firmly as a "locked up" investment Both the Committee and Sir George Schuster, however agreed that should one register accumulate shares heavily while another register was being denuded the "Government should consider bringing in special legislation in order to prevent the thing going too far'

During the short time that the Reserve Bank has been in existence its shares have been on a substantial premium in the stock markets and they have mostly gravitated from registers in other centres to Bombay which owns about 55 000 more shares than were originally allotted to its register It is likely that the high premium on Reserve Bank shares has been to some extent responsible for the upsetting of the Government's expectation that they would be regarded as 'locked-up' investments by the original holders It is reported that nearly 20% of the Reserve Bank shares have been held by practically all the exchange banks in India through their nominees and it has been feared that another 30 or 40 per cent may be thus cornered their voting power being put into what a friend described as 'cold storage" Apprehension has also been expressed that 'a few interested persons either in India or abroad, may get control of the Reserve Bank voting power," if nothing is done to have the shares distributed fairly evenly throughout the country

If the proposed amendment be carried into effect—whether it will succeed in making a rough socialization of the Reserve Bank will be considered later it will involve a great fall in the market value of the shares The free market will be no more and banks will be reluctant to take the risk of lending against the security of the shares for they will be no longer able to transfer the shares to themselves but will have to depend upon an unstable market for realization of their dues It will therefore be natural for them to demand larger margins and higher interests Reserve Bank shares will lose much of their investment value and there is grave doubt that the prospect of a moderate dividend and franchise will suffice to satisfy a middle class investor in investing in Reserve Bank shares

There is no doubt that the compulsory denudation of banks and other institutions holding large blocks of Reserve Bank shares will result in some increase in the voting strength of the shareholders As soon as these shares shall have been on the market, the premium on the shares will decrease This will force many of the lesser holders either to sell out at the first opportunity or to hold on to their shares, without going to burden them-

selves with an investment of fluctuating value In the circumstances, the only class of persons who will be anxious to hold them will most probably be that which will purchase them with the object of getting as many votes as possible out of them—*i e*, the designing capitalists who aim at dictating the policy of the Reserve Bank and of whom formerly the Nationalist Opposition in the Central Assembly and now the Government of India themselves stand in fear The capitalist will find little difficulty in distributing his shares among people within his control and under his management thus increasing his own voting power and because he is allowed to transfer his votes at elections of Members of the Local Boards also increasing the chances of getting a certain number of his own nominees in the Local Boards Thus he can work his way up to the Central Board *There is nothing in the Reserve Bank Act to* prevent him from resorting to these tactics In fact the possibility of such a thing happening had been pointed out in the Central Legislative Assembly by Mr S C Mitra in proposing his amendment It was for Sir George Schuster to point out that though in the Act there was a Clause (Clause 56 of the Act) to prevent any man from influencing nominal holders of shares to exercise votes at his discretion it would

"actually be ineffective for the purpose of preventing a rich man acquiring a beneficial interest in these shares. Therefore I feel that to pass this amendment will have no practical effect I feel that it will not achieve its object but it will certainly achieve a very serious disadvantage in interfering with the free marketability in these shares."

It will be noticed that the proposed amendment, involving as it does interference with free marketability in the Reserve Bank shares seeks to create an innovation in the fundamental principles underlying the creation of the Reserve Bank as a shareholders' Bank as distinct from a State Bank There is a belief in certain quarters that Reserve Bank shares were not floated at all with the intention of giving a form of investment to the public in India, but mainly and principally only with a view to enable them to exercise their franchise in the affairs of the Reserve Bank That it should be so no one will deny But that these shares were also intended to be a form of profitable investment will be clear from the following extract from the speech of Sir George Schuster on this very amendment

"We have designed this whole scheme in order to create a free market in these shares I again put it to my Honourable friends (the Opposition) that they will not achieve their object by passing this amendment, but they will completely wreck what is *one of the main features* of our present scheme namely the creation of a free market in these shares"

The amendment therefore proposes a vital departure in principle

To conclude it would seem that if the object of the amendment is merely to thaw the frozen votes it may succeed to an extent, but if there is any intention of a roughly equitable distribution of the voting strength within the country, the measure will be quite *reasonably ineffectual The designing capitalist* who wants to have a voice in the working of the Reserving Bank will not only have the same opportunities as before but he is likely *to be presented with fresh opportunities to carry* out his plan The advantage of having more votes on the Register at the expense of a free market and free voting is to me a doubtful one



THE ROYAL VETO IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Prof DHIRENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., Ph.D

I have followed with considerable interest what might be described as a bilateral controversy on "the royal veto in the new Indian constitution" to which the parties are two professors—one engaged at Lucknow University and the other from Faridpur Rajendra College in Bengal. The initiative came from Lucknow—Dr Nandalal Chatterjee. Faridpur opened fire in reply—Professor Bimalendu Dhar. Boiled down the controversy may be said to have centred round these three points, namely, (1) whether an "innovation" has been made in the Government of India Act, 1935, in regard to the mode and manner of the exercise of the "royal veto", (2) whether the King can veto any Dominion legislation and (3) whether the King is competent to approve or disapprove of a Dominion law in direct opposition to the advice tendered by the British Cabinet. I must say at once that the questions canvassed may be examined from constitutional as well as legal aspects. I am afraid, however, that there has been a measure of confusion with regard to the issues in the writings and comments of both these careful students of the subject. What is legal is not necessarily constitutional, what is constitutional is not necessarily legal. It is, as they say, the "fiction" of English law. It is not to be supposed, however, that the legal formula does always or generally conflict with the constitutional rule. Sometimes conflicts do arise leaving us in a state of "legalized anarchy," and that is why Mr Justice Evatt has in a recent work, *The King and His Dominion Governors*, put in a fervent plea for formulating constitutional understandings into the rules of positive law.

So far as the first point is concerned, the parties to the controversy have not apparently taken note of the difference in phraseology used in the two Acts—the Government of India Act and the Government of India Act of 1935. For example reference is made in the repealed statute to *His Majesty in Council* [ss 69 (1) and 82 (1)] while in the new Act power is given to *His Majesty* to disallow any Indian legislation, Federal or Provincial, as the case may be [ss 32 (3) and 77]. Legally and constitutionally, this is an "innovation" of far-reaching importance, for in this respect direct relations have been sought to be established between His Majesty and the authorities in India, and at least in theory, if not in actual fact, the power of the executive Government in the United Kingdom under the old Act to veto or disallow Indian legislation is eliminated. This follows also from the provisions in the new Act with respect to the constitution of the Federal legislature as well as of the Provincial legislatures [ss 18 (1) and 61]. *His Majesty* is at present part of the Indian legislatures represented in the provinces by the Governor and at the Centre by the Governor-General. *His Majesty* had no place in the Indian legislatures under the repealed statute, the Central legislature consisting of the Governor-General and two chambers and the legislature in the provinces being uni-cameral with no place even for the Governor [ss 63 and 72 (a) (1)]. It is thus clear that a higher legal and constitutional status has been accorded to the Indian legislature under the present Act to bring them perhaps in line with the legislatures in the Dominions.

There seems to be another confusion, and it has arisen from a failure to distinguish between *prerogative rights* and *statutory powers*. The powers of His Majesty in Colonial or His Majesty in the matter of disallowance of Acts contemplated in the two Acts which have provoked the controversy are statutory, and it is not proper to use the expression *prerogative* in respect of these powers. The Crown's power to veto legislation in any part of the Empire exists by common law unless specifically destroyed or repealed by a competent legislature. In this connection attention may be drawn to *Attorney-General v De Keyser's Royal Hotel Ltd*, which is a leading case on the scope of the prerogative in modern times. It was held in that case that the prerogative to take the lands of a subject in case of emergency in time of war without compensation had been superseded for the time being by the statute and that the Crown was not in any event entitled to act under the prerogative. By the 1919 Act *His Majesty in Council* alone was given power to disallow Indian legislation thus leaving *His Majesty* absolutely free also to veto any Indian legislation, Central or Provincial,

in exercise of his prerogative power upon the doctrine enunciated in the case referred to above That power was left undisturbed

The question may arise as to whether or not the provisions made in the 1935 Act with regard to the disallowance of Acts are in derogation of, or in addition to, the prerogative powers of the Crown to veto legislation I shall not argue that point at this stage, suffice it to note in passing however, that where the *statutory power* restricts the *prerogative power* and does not merely put it into statutory form in identical terms, the *prerogative* must be exercised subject to the restrictions imposed by the *statutory power* and that in approaching the issue in a proper perspective the Crown's prerogative to veto legislation should in the matter of Indian legislation be read with the provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935

There is a third confusion The writers, *for instance, seem to have confused the power* to *reserve Bills* with the power to *disallow Acts* To veto completed legislation is extremely offensive it is more derogatory than the reservation of Bills Reservation may again be of two kinds—compulsory and discretionary Both reservation and disallowance are provided for in the new India Act Dr Chatterjee is completely in error in suggesting that the *Act* confers upon His Majesty power to disallow Indian Acts *even after a year* In this respect my sympathy and support are entirely on the side of Professor Dhar of Rajendra College For the law is clear on the point Section 77 lays down

> Any Act assented to by the Governor or the Governor General may be disallowed by His Majesty *within* twelve months from the date of the assent and where any Act is so disallowed the Governor shall forthwith make the disallowance known by public notification and as from the date of the notification the Act shall become void"

The same procedure applies *mutatis mutandis* to Federal legislation as contemplated in Section 32 It must be noted that '*within a year*" has nothing to do with any prerogative right that might still belong to the Crown upon a strict construction of the statute and the common law—a point which, as I have already said, it is not intended to cover in this article One other point of difference must be borne in mind It was incumbent upon the Governor General under the repealed statute to send to the Secretary of State an authentic copy of an Act assented to by him, and *His Majesty in Council* could *at any time* signify his disallowance of the Act In the new Act the Secretary of State has been eliminated, *His Majesty in Council* has been eliminated and a time limit (*within twelve months*) has been fixed

As regards the second point, without going into the historical origin of the power of disallowance it may be stated that for many years now it has found a statutory expression in most of the Dominion constitutions from which it follows that if that power is to be exercised it is to be regulated and controlled solely by the statutory provisions whatever might have been the prerogative in the past (Sec 58 of the New Zealand Act, 1852, s 56 of the British North America Act, 1867, s 59 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900, and s 65 of the Union of South Africa Act 1909) The New Zealand and North America Acts being earlier statutes the power to disallow was reserved to the *King in Council* That power could be exercised within a period of two years from the receipt of the Act from the Dominion Governor-General In the Australian and South African statutes the period prescribed is one year after the assent of the Governor-General has been given, and the power to disallow was conferred on the *Queen* and not on the *Queen in Council*. It should also be noted that these provisions were not to apply to the States or the Provinces as such

The Irish Free State Act, which has in recent years been substantially modified, contained no provision for disallowance The prerogative and not the statutory power rules Newfoundland in this regard inasmuch as the constitution is based on Letters Patent and not on Statute "*In fact,*" as *the Conference on* Dominion Legislation etc, 1929, reports "the power of disallowance has not been exercised in relation to Canadian legislation since 1873 or to New Zealand legislation since 1867, it has never been exercised in relation to legislation passed by the Parliaments of the Commonwealth of Australia *or the Union of South Africa*" In law therefore the statutory power to disallow does not exist so far as the Irish Free State is concerned That power in relation to South Africa has been destroyed by the Status of the Union Act, 1934 [s 11 (2)] It has further been affected by the Royal Executive Functions *and* Seals Act *of the same year (s 6)* It is not correct to say that the King is competent in strict legal theory to veto completed legislation in all the Dominions For some Dominions such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand the power exists, in the Irish Free State and South Africa it does not Whether His Majesty would in certain circumstances exercise the power where it exists is not a question of law but of policy, but it may be inferred from the conventions long since estab-

lished that he would not invoke it even where he had that power

So far as the third point is concerned, the issue is not free from difficulty Of course it is stated in the report of the Conference referred to above (*CMD* 3479) that

> "it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs and that consequently it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in any matter appertaining to the affairs of the Dominion against the view of the Government of that Dominion"

But that report has no binding effect in law The question should be examined in the light of the Statute of Westminster or any subsequent Dominion legislation

By the Westminster Statute the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 has been repealed and the Parliament of a Dominion has been given power not only to destroy or affect the common law of England but also the provisions of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom or any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act in so far as the same is *part of the law of the Dominion* (s 2) It remains an open question whether a provision which forms part not only of *a law* but of *a treaty* becomes by operation of this provision subject to repeal by a Dominion It seems to be clear also that arrangements or agreements entered into by the United Kingdom which are *not part of the law* of the Dominion cannot be affected by the Dominion concerned Again Parliament of a Dominion has been given full power to make laws having extra territorial operation (s 3) This may give rise to a widespread conflict of laws in the entire British Commonwealth and the proper interpretation of the provision remains for the competent Courts to determine Two divergent laws having extra-territorial operation may, for instance, be enacted by the United Kingdom Parliament and a Dominion Parliament Will His Majesty's subject in a Dominion while abroad be governed by British law or by His own Dominion law? Where the Judicial Committee is still the final appellate court the judgment in such a conflict of laws may go against the Dominion upon the doctrine of the omnipotence of the British Parliament Whatever might be the range and extent of powers conferred upon Dominion Parliaments by the Statute of Westminster that Statute in strict law is subject to repeal by Parliament Generally, however, it is contemplated that the King will act on the advice of His Dominion Ministers in relation to Dominion affairs in so far as the taking of such advice does not encroach upon the rights of the British Parliament or affect seriously the King's relations with His Government in the United Kingdom Once again we are confronted with legal anomalies which have been described as "fictions of law"

Attention may however, be drawn to certain provisions in the Status of the Union Act and the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act of South Africa These two Acts are a statutory recognition of the theory or the constitutional rule that the King should act on the advice of His Ministers of the Dominion concerned It is laid down in the Status Act that the Executive Government of the Union in regard to any aspect of its domestic or external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union Again save where otherwise expressly stated or necessarily implied any reference to the King shall be deemed to be a reference to the King acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union But reservation is made in respect of the provisions of Sections 12, 14, 20 and 45 of the South Africa Act of 1909 (s 4) Further, Section 4 and Section 6 of the Seals Act are important for this purpose There also the King is brought in direct relations with the Ministers of State for the Union of South Africa.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japanese Destruction of Chinese Cultural Institutions

Japanese aggression in China has taken many forms, but the deliberate destruction of cultural and humane institutions and the indiscriminate aerial bombing of civilian population centres in the present invasion constitute the blackest page in the inventory of Japanese acts, writes Y Y Tsu, Head of the Department of Sociology, St John's University, Shanghai, in the Sino-Japanese conflict number of *The China Quarterly*

In the fourth raid on Nanking, the National Health Administration building was made the target of bombing and was completely destroyed The Central University College of arts was also completely destroyed In Canton, Chungshan University second largest national university was bombed and destroyed *Tung Chi College* with its splendid medical school at Woosung was bombarded by the Japanese forces early in the Shanghai hostilities, on the pretext that it harbored troops, which was emphatically denied by the college authorities

The most flagrant example of Japanese "barbarism" towards Chinese cultural institutions, points out the writer is the destruction of the famous Nankai University of Tientsin Its work in economic research deserves some reference

The Nankai Institute of Economics founded by Dr Franklin L. Ho now Director of the Political Affairs Department of the Executive Yuan has played a distinctive role in promoting research in economic and social problems and in training research workers Its English publication *The Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly*, enjoys a wide circulation among western academic circles, while its index numbers on cost of living wholesale prices, foreign trade and foreign exchange have been extensively used by such organizations as the League of Nations *The University* represents a financial outlay of $3 000 000 Its Library had about 2 000,000 volumes, including one of the best and largest collections dealing with social and economic conditions in China and in foreign lands

When the Japanese forces gained control of Tientsin, they turned their attention to Nankai So thoroughly was the work of destruction carried out that by July 31, the whole University including the Library, two men's dormitories, the women's dormitory, the chemical engineering building, the electrical engineering building faculty residences and the Administration Hall, was reduced to a mass of charred and twisted debris What was once the jewel among the non governmental universities of the country is just a heap of ashes on the northern plains, because it had the ill fate of being in the way of the invaders.

Had Nankai been an isolated case its destruction might have been accounted for as an accident of war But there was the repeated aerial bombing of Central *University at Nanking The Chancellor, Lo Chia lun, in* reporting the destruction of the University College of *Arts said* This was the *fourth time that Japanese* planes had bombed the University" The great Chungshan University at Canton was partly destroyed by Japanese planes In commenting on it, Chancellor Chou Lu said that the University embraced three *hundred mow of land with no other buildings in its* surroundings and that if the Japanese did not intend to bomb Chinese cultural institutions, *there was no reason* why they should have subjected it to repeated bombard *ments*

It is evident, then, that these raids on the educational institutions are not accidental

Japanese forces did the same thing in the Shanghai War of 1932 when they destroyed the establishment of the Commercial Press in Chapei, the leading publishers of China together with the famous Far Eastern Library. When Japan occupied Manchuria, the first thing she did was to close the North eastern *University and all institu* tions of college grade, permitting only middle and primary *schools to remain In Peiping and Tientsin within a* week after she gained control, she caused all old school *textbooks to be withdrawn and burnt, the teaching of* San Min Principles dropped from the curriculum, Chinese history textbooks revised, etc

We are forced to the *conclusion that in* all this Japan is following a fundamental policy toward China namely, to crush Chinese nationalism. She dislikes the Chinese universities and colleges intensely because she knows that they are the fountainheads of modern Chinese renaissance She calls it anti Japanese spirit

An estimate of $10 912,242 the total material loss from the damages done to Chinese educational and cultural institutions in Shanghai by Japanese bombing and shelling up to October 15, was given in statistics released by the Social Affairs Bureau of the Shanghai City Government

Of the total amount $6,623,159 represents losses to local *universities and colleges*, $2 199 954 to *middle* schools, $252 129 to primary schools and the *remaining* $1 860 000 to cultural institutions

Where Japan Rules in China

There may be people who yet believe that some outside power should be given the opportunity to introduce "Paradise" in China Norman D Handwell's article in the "War in China" supplement of the *Asia* will disillusion *those who may believe that Japan should be* allowed to try to bring prosperity to China, for Japan does not seem to have brought much prosperity to the *Japanese sponsored* "East Hopeh Anti-Communist Autonomous Government".

This "Bogus East *Hopeh Regime," as the Chinese* would prefer us to label it consists of twenty two *countries, all but six located in the so-called "demilitarized*

zone" north of Peiping and Tientsin and south of the Great Wall Its population is variously estimated at from four to six millions with the former figure appearing more dependable As to the actual power in this region, Albert T Lu had the following to say in March of this year "There is at present at least one Japanese adviser in every *hsien* (country) in East Hopeh, who wields greater power than the magistrate and interferes with practically all the matters of the magistracy In Tungchow (capital of the regime), there is a host of Japanese advisers who constitute the real administrative power behind the puppet regime"

Banditry has increased in this autonomous region in the past few years

Armed soldiers under the leadership of Shih Yu san and Liu Kuei tang have roamed through the region and have extended their wanderings southward into interior Chinese provinces More than once Liu has operated southward through Hopeh Province and into the neighbouring provinces of Honan and Shantung plundering along provincial border regions. More than once also his band has been dispersed, only to have Liu himself return to the Japanese Concession in Tientsin to hide his time until funds and encouragement arrived to start him on his road of ravage once again

Gambling and narcotic trade are openly encouraged in this area

In East Hopeh in every county seat and in its outlying districts Japanese and Korean *ronin* (rowdies) have opened up gambling houses brothels and "Foreign Companies" where drugs are sold Many of them have used the young Chinese sold them cocaine until they acquired the habit or caused them by gambling to take the family goods or ruined them by making thieves of them Some Chinese investigators have claimed that these Japanese and Korean toughs have been in league with Japanese consular and military officials Some of these "Foreign Companies" even bear signs that they are Japanese authorized.

The author then notes the effects of the smuggling trade

The country seats and market towns are full of Japanese-made goods which are sold cheaply because imported duty free The result has been the closing down of numerous native industries such as the paper making industry of Chien an County the village cloth weavers industry of Yu t'ien and even the new Huahsin cotton mills of T'ang-shan. Shops remaining sell only Japanese goods Last year the East Hopeh government set up a series of customs stations of its own to collect customs duties at the rate of one fourth of the Chinese national tariff Chinese claim that there is a close connection between the Japanese military and the open legalization of smuggling by the "puppet" government
Conditions have become such that European and American importers have been openly approached by Japanese smugglers (in the guise of legal importing firms) offering to smuggle their goods in by way of East Hopeh at large savings.

The East Hopeh Government has been carrying on a programme of denationalization of the educational system.

The Chinese school text books have been systematically revised. All references to Japanese aggression, past, present or future, have been eliminated and also every allusion likely to make the Chinese patriotic and loyal to their own country Thus all citations of the party principles of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, have been barred as have all references to the late Dr Sun Yat-sen—an action comparable to the deletion from American texts of all reference to the signers of the Declaration of Independence All students in middle schools and above are required to take a compulsory course in Japanese and have as required reading the *Kwantung Pao* (journal of the Japanese Kwantung organization) and the *Ta t'ung Pao* (a Manchurian daily).

For the obvious purposes of restraining and drugging the ideas of the young patriotic Chinese the reading of the Confucian Classics and the proclamation of Confucian doctrines are being encouraged—ceremony more than content is stressed.

In furtherance of this mental drugging of the Chinese, all shops selling nationalistic Chinese publications have been subjected to confiscations and closings Should Japan extend her sway elsewhere in China it is only logical, in fact it would be imperative that she would also extend this policy of mental doping Already reports have arrived from North China that, in regions newly occupied by Japanese troops, various units are sent into the country to tear down all nationalistic Chinese posters and even from within the huts of the peasants all pictures of Dr Sun Yat sen or General Chiang Kai shek.

The Accused: An International Study

The Living Age makes the following extracts from a report issued by the Howard League for Penal Reform, showing the lot of the politically suspected persons in different countries

AUSTRIA —Police have the right to send politically suspected persons to certain places of detention without trial for an unlimited period and all intercourse with the outside world is controlled by the authorities

BULGARIA —In political cases prisoners are sometimes arrested and held by the police for several weeks without trial Other suspects are interned without trial in remote villages

IRISH FREE STATE —*Under the Public Safety Act* it is an offence in political cases to refuse to answer questions put by the police

GREAT BRITAIN —A confession is not admissible in evidence if induced by threats or promises Cases are, however, known where the police have held out the hope of a lighter sentence as an inducement to plead guilty, and complaints are sometimes made of excessively long questioning before a suspected person is charged.

GERMANY —Laws apply only to cases tried before the ordinary criminal courts. In cases where the State Police or Secret State Police take action against politically suspected persons without bringing them before the public prosecutor and the court their action is completely free from judicial control and in every way legally unfettered The Secret Police can keep a person in a concentration camp for an indefinite period

NORTHERN IRELAND —By orders under Special Powers Acts refusal to answer police or examining magistrate or other officer is a criminal offence even if answer may tend to incriminate the accused, answers to police or magistrates may be used as evidence of offence Persons may be detained indefinitely

HUNGARY —Sometimes the third degree is used, especially in the case of political prisoners.

ITALY —Independently of any judicial procedure a special non judicial committee presided over by the prefect has the right to send a person to a place of detention for one to five years if he has acted (or has shown intention to act) against the authority of the State so as to damage national interests.

POLAND —Persons who, in the view of an administrative authority, may possibly endanger the State or the Government can be detained in concentration camps for a period of three months which can be extended indefinitely, without any judicial control

SOVIET RUSSIA —The law is scrupulously carried out according to the code in all non political charges In all political or quasi political cases the political police are at liberty to arrest any Russian citizen without a warrant or without indicating the charge, the arrested person may be held indefinitely without trial and may be tried, condemned, and punished in secret

Torture, according to the report, is 'usually spoken of as a stain upon the honor of past ages, from which our own is free Yet no one who examines the evidence can doubt that the use of torture is more widespread today than it was half a century ago The evil is not extinct but is growing'

"Advantages of War"

An extract reproduced from the *Unity* in our last issue shows how the German child is being militarised through the agency of text-books A recent issue of the *Unity* published extracts from another such text book from Germany, *Der Deutsche Aufsatz* by Oberstudienrats Dr A Vogeler, in which appears the following scheme of a paper on the 'Advanatges of War"

Advantages of war I For the State (1) War is an antidote against the rotten herbs of peace, where rationalism sends everything to sleep by overcoming idealism (2) when patriotism is awakened the holy fire of the enthusiasm for the Fatherland is set alight, (3) the victors acquire a predominant position of force, of prestige and of influence, which is their reward, the vanquished are not dishonoured if they have defended themselves bravely, (4) peoples learn to know one another and to respect each other, the exchange of ideas and viewpoints is facilitated, (5) commerce seeks new channels, which often are profitable, (6) the arts flourish, and poesy and painting particularly find excellent subjects

II For the citizen (1) War supplies occasions for the development of talent, and without war there can be not so many great men in the world, (2) war gives the possibility of displaying virtues, (3) the religious sentiment is awakened in the conqueror as well as in the conquered, (4) active people amass fortunes, (5) to die for the Fatherland is sweet, and the conqueror remembers those who fell in battle

The *Unity* concludes

Here is poison for the minds of children, gently administered by the school system of a country which has suffered more terribly from war than any other modern nation And this is only one sample among many! That Germany is the only country engaged in this business is not to be believed for a moment An examination of text books in France, Italy Jugo Slavia, Poland, would reveal, we fear, a very similar situation Which means that a whole new generation of Europeans is being reared in the ideas that produced the most ghastly war in human history!

Laurence Housman's Fight with the Censor

Laurence Housman who had the unique experience of having thirty two of his plays censored, writes in the *Evening Standard* (quoted in *The Living Age*) the very interesting story of his encounter with the Censor.

My personal entanglement in its cog wheels began in 1902, when I submitted for license a Nativity play called *Bethlehem*, license was refused on the score that the Holy Family must not figure in a stage play

As regards the actual presentation of the play, the ban did not make much difference A 'Bethlehem Society' was formed members obtained tickets and the play was performed, theoretically in private, but actually to a public, though limited in number, and expensive to collect This circumvention of the Censor cost me about five hundred pounds Had there been no censorship, there is no doubt that Gordon Craig's beautiful production would have brought a handsome profit to all concerned.

Now what justification had the Censor for his action? A few years later, he licensed a play called *Eager Heart* in which the Holy Family appeared in the disguise of peasants seeking shelter for the night. When I wrote to ask the Censor why he had given a license for what he had refused to me, he first denied that he had done so and then fell back on the excuse that in that play only one of the Holy Family—St. Joseph—spoke.

To that I nailed him If I arranged in my play that only St Joseph spoke, would he I asked, give it a license? He could not do otherwise than say Yes, and so, for the next five years, my play was publicly performed with a ridiculous 'Earth Angel' standing by Our Lady's side and saying her words for her!

Another of his encounters with the Censor was over his plays about Queen Victoria:

On these plays being submitted to the Censor, I was informed that the Lord Chamberlain was unable to grant a license for plays containing so sacred a character as the late Queen Victoria. Once more, for getting the plays dramatically presented I had to resort to the same course as that which I adopted for *Bethlehem* and *Pains and Penalties*, and secure for them a technically private performance which escaped the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain and under these safeguarding conditions, ten of the plays were performed very successfully at the Gate Theatre for five weeks in 1935

And now at last (thanks, presumably, to the common sense of the former King Edward VIII) a license for public performance has been granted them, and a new rule has been devised by the Lord Chamberlain in order to give the concession its proper red tape accompaniment

It is now decided that one hundred years after the accession of a deceased sovereign the sacredness of his or her character has sufficiently diminished to allow of stage presentation So on June 21, 1937, the day after its centenary, my first scene representing the accession of Queen Victoria and nine or ten other plays of the series made their first public appearance.

Mr Housman concludes with the following remarks on censorship:

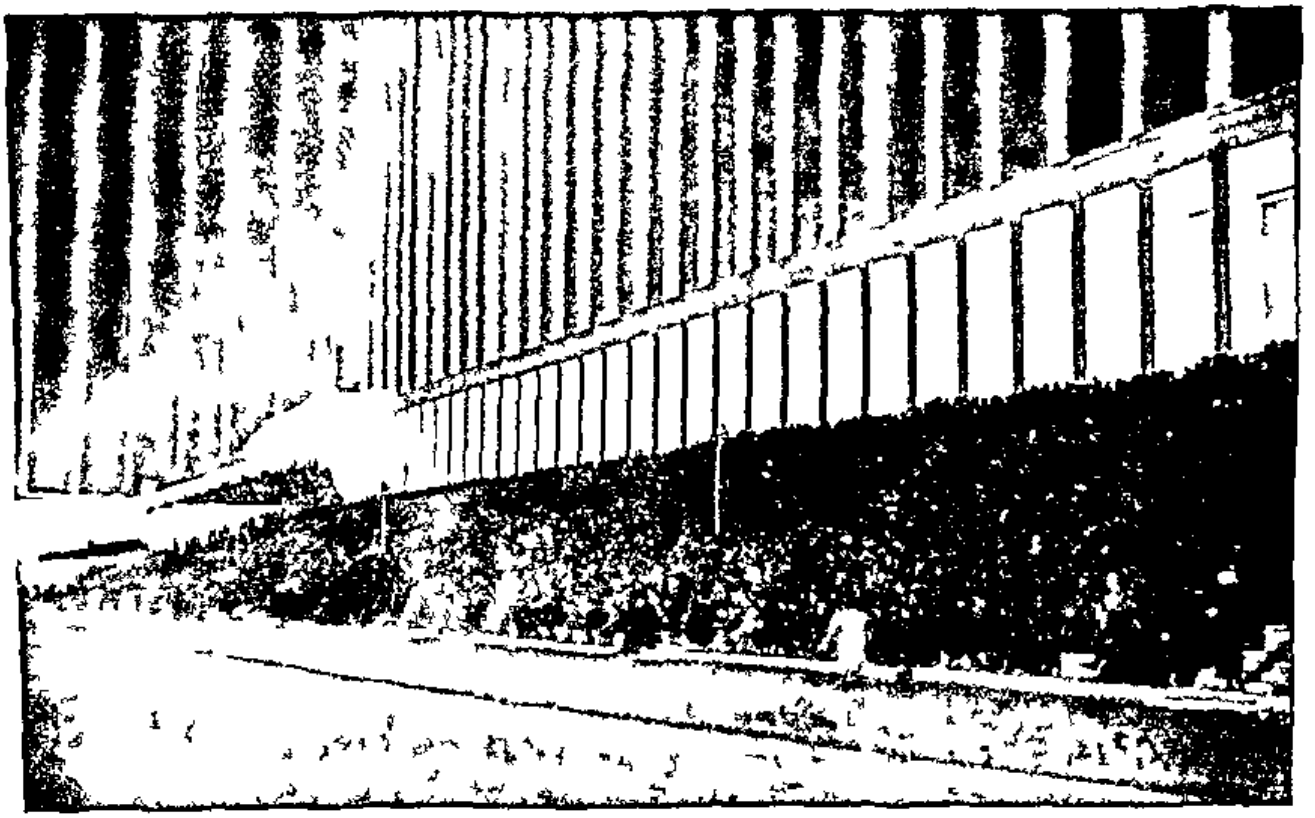
But is it not a strange incongruity, in our democratic system that a functionary of almost autocratic power, and subject to no judicial appeal, is able, as effectively as a Bolshevik government to destroy property, impoverish a playwright and deny to the public perfectly decent entertainment, merely on the basis of a stale tradition which he can alter at will as was proved by his subsequent passing of my two earlier plays? Is it any wonder that I am out to discredit a department so out-of date in its working and from which I have received such unjust treatment?



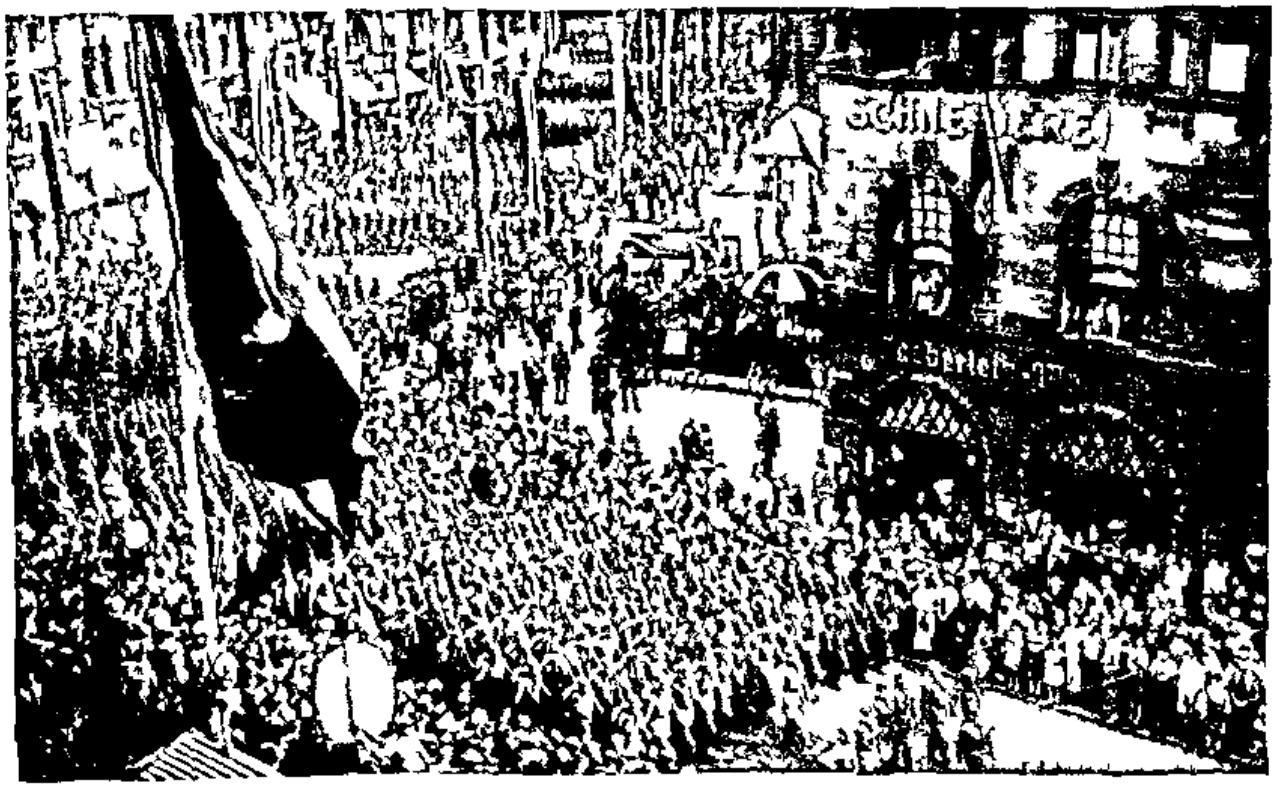
Herr H ler s house Wachenfeld Hou e near Berchte gaden



The Duke of W ndsor an l h s w fe d r ng the r v to the Emp re
Sportsfields (S ad um) Berl n



Fede a on of Labour C ng e s 1937 The Tr bune w th g an searcl ghts dur ng th e parade of the pol t cal leaders on the Zeppel n Meadow



The marcl of the Labour Corps thro ,l the s reets of Nurnberg



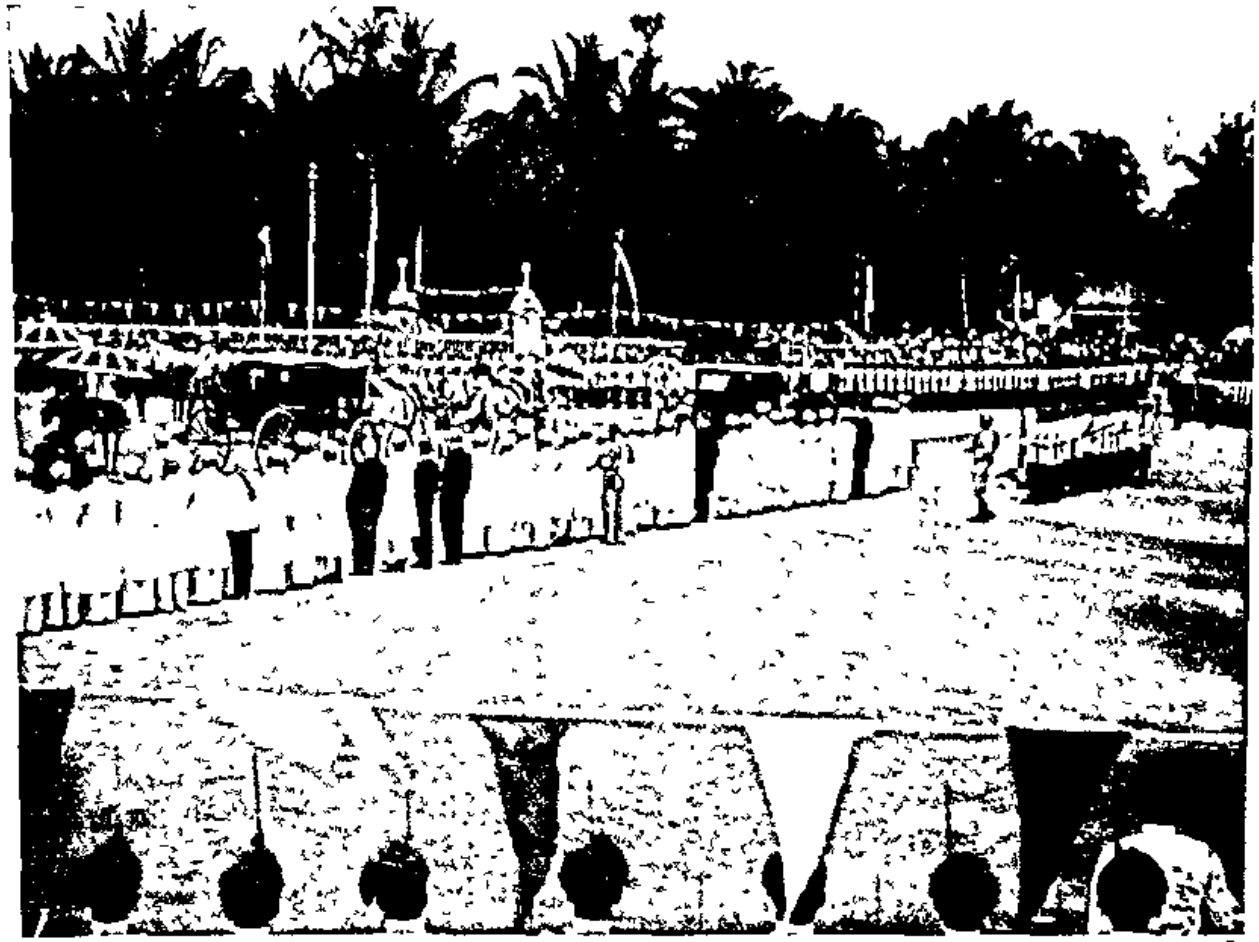
Pratiksha (Awaiting)



The World



Nata bhru (The Bashful Maiden)



A view of the Sasthamangal Procession
H H. The Maharaja and his younger brother driving in State



Sino-Japanese War. A victim of aerial bombing. Beside him his wife with the child witnesses the tragedy

Notes

"The Dignity of States" and "The Dignity of the Bully"

When, after the last world war, the Italian Philosopher Benedetto Croce made certain observations in his book, *The Conduct of Life*, on the dignity of States, he did not perhaps anticipate that the cap would fit Italy also But the present world situation reminds us of what he wrote in chapter XXXV of that work Said he .

The dignity of States has a counterpart in the dignity of the bully, who will yield only to a bully stronger or luckier than he Base and cowardly likewise the procedures of States in their dealings with other States sharp commands and the big stick for the weak and the weaker, respectfulness and politeness for "Powers" of equal power, cringing flattery and boot licking for the stronger! Show me a State which, in the war just over, maintained its dignity in the ethical sense of the word We had the spectacle of France a trembling mendicant for aid from anyone in a position to lend it, the glad hand of fellowship extended to savages and barbarians (?), Senegalese and Indian Gurkhas galloping about the "fair land of France", words of feminine allurement for peoples she had in better times, insulted and despised, invitations, vain ones, sent to far Nippon for yellow troops to defend her invaded territory, unctuous democratic manners, and pious ejaculations on "Latin sisterhood," for neighbouring countries of Latin origin, consecrations to liberty, human justice, and democracy, for a republic farther removed .
who could enumerate the full list of such acts of fawning that in an individual similarly placed would have been regarded as morally disgusting? But the war won and over, it is a different story France "wraps herself in her dignity" She now steps forward as the high administratux of justice—Monsieur de Paris, one might almost say—toward the great people that is her neighbour Forgetful of common bonds of humanity insolent, sarcastic, cynical, she now applies the high-sounding maxims of liberty and justice to the advantage of her exclusive interests, with an occasional descent from the high horse, even now however, as it proves convenient to conciliate one or another of the great powers

Croce then turns his attention on England and the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other

At the culminating point of German fortunes, at the critical moment of the war we had the spectacle of England and the United States—not vanquished but deeply shaken—condescending to advances which were offers of compromise and peace. And these advances? They were insolently repelled by the momentary victor, the proud German State, which a short time afterwards was making advances on its own account (and what craven ones!), finally accepting meek as a lamb, every thing that was written for it on a piece of paper!

The Italian Philosopher concludes

States are magnificent animals, mighty, colossal, but their chief desire is to endure, and to escape destruction they will resort to any device that is available

Effects of War on the Chinese People

According to an article in *The China Weekly Review*, owing to the Sino-Japanese war, the mentality of the Chinese people "has undergone, for better or worse, a drastic change"

The most noticeable change is that we become very militaristic in our conception. We have been known to be great lovers of peace but after many disillusionments, we have come, at last, to the conclusion that peace cannot be had unless it is supported by strong armament Only yesterday we cried for the retrenchment of our military expenditures criticised the reckless spending in the attempt to build up our national defense and frowned upon the increasing outflow of our wealth for the purchase of foreign arms and munitions. But today, we lament our want of big cannon and anti aircraft guns, and deplore bitterly that we have not spent enough to prepare for our national defense We even go so far as to point a finger of condemnation at the many beautiful buildings in the Civic Center—once a pride of our hearts, and ask each other, "It is a great pity that these buildings should be put up at enormous expenses for the purpose of decoration only and without any military value. And would our national defense be very much strengthened, if the money spent for this purpose could be saved for the purchase of more airplanes and guns?" It is a general contention that the story of war would be told differently if our soldiers were as well-equipped as our enemy The inferiority of our war equipment has struck so deeply into our hearts, that if we have our own way in shaping our national financial policy we would not in the least hesitate to spend every cent of our national revenue for military purpose Dr Koo's statement in a speech at the Brussels Conference that "China regrets that her rearming in recent years has not been more rapid or more extensive so that she may offer more effective resistance and lessen the toll of suffering ruthlessly imposed on the Chinese people" speaks eloquently of our prevailing sentiment.

As Professor Raman is a distinguished physicist, his estimate of Sir J C Bose's work as a physicist would have been entitled to serious consideration if it had been an unbiassed and dispassionate scientific estimate But Professor Raman himself knows, as others do, that he is prejudiced against Sir J C Bose His very comments, which *The Statesman* has criticised show his bias Therefore it would have been better for him if he had kept quiet Sir J C Bose's reputation can take care of itself

As regards Sir J C Bose's work as a biologist, Sir C V Raman says

> I am not competent to speak with complete authority on his work in the field of Biology But few Biologists whom I have met in my travels in America and Europe have been inclined to attach importance to the sensational claims made on behalf of Sir Jagadis Bose's work

Sir C V Raman assumes that he can speak on "work in the field of biology" with *some* authority, though not with "*complete* authority" Why is he so modest?

If he wanted the sentence following his modest disclaimer of "complete authority" to be taken as a serious scientific pronouncement, he should have mentioned the names addresses and standing of the biologists whom he met and who are alleged to have disparaged Bose's work, in order that their opinions could be verified by correspondence with them and weighed as against those of many world-famous biologists whose estimate of Bose's work has been read even by laymen—if of course anybody cared to take so much trouble

Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's Convocation Address

In November last Mr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee delivered a fine Convocation address at Patna He dwelt on the culture and thought and glory of ancient India and proceeded to observe.

> It may be asked that if such has been the greatness of India as a home of culture and thought, why is it that she has lost her political independence and has become a subject nation? Would it be true to say that the catholicity and universal sympathy which contributed so much to the everlasting freshness of India's civilization concealed in them the germs of her political downfall? Did they engender that other worldliness which spelt ruin to the prospect of India's freedom? History supplies the answer Did not India produce Chandragupta and Samudragupta Pratapsingh, Sivaji and Ranjit Singh, in spite of the pacific teachings of our ancestors? Did not the nameless but illustrious heroes, the Indian Argonauts, who explored the mysteries of the unchartered seas and spread Indian culture to the farthest East prove that Hindu pacifism did not eliminate enterprise and love of adventure? Indian sages and philosophers never suggested that cowards and weaklings would ever be the torch bearers of India's great heritage None but the valiant can achieve salvation India's culture has not been responsible for India's bondage That culture transplanted to the Himalayas and beyond has not taken the edge off the material spirit of Mongolian races
>
> Is it then her climate that deteriorated the sturdy Aryan, Turk and Afghan in turn? If this were so, how are we to account for the rise of the Mahrattas and the Rohillas the Jaths and the Sikhs? How are we to explain the resurrection of the Rajputs? How could Hyder Ali of Mysore hold his own against the Mahrattas and the English? It is not the climate, it is not the culture, we must seek the cause of our downfall elsewhere
>
> India fell mainly because her people were at the critical hour divided and disorganised Her influence waned when the forces of disintegration political and social, were at work If we left our neighbours alone, we revelled in internal strife

He concluded by saying:

> I do not forget that in recent times efforts are being made to meet some of our vital needs But no reforms of a radical character in any field of activity will ever be possible nor can India rise to her full stature spiritually and economically until and unless she takes her rank among the free nations of the world No material gain no earthly possession can ever compensate for the loss of man's liberty The conflict of ideals and interests between a subject race and the power that wants to hold it in its leading strings is as old as history itself, it can be solved peacefully and amicably only if the latter accords to the former the same treatment as it demands from others in respect of its own rights and privileges The man who is fully free is one who lives in a country which is independent, in a state which is democratic, in a society where the laws are equal and restrictions at a minimum, in an economic system in which national interests are protected and the citizen has the scope of a secure livelihood, an assured comfort and full opportunity to rise by merit
>
> This freedom so truly and courageously defined, is not ours today and until this condition is reached, India will never achieve true greatness or happiness, based on the glorious features of her past civilization.
>
> The Indian Universities if they are to play their role in the rebuilding of a new India must not regard themselves as exclusive institutions which exist apart from the currents of the country's life Let them train their alumni in a worthy manner saturate them with the lessons of Indian history and civilization, instil into them unity and reason strength and dauntlessness, inspire them with skill and knowledge and teach them to apply themselves devotedly and unselfishly to the service of their fellowmen Let the teachers of the Universities consider it their sacred duty to be the interpreters of India's heritage, the seekers of truth and knowledge and prove to the world that Indian scholars are second to none in their efforts to serve the cause of the humanities and the sciences in relation to the unfettered progress of India and of human civilization itself

Frontier Premier Dr. Khan Sahib on "Bande Mataram"

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PESHAWAR Nov 29

As a good deal of misunderstanding has been created over the question of "Bande Mataram" and "Allah O-Akbar" by interested persons in the province with a view to discredit Dr Khan Sahib in the eyes of his co religionists, I interviewed Dr. Khan Sahib at Kohat

in this connection to ascertain his views on the question Dr Khan Sahib stated that both "Bande Mataram" and "Allah O Akbar' are quite separate slogans and cannot be mixed with one another adding that "*Bande Mataram*" was the national anthem of the country while "Allah O Akbar" was a slogan to inspire confidence amongst the believers of Islam Dr Khan Sahib further stated that he had no objection in adopting "*Bande Mataram*" as the national anthem of the country holding that the song contained nothing objectionable for the Muslims

—"*The Hindusthan Standard*"

Survey of Bengal Fish Industry by Madras Officer

In pursuance of the announcement made by the Minister in Charge of Industries and Agriculture Bengal, during the Budget session in the Bengal Legislative Assembly it is understood that arrangements have been completed to undertake immediately a survey to explore the possibilities of developing the fishery industry in the province

The Government of Madras was approached some time ago for lending the services of a suitable officer for the purpose He will begin his work of surveying inland fisheries in the province from the next month

The Government of Bengal as a result of the proposed survey will be in a position to decide for themselves as regards the steps to be taken for implementing various proposals that are likely to be contained in the report to be submitted by the Madras Officer

Perhaps the sea board of Bengal is not less long than that of Madras, nor do Bengal rivers contain less fish than those of Madras Perhaps, too, the fish-eating population of Bengal is larger than that of Madras How is it then that Bengal does not possess a "suitable officer" for the purpose of a fishing industry survey?

Probable Result of Congress and Muslim League Opposition to Federation

We have pointed out in our last (December) number (pp 718-719) and in some previous numbers that the probable result of the opposition of the Congress and of the Muslim League to the Government scheme of federation will be that the Government will win over the Muslim communalists by extending the operation of the Communal Decision to the Indian States In the British India part of the Federal Legislatures Hindus, who form more than 70 per cent of the population, have been reduced to a hopeless minority having been given only 42 per cent of the seats in the Assembly Hindus are a majority in the Indian States also If among the representatives of the States nominated by their rulers, Hindus be similarly reduced to a minority, their proportional strength in the legislature will be further reduced The Communal Decision can be extended to the States without amending the Government of India Act The Hindu rulers can be persuaded or practically forced by various kinds of pressure to nominate more Muhammadans as their representatives than they can claim on the basis of population, and the Moslem rulers will naturally nominate more Musalmans as their representatives than they can claim on the ground of their numerical strength

If the special correspondent of *The Hindu Outlook* of Delhi has been correctly informed the mischief apprehended is already a certainty Says he

I understand from reliable sources that the Congress Opposition to the Federal Scheme of the Government of India Act is having undesirable reactions. The British Government and the Viceroy are determined to see Federation through, and lacking Congress co operation are looking for support in the Muslim camp The main point of Muslim objection to Federation is that the Muslims are not assured of having one-third of the quota allotted to Indian States representation This point is likely to be conceded and the Hindu States are already being sounded as to whether they are agreeable to send a sufficient number of Muslims to the Federal Legislature to make up the Muslim one third It is expected that under the persuasion and pressure of the Political Department the Hindu States will agree to the proposal An important Muslim State is said to be angling to make Mr M A Jinnah the first Federal Prime Minister

I further understand that in order to meet the danger ahead active steps are being taken to form a pro-Federation party in the country

We had suggested that, just as Congress has accepted office in most provinces and has thereby prevented reactionaries there from capturing power and doing harm to the cause of freedom and nationalism, so Congress might accept office at the Centre and prevent reactionaries from weakening the forces of freedom and nationalism Congress should capture all the seats in the Federal Legislature that it is possible for it to do and form a Central Congress Government In most of the provinces Congress has formed governments overruling doctrinaire objections As regards the Central Government also no doctrinaire objection should be heeded by Congress

It should not be taken for granted that the ruling princes are all against Indian nationalism Why should it be assumed that no ruling prince is a patriot? Efforts should be made to persuade as many princes as possible to give their subjects the right to elect the States' representatives—if not all the representatives, at least some to begin with Should such efforts fail, endeavours should be made to persuade the princes themselves to nominate men of enlightened and progressive views In all circumstances we should try to make the best of a bad job

Congress is a non-communal body Therefore, some people may think that it should do

nothing which will prevent the strength of the Hindu element in the Federal Legislature from being further reduced, as that may be construed as a communal move But Congressmen know, *as others do, that Hindus form the backbone of* nationalism in India We do not say that there are no nationalists among Muhammadans But the plain truth is that it is the Hindus who have fought for freedom for all Indians irrespective of race creed or caste If in the Central Legislature the Hindu element be reduced to a hopeless minority the cause of nationalism will also be a hopeless cause there So let not the use of the word Hindu frighten Congressmen They are quite capable of facing facts Let them face facts though the facts may wear a Hindu garb and bear a Hindu name

Mr Shiva Rao's Address at Trade Union Federation

In the course of his presidential address at the third general session of the National Trades Union Federation held in Calcutta last month, Mr Shiva Rao observed

Even a man so entirely on the workers' side as Mr G n has been compelled to utter a word of warning that the workers should not declare strikes except as a *last resort and place themselves in the wrong by striking* without notice I agree if I may say so with the view expressed by the Minister of Labour in Madras and am confident that the Federation generally endorses principle enunciated therein But emphatically I do not accept the analysis of the present situation put forward in certain quarters that this manifestation of industrial unrest *widespread and potentially dangerous in certain centres* as it is is due to the inflammatory teachings of a certain set of people Whatever may have been the truth of the assertion eighteen years ago that the workers could be led into a strike by mischievous or overzealous agitators we know that today they are not so ignorant or credulous as to become the innocent dupes of partisan propaganda *I have too high a regard for the shrewd practical sense* of the workers to accept this view of the situation

But the following editorial note in *Harijan* (December 11, 1937) seems to show that what was true eighteen years ago is still partly true in some areas at any rate:

The Ahmedabad labour strike is over—not without having done a lot of harm all round The only one good result of it may be this that the workers have learnt one more lesson of not listening to those who would encourage strikes as such and have also perhaps realised the value of the Labour Union which has by now weathered many a storm, and which makes for the solidarity of the labour interests The Indian Labour Journal which is the official organ of the B N Rly Indian Labour Union commends to its readers Gandhiji's article 'Storm Signals' and *has addressed very sensible remarks both* to the workers and the labour leaders "They must" it says "formulate their grievances present them to the proper quarters, seek the aid of Provincial Governments for their redress, and if all channels fail, resort to the ultimate weapon of strike It will never do to strike work and then to evolve a list of grievances and demands" Also "Labour organisations *should develop a strength* of their own There had been sporadic strikes throughout the country in 1920 There were record strikes in the *textile and other industries including railways* in the year 1928 We have now strikes all over the country They do indicate in uncertain terms that the workers are prepared to make any sacrifice in order to secure better conditions But mere strike without the development of trade unions which function continuously and systematically do not carry the workers far The leaders who figure so much in strikes *should set themselves down to* do some regular trade union work But, unfortunately, most of them do not seem to have faith in trade unionism which according to them, is reformist Some of them go to the extent of stating that workers cannot see or think beyond improving their own conditions and all revolutionary thought can only emanate from the bourgeoisie They may be entitled to think so but they should not exploit labour for this purpose'

Nevertheless, it is true, as Mr Shiva Rao proceeded to observe that

We must look elsewhere and deeper for the wave of unrest which is *undoubtedly* sweeping over the country There is a certain amount of natural impatience both on the part of the workers themselves and those who are leading them with existing conditions—an impatience which is finding expression in strikes of different kinds

The strikes that have taken place during the last few months are the first fruits of a release from the repressive but otherwise do nothing policy of the provincial Governments of the last several years The workers are *impatient for reforms that have long been overdue, and* hopeful that under the new provincial Governments especially with the pledges that the Congress has given both at its annual sessions and in its election manifesto, a definite and comprehensive programme will soon be put into operation The volume of industrial discontent prevalent in India is a measure of the failure of the old *administrations to deal with the workers in a spirit of* fairness and justice It is a heavy burden they have left for the autonomous provinces of today

Mr. Harold Butler at N. T. U. Federation Session

In the course of his address at the National Trades Union Federation session Mr Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva, said

"I have realised" continued Mr Butler "that I have come to India at a very interesting time and it is not difficult to see the movement of ideas which is taking place at the present moment in the various provinces. *One sees one feels that a great deal of energy has* developed in the social field One feels that more rapid progress is likely to be made in the course of the next few years that has been accomplished in the past And I think it should not be a question of social legislation alone but a question also of developing what might be called social consciousness

Even the short experience I have in India has given me tremendous encouragement It makes me feel that real advance is beginning to take place here and that a great deal more is likely to be accomplished in the immediate future."

Appeal for World wide Boycott of Japanese Goods

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has received the following cable from Dr John Dewey, Prof Albert Einstein, Mr Bertrand Russel and Monsieur Romain Rolland, from New York

'In view of the wanton destruction of oriental civilization and for humanity, peace and democracy we propose that the peoples of all countries should organize a voluntary boycott against Japanese goods, refuse to sell and load war materials to Japan and cease co-operation *with Japan in ways that help her aggressive policy*, while giving China every possible help for relief and self defence until Japan has evacuated all her forces from China and abandoned her policy of conquest. Wish the Congress to endorse this statement and give publicity and call all India to join action'

Indians have already been supporting the movement for boycotting Japanese goods As ordinary purchasers of goods cannot generally distinguish Japanese goods easily from other articles offered for sale by shopkeepers, the *movement must depend for success to a large* extent on the support which it may receive from the firms importing Japanese goods in bulk Indian leaders should approach these firms The import and export trade of India with Japan is valued at many crores of rupees and so, is not negligible, as the following figures will show —

(In crores of rupees)

Years	Exports to Japan	Imports from Japan
Pre war average	16.85	3 64
1923-24	50 16	13.82
1924-25	55 15	17 12
1925 26	56.66	18 19
1926-27	41 01	16 47
1927 28	29 01	17 90
1928-29	34 43	17.68
1929-30	32.27	23.59
1930-31	23 73	14.51
1931-32	13.94	13.34
1932-33	13 95	20 48
1933-34	13 46	16.36
1934-35	24.59	20.80
1935-36	21.89	21.84
1936-37	30 07	21.27

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent the following reply to Dr John Dewey to the cable received from New York

'Your cable Congress already expressed condemnation of Japanese aggression and full sympathy for China called for boycott of Japanese goods and agree to general policy and objective of your statement and is giving publicity Congress is most willing to co-operate for humanity peace and democracy everywhere and for elimination of *fascism and imperialism*'

In issuing the cable and the reply thereto to the press the Pandit draws "the attention of the public again to the urgent necessity of abstaining from purchasing Japanese goods"

How to Help China

The Congress President continues

"Horror piles up on horror in China and armed might and air bomb and poison gas kill hundreds of thousands of her children *and crush her very soul* We are sickened at the brutality and inhumanity of the Chinese scene But mere sympathy is not enough. We must give such help as we can This help can be of two kinds—*refusal to purchase Japanese goods* and financial assistance for medical relief I trust that Congress Committees and other organisations will carry on propaganda for this boycott Donations for sending medical relief will be received in the All India Congress committee office and will be forwarded to proper quarters. Urgent demand for medical supplies has been received by us, and I earnestly trust that the people of India will give what they can for relief of suffering and tortured humanity in China

In our last issue, page 718, we printed what Madame Agnes Smedley wrote from Taiyuanfu, Shansi Province, China, about the urgent need for medical supplies and doctors She wrote to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also

Profiteering By Railways

Mr Jamnadas Mehta, M L A (Bombay), *presiding over the first zonal Conference of* the All India Railwaymen's Federation last month in Calcutta, said

The wealth which the railway worker earns is squandered in irrigating other lands. The worker is getting a petty wage, has to do hard work and on retirement 65 per cent of his fellow workers remain unprovided against future needs Even the trifle of a gratuity is not paid as a matter of right. About four lakhs of the workers are excluded from the benefit of the provident fund while crores go to the share of the higher official No national Government could have tolerated the huge *drain of railways for a single day*"

Secondary Education Board Bill

We commented on the draft of the Bengal Secondary Education Board Bill in our last issue We are for its total rejection It was *referred to the Calcutta University for its* opinion The syndicate of the University appointed a committee to consider the Bill The committee consisted of English and Indian members, the English member being Mr Wordsworth, who retired from the Education Department after filling the offices of professor of English, principal of the Presidency College and Director of Public Instruction Among the Indian members was such a veteran educationalist as Sir P C Ray and two Muhammadan professors Such a committee has reported against the Bill unanimously The Senate has adopted the report of the committee unanimously In moving the adoption of the report by the Senate Mr Justice C C Biswas said in

the course of his effective speech that an attempt had been made in some quarters to create the impression that the University was opposed to the establishment of a board for the control of secondary education But, said he

"That is a delusion which ought to be dispelled at once The University has never opposed it and does not oppose it now, but what it asks for is a genuine Board conceived on right lines which will really promote the interests of Secondary Education in the province, not *mere name which will merely conceal* beneath a false exterior all the elements of Secretariat domination, with *the make weight of communal bias thrown in into the* bargain

Give us, we say, a body, academic in character and academic in outlook, which will not make Secondary Education the sport of party politics or communal jealousies but taking a juster and wider view of its responsibilities, will function as an instrument of true national progress, initiating its own policy of educational advance in an atmosphere of real freedom unhampered by outside dictation or any ulterior considerations, so constituted as to represent and reflect all varieties of *experience and command the unquestioning confidence* and good will of the community as a whole with sufficient resources placed at its disposal in no spirit of cheese paring economy to enable it to accomplish its great task of providing larger and more varied educational opportunities for the younger generation

Historical Records Commission

The fourteenth session of the Historical Records Commission was held last month at Lahore It met 'after seven years of suspended animation" Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the president, gave an account of the very important work which has been accomplished in *the interval Very appropriately and justly* he described at some length the monumental labours and achievement of Rao Bahadur G S *Sardesai, the doyen of* Maratha historians Those who know cannot but give due credit to Sir Jadunath also He referred also to the work *done under the auspices of the Panjab* Government and the Governments of Gwalior and Baroda "But the outstanding event in the discovery of English sources on Maratha history is the acquisition of Sir Charles Malet's manuscript Letter-book, 1780-1784 by a scholarly Indian Prince, Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Singh, D Litt, who is going to edit it"

Sir Jadunath Sarkar added:

One large branch of Deccan history which was almost unknown before Sir Pandurang S Pissurlencar of Goa devoted himself to its *exploration and publication*, is the Portuguese relations with the Maratha State and its Muslim predecessors (the Sultanates of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur) and the social and religious condition of the Maratha race living in Goa territory Here a new world has been opened to our gaze by this scholar, whose tireless industry and accurate learning have amplified the field of our knowledge almost beyond belief May he long continue to do so

"The Indian National Academy"

An association, named the Indian National Academy, with its headquarters at Benares, has been proposed to be formed with the following among its important objects:

(*a*) To produce a comprehensive authoritative *history of India*

(*b*) To keep in touch with the progress of Indian historical research, to synthetise its results and to revise Indian history in their light from time to time

(*c*) Search, collection, preservation and study of the original sources of Indian history

(*d*) To synthetise studies in various branches and aspects of Indian history and archaeology and for the purpose of such synthesis to arrange conferences and *provide other facilities to students working in* the different fields for mutual consultation and collaboration

(*e*) *Study of Indian geography, ethnology, anthro*pology, linguistics and also of Indian civilization, culture and art

It has been proposed that the workers engaged in research in Indian history belonging to different provinces of India may meet in a small conference to exchange views about its constitution and to inaugurate the proposed Indian National Academy The conference will meet at the Bharata-Mata Mandir, Benares, on December 30 and 31, 1937

The conveners are Dr Hirananda Sastri, Dr Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Acharya Narendra Deva and Pandit Jaychandra Narang A reception committee has been formed with Dr Bhagavan Das as chairman, Seth Srinath Sah as treasurer and Rai Krishna Dasa as secretary The object of the proposed academy *is laudable*

National Trades Union Federation Resolutions

The first resolution passed by the National Trades Union Federation at its recent session in Calcutta was a very important one, like many of the other resolutions It runs thus

1 (*a*) *This Federation views with alarm the* deplorable plight in which the industrial workers in *India are placed on account of extremely low wages* long hours of work, bad housing conditions, lack of provision against risks like sickness, old age, unemployment, and invalidity The Federation regrets the fact that the efforts of the Central and Provincial Governments to improve the conditions and raise the standard of life of the Indian working class have so far been negligible

(*b*) While recording its conviction that social ownership and control of the means of production will be the only solution of the economic problem the Federation urges that during the transition period vigorous efforts should be made to ameliorate the condition of the working class. It, therefore, suggests to the Government and Legislatures in India to undertake the programme of Labour Legislations stated below in the immediate future.

(1) A scheme of social insurance giving the workers protection against the risks of sickness, unemployment,

invalidity and old age entirely under the control of Public Authorities,

(ii) Reduction of hours of work to 48 hours per week leading eventually to 40 hours week without reducing wages,

(iii) Legislation for fixing minimum living wage for *all industries regulated and unregulated*,

(iv) Legislation for the protection and general improvement of the conditions of work and life of workers employed in plantation, docks and other occupation,

(v) Abolition of child labour under the age of 15

Some of the other resolutions related to the international convention regarding hours of employment, safety and prevention of wastage in coal mines, housing slum clearance, urging the Government of India to quicken the pace of industrialization of the country, recognition of trade unions, trade disputes, Sino-Japanese war, civil liberties, and trade union unity

General Sir Ian Hamilton on Japan's Aims

General Sir Ian Hamilton, who is now 84 and who accompanied the Japanese armies in the field in 1904 at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, addressed the Royal Scottish Corporation at their dinner in London on the 1st December last This is part of what he said

"How monstrous it will seem to posterity that throughout 1937 the European nations should have been quarrelling like dogs over a bone about Spain, which has not the smallest intention of allowing itself to be gnawed by an outsider This at a moment when we ought to be having military conversations between the general staffs —not of France and Britain alone, but between the general staffs of Europe. There are serious things happening which demand that the whole of Europe should *stand together*

"Road is Marked"

"The Emperor of Japan is marching from the island of the Rising Sun His fighters drink up the great rivers of China The smoke of their bombs makes dark the air His road is clearly marked Hankow Hong Kong, Singapore Bhamo Burma, Assam, Bengal That is the prospect if nothing is done Nothing less than Europe can definitely hold up that army

"You may say I am talking rather wildly But in 1913 as Inspector General of Overseas Forces, I put a brigade on board the ship at Singapore I sailed out of sight of land and no one knew where I had gone In the small hours I went back and captured the island"

Sir Ian said that since his day the fortifications and searchlights had been improved out of all recognition, but so had the means of attack. "For that reason," he added "I have always urged that Trincomalee in Ceylon, and not Singapore should have been our wartime base."

It will be noticed that Sir Ian observed that in order to frustrate Japan's ambitious plans the whole of Europe should stand together He was completely silent as to what India should do to defend herself Yet, as will be presently seen, he did not think meanly of the soldierly qualities of Indian sepoys

Sir Ian Hamilton on Indian Soldiers

As noted above, Sir Ian Hamilton accompanied the Japanese armies in the field in 1904 at the time of the Russo Japanese war and subsequently wrote *A Staff Officer's Scrap-book During the Russo-Japanese War* In that book, vol 1, pp 7 8, he has written

Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the requirement of *such operations* a good Sikh Pathan or Gurkha battalion is more generally serviceable than a British battalion. If for instance a non-commissioned officer and a dozen men are required to picquet a mountain top two or three miles distant until the column has passed and are then to find their way back and follow on with the rear guard, no one in his senses would send British soldiers They might lose their way, they might unseasonably exhibit a preference for fighting and require to be extricated or, in some way or another accentuate the anxieties of their general even if they did not form the text for a regrettable incident despatch by getting cut up completely For advance guards rear guards, road making night fighting, escorts to convoys and for everything in fact that takes place in these mountains except a definite attack upon a definite position, the best native troops, being more in touch with nature can give points to the artificially trained townsmen who now form so large a proportion of our men I do not ignore the fortunate fact that the scouting and reconnoitring of the British army has vastly improved since the South African War But even so, we remain a long way behind more primitive nations in these important warrior characteristics

All this is supposed to be a secret, a thing to be whispered with bated breath as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work and who in the long run does the hardest fighting Nevertheless these very officers who know will sit and solemnly discuss whether our best native troops would or would not, be capable of meeting a European enemy! Why—there is material in the north of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations if once it dares tamper with that militarism which now alone supplies it any higher ideal than money and the luxury which that money can purchase.

No one need speculate now whether Indian soldiers can meet the best European troops on equal terms In the last world war they met the best European troops in European battle fields and proved more than a match for them Owing to heavy casualties among the British officers of the Indian army, Indian officers had to take their place They proved as good officers as the British ones

But, though India can produce both good privates and officers, Europe in general and Britain in particular must be her saviour

Sir Ian Hamilton speaks only of Sikh, Gurkha and Pathan soldiers, because practically other Indians have been demilitarized

Fanaticism in Medicine

As there are fanatics among religionists, who believe that their -ism is right and abso-

lutely and wholly right and all other -isms wholly wrong, so there are medical men who believe that it is only their system of medicine which is scientific and perfectly scientific and all other systems unscientific, inefficacious and wholly wrong The Secretary of the British Medical Association seems to belong to the class of medical fanatics In his report to the Council of the British Medical Association on his visit to India, 1936-37 that gentleman writes

25 In addition to the private practitioner there are the Hakims and the Vaids (the practitioners of the indigenous systems of medicine Unani and Ayurvedic), whilst there are also the so-called homœpaths, who buy their degrees for a few rupees and quacks of all kinds. The compounder (dispenser) who has been trained at one of the Government hospitals, attempts to practise medicine side by side with the qualified graduate or licentiate It must not be forgotten that many of those who qualify in scientific medicine practise Ayurvedic medicine as well the deciding factor as to the choice in some instances being the wish of the patients. There is of course no legal restriction which prevents the unqualified from carrying on some form of so-called medical practice The population generally is illiterate superstitious, ignorant and prejudiced and consequently unable to appreciate the difference between the qualified and unqualified The natural tendency of the people is to seek advice from those who practise an indigenous system which is bound up with their religious faith Coupled with this there is the inherent antagonism to scientific medicine because of its Western origin so that the lot of some of the graduates in the larger cities is not to be envied

It is not for us laymen to dogmatise on what system of medicine is scientific and what not, nor is it for us to say whether any of the systems mentioned by the writer is entirely scientific or wholly unscientific Perhaps all old systems of medicine were partly empiric in their origin What we feel is that the writer might have avoided offensive remarks like 'so-called homœopaths who buy their degrees for a few rupees There may be some who have done so—we do not know But we know there are a good many who have devoted years of study to homœopathy in homœopathic colleges, in India or abroad, and there are hundreds of such students at present. There are some who practise homœopathy after obtaining an allopathic degree

That the population generally is illiterate and ignorant is due not a little to the rule of the race to which the writer belongs

It is not in India alone that the natural tendency of the people is to favour that which is bound up with their religious faith Apart from the question of the comparative efficaciousness of different systems of medicine on which we are not in a position to pronounce any opinion, comparative expensiveness or inexpensiveness has something to do with peoples choice of a system Indigenous systems and homœopathy are preferred by some because of their comparative inexpensiveness

As for antagonism to what is of Western origin the remark is not wholly untrue But homœopathy is also of Western origin If some people are opposed to it, it is not because of its Western origin

Medical Problem of Rural India

The Secretary of the British Medical Association writes in his report

63. The greatest difficulty is being experienced in inducing medical men to practise in rural areas. These areas which constitute the real India are practically without any suitable or adequate medical attention whilst the profession is markedly overcrowded in the cities, in some instances to the point of starvation Provincial Governments, Municipalities, and District Boards provide rural hospitals and dispensaries so far as their finances will permit but the greatest difficulty is to get any grade of qualified practitioner to live in the rural areas The pay offered is of course very small indeed about Rs. 70 100 per month whilst in some areas it is even lower still In a few of the more wealthy provinces the system of granting a subsidy to a medical practitioner (graduate or licentiate) is being tried out, the doctor being posted to a certain district and given opportunities for private practice in the surrounding villages But here again the subsidy is insufficient to induce practitioners to forsake the town even although in the latter they are almost starving It must not be forgotten that there are no social amenities in the rural areas, that sanitation is a thing unknown and that adequate housing accommodation is not available The question is not solely one of finance and it is difficult to suggest a solution of the problem

The question may not be solely one of finance but it is largely, if not mainly so What the Secretary has written is a commentary on British rule, though an indirect one

"Schools for Study of Indigenous Systems" of Medicine

The same gentleman writes

77 There are also schools supported by the various Provincial Governments where various systems of indigenous medicine are taught Perhaps the largest school of this description is at Benares. I regret, however that I did not obtain particulars of the curriculum adopted in this and similar institutions, nor had I any opportunity to visit any particular school

78 These systems have all the weight and authority of established religion In some Provinces funds which might be usefully expended on scientific medicine are being diverted for the establishment of dispensaries following the indigenous systems and for the establishment of schools for the teaching of indigenous systems.

Paragraph 77 gives the impression that all or almost all provincial governments support schools for teaching various systems of indigenous medicine This is not true

The writer admits that he did not obtain

particulars of the curriculum adopted in the indigenous medical schools, nor had he "any opportunity to visit any particular school". Yet he passes judgment on them! In his *opinion* money spent on these schools and on dispensaries following the indigenous systems represents so much waste. Yet even some non-Indians think otherwise. Major D. Graham Pole, to whom we are indebted and grateful for a copy of the British Medical Association secretary's report, has written to us that his wife and he can bear witness to some excellent work being done by *some* of these institutions in Delhi.

Anniversary Number of Calcutta Municipal Gazette

The thirteenth anniversary number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is a sumptuous and useful publication. The special Sir J. C. Bose supplement adds to its value and attraction.

The Mission to Lepers

We have received a copy of the 63rd year's report of the Mission to Lepers. Without describing the treatment followed in the Mission's Homes, it mentions the results obtained in the 7,000 cases treated there. No instance is recorded of a complete cure. The number of much improved cases was 2,670, and of those slightly improved 2,361. The disease got worse in 438 cases. Those who left or died numbered 1,356.

Emphasis is laid in the report on the psychological factor as an essential element in the treatment of the disease.

"Perhaps in no other disease do the material and non-material elements so interact and have their repercussion upon one another. The lepra bacillus has its best friend in that social attitude which makes the victim feel himself an outcast. And the range of the doctors' drugs has its most potent ally in the building up of a faith in an over-ruling God who, in spite of every appearance to the contrary, can yet be counted on as good and allwise."

The Mission has cleared 6,000 acres of virgin forest in the Central Provinces to open a settlement for the after-care of arrested cases. The importance of this new development will be understood from the following passage of the report.

"Leprosy can no longer maintain the unenviable reputation of being an altogether relentless untreatable disease. On the other hand, though treatment (widely conceived and well executed) can in many cases arrest and drive back the onslaught of the disease, and can render the infective case non-infective, there is unhappily evidence that patients who have known the joy of seeing their symptoms disappear watch with distress their reappearance, nearly always after they have had to return to conditions of poverty, stress, and under-nourishment. Sociological problems are knit into the very fibre of the medical problems attaching to the treatment and prevention of leprosy. This new scheme is calculated to give ex-patients a stake in the land, a healthy occupation carried on under sympathetic oversight and such necessary support as may be required until the settler has won for himself resources for times of difficulty. Effective social rehabilitation for the ex-patient is almost as important in the leprosy worker's task as in direct medical treatment."

Sir J. C. Bose's Donation of One Lakh for Bihar Temperance Work

Lady Abala Bose has announced various donations made by her husband Sir J. C. Bose, aggregating three lakhs and seventy-one thousand rupees, of which one lakh is to be devoted to temperance work in Bihar. For the present it is to be made over to Babu Rajendra Prasad. It has been given to promote inter-provincial amity. There is perhaps no other previous donation like this for such an object.

Lady Abala Bose has been hastening to give effect to her husband's desires.

President Vithalbhai Patel's Will and "Vithalnagar"

How happy would it have been if the heirs or trustees or executors of President Vithalbhai Patel's will had shown similar zeal to give effect to his wishes with the money left by him. But people are going unintentionally to mock him by calling the temporary town at Haripura for the coming Congress session Vithalnagar while his wishes remain unfulfilled—we will not guess for what reasons.

Lord Brabourne Announces Government Policy

In the course of a speech addressed to British men of business but meant for a wider public Lord Brabourne, the Governor of Bengal, has announced that political prisoners are not to be released before the expiration of their terms of imprisonment, except as a matter of clemency in some cases, and that all the repressive laws will remain unrepealed in order to tackle terrorism in case there is any recrudescence of it. He has not said that these decisions have been reached by his ministers or in consultation with them. In the provinces governed by Congress ministries, the governors neither determine nor announce policies—they are "constitutional governors." As the Government of India Act is meant for the whole country, it cannot be that the governor of Bengal's position and powers are different from those of them who are "constitutional governors." Would the Congress ministries have

tolerated announcements like those made by Lord Brabourne, if made by the governors of their provinces?

Bengal political prisoners, whether in the country or in the Andamans, have been hoping for release, as an ordinary consequence of the grant of self government in the form of provincial autonomy, if it be the real thing They are to be disappointed The effect on their minds and the public mind can be easily guessed

Do political discontent and law abidingness go together?

Lord Brabourne's announcement is unfortunate in the present state of Mahatma Gandhi's health We do not know if Sir John Anderson gave Mahatmaji any assurance regarding the release of political prisoners In any case Lord Brabourne is not bound by the views or assurances of his predecessors

Communal Division of Calcutta Corporation Jobs

The Calcutta Corporation at a recent meeting, after a full dress debate adopted a resolution directing the Services Committee and the Chief Executive Officer that for the next three years they should make appointments in such a way as to ensure that not less than 25 per cent of the vacancies are given to Bengalee Mahomedans 5 per cent to Backward classes and 2½ per cent to other minority communities

We are wholly opposed to any communal division of jobs Appointments should be given to the fittest candidates irrespective of creed or caste This would make for the progress and efficiency of minority communities also But Government having for gaining political objects made special provisions for Musalmans and others they demand similar favouritism on the part of local bodies also

In the course of the debate the Chief Executive Officer made a statement of appointments made in the several departments of the Corporation from 1-4 33 to 30 11-37

Year	Permanent total no of Mdns		Temporary total no of Mdns		Total total no of Mdns	
1933-34	112	20	210	62	322	82
1934 35	145	22	268	75	413	97
1935 36	155	30	315	77	470	107
1936-37	137	33	203	51	340	84
1-4-37 to 30 11-37	215	49	221	54	436	103
Total	764	154	1,217	319	1981	473
	20.2 p c		26.2 p c		24.2 p c	

These figures show that Muhammadans had no real grievance But perhaps they wanted to make assurance doubly sure by securing a definite concession and to make it the starting-point for fresh demands Some Muhammadans wanted to have the concession not for Bengali Muhammadans only but for *all* Muhammadans!

It should be borne in mind that Muhammadans are not 25 per cent of the population of Calcutta and that they do not pay 25 per cent of the total municipal rates paid by Calcutta rate-payers

Opening of the Federal Court

The Federal Court, which was opened last month in Delhi, will play an important part in the constitutional evolution of the country It is a central judicature whose jurisdiction will extend over all the provinces Its functions will be different from those of the High Courts It will adjudicate between provinces, states and governments not between individuals and corporations Sir B L Mitter, the Advocate-General, pointed out in his speech at the inaugural session that "for the first time the rule of law has been extended over inter provincial disputes which hitherto had been subject to executive determination"

Labour Should Live and Let Live

In the course of a recent speech made at Cawnpore by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the U P Prime Minister, he made the wise observation that while the lives of the labourers should be made happy, "the mills had to be kept going And this they could only do if their expenses were within their incomes"

The Indian Women's University

In 1936-37 the offices of the Indian Women's University were transferred from Poona to Bombay The University and its Bombay college are now housed in their own buildings The Bombay Government has done the right thing by granting to this very deserving institution Rs 50 000 for building purposes

Our homage to Prof D K Karve, the founder and Vice Chancellor of the University, who, more than anybody else, has struggled through various turns of fortune and brought it to its present condition

America Calculating in its Isolation?

News Review is responsible for the statement that the U S A War Office has prepared a memorandum for President Roosevelt in which it has been estimated that a war with Japan would cost that republic at least

50 000 000 000 dollars or ten thousand million pounds sterling in direct expense According to that paper, it has been computed by statisticians that it would take more than 5 000 years of profitable trade with China to recover the cost

And so how can America help China by fighting Japan ?

But could not all the big powers combined, could not at least three of the big powers—Britain France and U S A—combined, have prevented the invasion of China without fighting by taking up a strong attitude ?

The American calculation takes it for granted that Japan is financially in a position to continue a very costly war for a sufficiently long time to be able to compel America to spend the astronomical sum mentioned It is thought to be common knowledge that Japan is not in such a position

Why Japan Has Called a Halt

The Japanese military leader in command of the army of invasion in China has assigned some reasons for giving Chiang Kai shek some time to consider whether he will surrender peacefully Japan does not want to shed blood unnecessarily !

But the Japanese leader also says that it has become very cold and the end of the year is approaching But we suppose Japanese officers and men have got warm coats and blankets and tents and substantial nourishing food Why should cold stand in their way ? As for the approaching end of the year, it was the Christian year that was coming to an end an end said to proclaim for Christians peace on earth and goodwill among men Do the Buddhist, Confucian or Shinto years also end now and do they also profess to produce a pacific mood of mind at their close ?

Perhaps the real reason for crying halt lies in the other words uttered by the Japanese general, viz, that his men are fatigued and his army requires to be reorganized

It is possible Japan is already feeling the pinch America's and Britain's belated strong notes and attitude may also have made Japan somewhat sober Soviet Russia, too, has proposed to help China on certain conditions

All India Industries Department

In opening the All India Industries Conference last month in Lahore the Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, commerce member of the Government of India, referred in his speech to middle class unemployment, industrial surveys, the oil seed industry, the glass manufacturing industry and the industrial research bureau The speech was of a colourless description—neither optimistic and encouraging, nor pessimistic and depressing

Did Buddhism Cause India's Downfall ?

KOHLAPUR DEC 18

The doctrine of 'ahimsa" while it raised Hindusthan to spiritual glory contributed largely to its political death, observed Dr B S Moonje the Hindu Sabha leader presiding over the Mahrashtra Hindu Dharma Parishad Conference which commenced here today He added that the cult of non violence spread by Buddhism was the chief cause for India's political downfall

He said "We must now accept the Vedic cult of militarism and realism"

He referred at length to the caste system which, he said had justified itself by resisting the proselytising pressure of Islam and preventing the destruction of Vedic culture

Concluding he appealed for unity between castes and urged the re-establishment of Vedic Dharma

It cannot be said off hand what mainly caused the political downfall of India Some may attribute it to Buddhism some to the caste system, some to other causes Perhaps all these lay at the root of the degeneration which brought about the political downfall of India

We shall not say anything on the Vedic cult and culture and Vedic dharma, because we do not know what exactly is meant by those expressions

The relations in which caste stands to proselytization is a large question While the caste system has to a great extent prevented the conversion of higher caste people to non-Hindu faiths, it has made it somewhat easy for those faiths to convert persons belonging to the lower castes Most Muhammadan and Christian converts or their ancestors were persons belonging to the depressed classes and untouchables among Hindus

Unity between castes is possible, if equality of social status between castes is established But is it not an essential feature of caste that some castes are lower and some higher ? And there is some kind or degree of untouchability which affects all castes and sub castes Even some sections and sub sections of Brahmans do not interdine and intermarry

Indigenous Resources of Drugs and Medicines

Last month an exhibition of drugs and medical appliances was organized in connection with the sixth annual re union of the past and present students of the Carmichael Medical

College Mr Sanat Kumar Ray Chowdhury, the Mayor of Calcutta, opened the exhibition

The Mayor expressed the hope that public spirited and enterprising young men in the medical line would take up the work of investigating into the indigenous resources so far as drugs and medicines were concerned *and make the results of their investigations widely known* in a book form in the interests of the advancement of the cause of medical science in this country

On some previous occasions also the Mayor of Calcutta expressed the same hope Some other leading men of India have expressed a similar hope It is a laudable hope But it seems that they are not sufficiently up-to-date as regards the bibliography of the subject We hope they have not heard of the existence of a monumental work in four volumes named *Indian Medicinal Plants, with four boxes of more* than a thousand plates For, if they have heard of it, it would betray lamentable lack of appreciation of an excellent work not to mention it It was prepared after years of labour and at the expenditure of thousands of rupees The authors of the first edition were the late Major B D Basu, I M S, the late Lt-Colonel K R Kirtikar, I M S, and an Indian I C S, who also is dead For the second edition the work has been thoroughly revised and in great part re-written and brought up-to date by Father Blatter, S J, Father Caius, S J, and Dr Mhaskar

That which the Mayor hoped some young doctors would do, has been done to a very large extent already Let those of our young medical graduates who have a taste and *capacity for such work* take advantage of *Indian Medicinal Plants*, Major B D Basu's *magnum opus,* put its statements to the test, and add to it For it is not final and exhaustive—no such work can be

Protest Meetings Against Secondary Education Bill

Protest meetings against the Secondary Education Board Bill have been already held in Calcutta and the mofussil Eminent educationists like Sir Nilratan Sircar and Sir P C Ray and distinguished professors like Dr P Banerjea, M L A Mr J R Banerji, Sj Nripendra Chandra Banerji and others have taken part in them They have all condemned the Bill, not finding a single redeeming feature in it Similar protest meetings should be held all over the country

If the Bill be not withdrawn in the meantime, a resolution should be passed in the next session of the Bengal Provincial Conference to be held this month at Bishnupur.

Menace to Local Bodies' Finances

In a Circular letter addressed to the local bodies in the Province through the Divisional Commissioners, the Government of Bengal state that any tax, fine, penalty or other sum of whatever nature realized by a local body through a Magistrate, Court, or Government Officer, will, with the introduction of Part III of the Government of India Act, 1935, form part of the revenues of the Provincial Government As this will be the case in all provinces, perhaps other provincial governments also are *moving in the matter*

Part III of the Government of India Act has been brought into operation with effect from the 1st of April, 1937 and the adaptations made in the various Central and Provincial Acts have also taken effect from that date. It has, however, been provided in paragraph 4 of the India and Burma (Temporary Provisions) Order, 1937, that any tax fine penalty, etc, hitherto realized by and credited to any local fund or other fund shall, during the two financial years next following the commencement of the said part III, continue to be so credited and shall not, during those years be deemed to be a part of the revenues of the Province"

'After the expiry of the period of two years," continues the Government, "referred to in the India and Burma (Temporary Provisions) Order, 1937, the finances of the local bodies in this Province will be seriously affected as a result of the adaptations made in the various Acts

If the Congress ministries and the A I C C. are doing anything in the matter, perhaps they will take the public into their confidence

The Viceroy on Federation Problems

On the 20th December last H E Lord Linlithgow delivered an address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, reviewing therein the working of the scheme of provincial autonomy and referring to the question of the introduction of the federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 As regards federation the Viceroy said .

"When I spoke to you a year ago I said that in my judgment Federation was not remote I have spared no effort in the period which has since elapsed for the solution of the problems inherent in the establishment of a Federation These problems can never, in their nature be simple However great our anxiety (and none can be greater than mine and that of the Secretary of State) to achieve at the earliest possible moment the culmination of the scheme embodied in the Act, by the placing on the Indian constitutional edifice of which provincial autonomy is the first and essential stage, of the coping stone of Federation, it would be foolish to rush ahead without taking all possible pains for the preliminary elucidation of the various problems which present themselves You can rely on me to urge forward with all the energy and all the personal interest which I have in the completion of the scheme"

Indians do not want that the Government should "rush ahead" They want the postpone-

ment of the Government scheme of federation *sine die*

Journalistic Condescension

The Amrita Bazar Patrika printed on the leader page of its issue for December 5 last, town edition, an article on "The Hero as Scientist" by Ramananda Chatterjee The writer did not contribute it to that paper It was lifted by our contemporary from *The Modern Review* without acknowledgment, as an act of great condescension

The Oriental Conference At Trivandrum

TRIVANDRUM DEC 20

"May our scholarship be illustrious and may there be no rivalry or hatred amongst us"—with this historic invocation in Sanskrit the Maharaja of Travancore concluded today his speech opening the ninth session of the All India Oriental Conference

Dr F W Thomas, in his presidential address said that the conference had to conceive of the historical evolution of India as a whole They might contemplate the civilization of India as a huge moving mass of thought and usage, intensely concentrated on a great number of differentiated nuclei, but enmeshed with threads linking them in a manifold and partly capricious complexity with one another

The Indian partly by reason of the complexity of his social conditions as well as through deliberate cultivation of reflection, had been more of a thinker than other men Thus vast complex culture of India could not be duly expounded without amplification of the principles of Oriental science

Dr Thomas paid a tribute to the great work done by Travancore for Oriental learning and also the progressive administration of the State, which was now equipped with practically every modern organ of civil welfare—*A. P*

The Primate of England's Christmas Message

The daily press contains a host of Christmas news, messages and comments The message broadcast by the Archbishop of Canterbury calls upon the Christian individual at home to bear witness to Christianity "openly and courageously" He further asked "who could think without a sickening of the heart of the appalling slaughter and the suffering and manifold misery brought by war to Spain and China" He urged on the individual the importance of *an impartial examination of the underlying causes of discontent in order that justice might be done* Public opinion, which ultimately swayed policy, was created only by the feelings and judgments of individual men and women

That Dr Lang was sincere at heart when he broadcast the above call to the British public cannot be doubted But whether he himself believes that his appeal will be listened to in all sincerity by the members of his fold is open to question If he does believe in the strength of the Christian leaven in the British race, then the following news items appearing in the post-Christmas issues of the Indian papers should provide much food for thought for him and other sincere Christians

The first news item is the following

Lucknow Dec 25

The Charbagh Railway station was the centre of great sensation last night when a party of students from Lahore it is alleged, were forcibly ejected from the compartment they occupied by several British soldiers to make room for a few troops who were travelling by the same train.

It transpires a Hockey team of the Lahore Medical College which is on tour was leaving last night for Benares by Parcels Express Members of the team occupied a compartment when some troops came and asked them to vacate it. The students refused to do so, whereupon a British soldier who appeared to be in charge gave the students the option of leaving the compartment or being "thrown away" Having already settled themselves comfortably in the compartment the students refused to leave, whereupon the troops, it is alleged, threw the luggage of the students from the compartment and some students who still refused to budge from their seats, were also forcibly ejected

The soldiers referred to were presumably Christians and the occurrence took place on the Christmas Eve That they created this breach of "peace" with great 'goodwill" there can be no doubt One wonders what the British press reports would have been if they had been Nazi or Fascist legionnaires behaving in this manner in the season of peace and goodwill

The second bit of news is part of a High Court judgment, involving censure on the keepers of law and order in this benighted country

Lahore Dec 22.

Kiroo was charged in the court of the learned Sessions Judge of Rawalpindi with the murder of a constable named Mohammad Ismail and with causing grievous hurt to one Bhagat Singh. The learned Sessions Judge finding Kiroo guilty of murder and of causing grievous hurt, sentenced him to transportation for life under section 302, and to 18 month's rigorous imprisonment under section 326 of the Indian Penal Code

STORY OF THE CASE

In the Military lines at Rawalpindi there is a coffee shop Kiroo was the Chowkidar On the night of the 9th April, 1937, a burglary took place at the shop and certain articles and cash were alleged to have been stolen. At about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the police arrived to investigate the burglary Kiroo was suspected and examined. It is alleged that he confessed to Bhagat Singh, the manager of the shop and offering to produce the stolen property, he took Bhagat Singh and another with the police following to a 'kothri', but no stolen property was concealed there he then took the party to a platform next to a tailor's shop There was a suitcase upon that platform. Kiroo and the constable Mohammad Ismail, who has been killed, went on the platform, Kiroo then opened the box with a key,

took a knife out of the box, and stabbed the constable in the stomach He also struck Bhagat Singh under the arm and then plunged the knife into his own body in flicting upon himself a serious injury in the region of the stomach The constable died as a result of the wound, Bhagat Singh and Kiroo recovered

The learned Sessions Judge in his judgment makes grave comments on the conduct of the police in this case He says that they suppressed material evidence and that the witnesses for the crown lied as to the conduct of the police towards the accused

In this case Kiroo has been extremely fortunate he was able to call Pipe Major Stewart of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders as a defence witness

It appears therefore that Pipe Major Stewart at 9 o clock saw Kiroo being beaten by the police He protested and left disgusted Later on he returned between 2 and 3 o clock in the afternoon The 'interrogation" of the unfortunate Kiroo was still going on, and as Pipe Major Stewart said he was being beaten very mercilessly It is a fair inference that for most of the time between 9 a m and 3 p m this interrogation" had continued

There cannot be any criticism of Pipe Major Stewart's evidence The learned Sessions Judge says that it would seem that the accused had been so bullied and ill treated by the police that he was willing to conduct any party anywhere in the hope of being able to escape even temporarily from the ill treatment

We are satisfied that the knife which under the circumstances, we consider Kiroo to have been fortunate to have found was used by him in the extremity of his despair and in the belief that the only way to free himself from the intolerable persecution to which he was being subjected was to kill his persecutors His state of mind may well be gauged by the fact that he attempted to kill himself rather than continue to be left to the tender mercies of these officers of justice

In our opinion the facts disclosed in his judgment and by the evidence give to Kiroo the most perfect reason for relying upon self defence that we have ever seen

He was justified—if ever a man was justified—in using any weapon he could obtain to defend himself Cases are not unknown and are within our own knowledge where persons have died under this type of 'investigation" In this case as we have already pointed out Kiroo had been so brutally treated that he preferred death to life

We disagree with the learned Sessions Judge when he finds that a right of self-defence has not been established Such a right has been overwhelmingly proved in this case It is unfortunate that such a right, under circumstances such as these cannot be exercised more frequently it might have a more salutary effect than the protests of this Court in making those responsible for the discipline and conduct of the police in the investigation of crime take more rigorous steps to stop such cruel and cowardly practices [italics ours]

It is often contended in this Court that the "interrogation" of suspects in this Province in the manner proved in this case is frequently employed The fact that torture was used openly in this case appears to us to give some foundation for this grave charge and is a most serious criticism of those whose duty it is to see that the police carry out investigations in accordance with law Though we have in this court had to comment on this practice where it has been proved the difficulty of proving such offences is extreme Few believe the statement of an accused person that he has been tortured or in general, his witnesses, if he can obtain any, and it is notorious that there are several methods of torture which do not leave any trace It is a disgrace to the police force, and a dangerous obstacle to the administration of justice which it brings into open contempt [italics ours]

It cannot be contended that the perpetrators of this inhuman piece of torture being Indians they are the only ones to blame The High Court judgment throws the onus of the blame on the officials whose duty it is to see that the police carry out their investigations in accordance with law

We have a Calcutta High Court judgment to the effect that "The Police is the Government" and, as such, above all criticism Further, if this were not sufficient, we have the yearly spectacle in every province of the provincial Governor going into ecstasies over the wonderful and spotless record of work of the police force

If His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury did read the Indian owned English papers of this country we have no doubt he would soon be convinced that Christianity—like the long wave section of the B B C—stops short east of Suez On the other hand if the Christians of Britain really acted in the spirit of the message of Dr Lang, instead of taking the much easier course of swallowing whatever was ladled out to them by those of their own countrymen who have been put in charge there would be much less discontent, consequent on injustice, in this world

K N C

An Appeal from China

The following letter was written by General Chu Teh of the Chinese Eighth Route Army to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
Eighth Route Army
Shansi China
Nov 26

Dear Mr Nehru

We here in China have read in news dispatches that you called mass meetings in a number of Indian cities in support of our war of liberation Allow me to thank you in the name of the Chinese people and in the name of the Eighth Route Army (the Chinese Red Army) in particular

You know that the Japanese have occupied many cities and our main railways in China Our Eighth Route Army the revolutionary army of the Chinese masses, is organizing and arming the people for prolonged warfare that will end in ultimate victory and liberation for us. This work of ours is difficult because we are a poor army We are able to help the peasant partisans wherever we operate throughout the north and they are rapidly becoming an organic part of our army But there is one problem that we cannot solve and of this that I write you now

In those regions under actual Japanese occupation such as along the railways in the northern part of Shansi, in Suiyuan and Chahar provinces, and in western Hopei, thousands of workers, peasants and students have

spontaneously arisen, have captured arms, and are fighting in Volunteer bands against the imperialist army of invasion. These volunteers have arms, but they have no winter clothing, no blankets, no shoes, and little and often no food. Recently one group of 2000 of them met and united with a unit of our army in the north eastern part of this province. We were able to give them but one thousand Chinese *dollars—which is only* fifty cents per man. This money will suffice for one meal a day for about a week for them. Our problem is so gigantic that we are unable to help the Volunteers as they require. It is a problem always before us and we are trying to raise money here in China and in foreign countries for them. Miss Smedley has said that we could approach you, and that she feels certain the Indian National Congress, of which you are President, would donate a sum which our Army could give to the Volunteers. You may know that every anna which you could give would be deeply welcomed and would reach the Volunteers and enable them to continue their struggle.

Perhaps you could form a committee to collect money in the name of the Chinese Volunteers. If so do so at once. We know there are millions of people in your country who sympathise with us in our struggle and would be willing to give something to help.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army of the Chinese people, I wish to tell you and the Indian National Congress, and the whole Indian people, that China is not subjected, not defeated, and that we cannot and will never be subjected. Our Army will never retreat from North China. We will remain with the people, organizing and arming them and waging a ceaseless warfare upon the Japanese imperialist armies of invasion until the last of them are driven from our country, including from Manchuria. Do not be deceived by any lies or propaganda put out by the Japanese. Our struggle has only begun. The regular Chinese Government armies are fighting. Ours will never be defeated, because we are the army of the people and increasing tens of thousands of our people are rallying around us, fighting along with us.

We are a well-disciplined well trained iron army, and all our soldiers, from the new volunteers to the commanders, have a high political training. We are fully and deeply conscious of the role that we play in Asia today and in the future. We know that we are fighting not only the battle of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, but we are fighting the battle of the people of all Asia, and that we are a part of the world army for *the liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed classes*. It is with this consciousness that we feel justified in asking you, one of the great leaders of the great Indian people, to help us in our struggle by any and all means. We would welcome financial help in the name of the Chinese Volunteers, we would welcome medical supplies and surgical instruments, we would welcome trained war surgeons and nurses and we would welcome volunteers who might wish to express their solidarity with us in our fight by fighting in volunteer units with our army. We ask you to consider this question in all seriousness, to intensify your campaign to help us, to broaden and deepen your movement for the boycott of Japanese goods, and to educate your people about the facts of our war of liberation.

If the Japanese were successful in subjecting China, none of the peoples of Asia could *gain their liberation* for many years and perhaps decades. Our struggle is your struggle.

Once more our Army thanks you from the depths of our heart for all you have so far done on behalf of our country.

In Comradeship,
CHU TEH,
Commander in Chief of the
Eighth Route Army of China

The 9th of January, 1938, has been appointed the "China day" by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and we hope that, helpless and poor as we are, the response will be substantial. The passing of China would indeed be the end of peace and security in the old world, which would then be a field traversed solely and entirely by predatory nations—young and old.

K N C

Sir Ian Hamilton's Remarks

General Sir Ian Hamilton is a soldier equally distinguished in the field of letters as well as that of arms. That his remarks regarding the growing insecurity of the British Empire would attract wide attention is nothing strange. But we would like to point out that similar observations were made in the pages of this journal over a year ago but no importance was attached to it by our confreres. Even the gallant knight's utterances do not seem to have made more than a fleeting impression in this part of the world.

Unpreparedness is a cardinal sin in a nation. Our own experiences in this respect is a matter of (forgotten) history. But the examples of Abyssinia and China loom large before our eyes. It may be argued that we are helpless and powerless in every way—and so we are really and truly—and therefore it is useless for us to think about it. What we would like to say in reply is that if it were brought home to those who can help and possess the power, that our funeral would very much and emphatically be theirs also, and that, unless the persons in charge of this part of the empire suffered a drastic change in their viewpoint very soon, the funeral will take place at an early date, then perhaps we may be allowed to help in the fabrication of our own defence. It is about time the people in Britain realized how rusty, ramshackle and badly pieced together is the much-vaunted "steel frame" of the Empire, when viewed in the light of modernity. What the totalitarian States think of it is only too well-expressed by their actions.

We have no doubt that the problem of Imperial defence is exercising the minds of those in charge at the Empire-centre. What we would like to know if the problems consequent on the interruption or total breakage of the long inter-empire life-line are being properly considered. Or do they consider the

Mediterranean Suez route to be invulnerable! What happens when the supply of men, munitions and service material is held up midway between source and destination Even granting that the sea-route would remain in operation, do they think that in the next war a nation of 40 odd millions would be able to provide all the multifarious requisites of modern warfare to the fullest extent as needed by the outermost reaches of the Empire?

K N C

Civil Aviation

The question of Civil Aviation in India reveals this curious lack of forethought in official circles With the bringing in of the new 'Empire' Mail Service programme, the various Indian concerns are going to be merged into the central organization Of these the Indian Trans Continental Airways are virtually going to lose their Karachi-Singapore Service, this being taken over by the main service between England and Calcutta They will have to increase their capital, and purchase four Armstrong-Whitworth Ensign machines and in return will have the doubtful benefit of being allowed to participate in the service We say doubtful benefit" without reserve because

"The agreement provides for the employment of Indian personnel to the extent that qualified and experienced men are available. In view of her special participation in the land planes services, India will take no direct part in the operations of the sea planes services The route is being organized by the Government of India on behalf of the British Government Arrangements have also been made for the training and employment of Indians in the ground services on the sea-route."

So in one effort the organizers have managed to arrange that (a) the more lucrative jobs shall be the sole property of the descendants of Messrs Smith Brown and Robinson, (b) that Indian money be used for the development of British schemes without those shareholders ever having a say in anything that really matters, (c) that the perpetrators of this lovely scheme will always be able to silence any busybody asking questions on behalf of the Indians by saying that the Indians are responsible partners inasmuch as their own Government is developing the route on behalf of the British Government!

No doubt the scheme is a laudable and worthy one, so far as the interests of the sons and grandsons of the tribe of Smith, Brown and Robinson are concerned But it is a wicked world, and one wonders what will happen when the self-same descendants of the aforesaid worthies are unable to get past the barriers that are being erected in the Near East Or even if they can, what will they do when the air traffic has to be magnified seven times sevenfold for reasons of war We are extremely sceptical of any scheme for the training of Indians for highly paid services, if it be left to the tender mercies of the "Government of India" And as matters stand we feel reasonably certain that civil aviation in India will have a future remarkably free of any prospects so far as Indians are concerned And if the officials put in charge of aviation development by the Government of India conform to the type—as shown by the Indian State Railways —then the working of this part of the Empire Mail Service will provide without doubt much material for the gaiety of nations

K N C

The Bihta Railway Disaster Enquiry

As this enquiry is still *sub judice* so to say, we are unable to comment on it to the extent it deserves But we must confess we have not been able to find much evidence of "efficiency" or "highly organized system of control" in the picture that is being gradually unfolded before the Enquiry Committee

K N C

The Burning of the Christmas Mails Last Year

This Christmas the Mails have safely come through Last year they were burnt to ashes in the Postal Express Wagons There was an enquiry as a result of which we were asked to believe that the conflagration was due to the igniting of crackers or such highly inflammable material which were sent through the post in contravention of regulations Needless to say we had to accept this explanation as no other was forthcoming although we were amazed at the subtlety of the mind of the official Sherlock Holmes who arrived at this deduction in the total absence of any tangible evidence We were not told why the question of "hot-axles' consequent on excessive over-loading was ruled out, and therefore it was evidently not our business to "question why"

K N C

Anti tuberculosis Fund

Tuberculous diseases have become a great scourge Sufficient hospital accommodation and a sufficient number of sanitariums do not exist It is to be hoped the Anti tuberculosis Fund which has been inaugurated under high official auspices will be largely contributed to

Mr. Andrews' Statement on the Zanzibar Question

Mr C F Andrews has made the following statement to the press on the situation in Zanzibar

"The news which has come recently by cable from Zanzibar is very important and it is, therefore necessary to keep it prominently before the public First of all came the information that the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies Lord Dufferin was going out to the East Coast of Africa and was staying from January 9 to 17 in Zanzibar This obviously means that the Colonial Office is realising the mistake it made in supporting the late resident, Sir R Rankine, in his attempt to monopolise and confiscate the clove industry which the Indian merchants had built up during the last fifty years Evidently the Under Secretary is now prepared to negotiate on much more favourable terms than the meagre concessions already granted

Along with this came the favourable news that the new resident, Mr Hall had adopted an entirely new and friendly attitude towards the Indian community Then last of all we have heard that the revenue of Zanzibar has fallen since the clove boycott in India, by £30 000 It is added that reductions in the pay of the Civil Service will be necessary, if this decrease in revenue continues any further

From this information it can be seen as clearly as possible that the Zanzibar revenue depends upon its Indian trade Nothing therefore could have been more unwise and ill-considered than for the late resident, Sir R Rankine, and the Secretary Manager Mr Bartlett, deliberately to destroy Indian interests in order to obtain thereby a Government monopoly in cloves They had not realised the strength of the Indian boycott.

The future then, is hopeful and a reasonable and just settlement is now to be hoped for on the full terms that India Zanzibar's best customer is ready to offer It has been made abundantly evident that Zanzibar is not in a financial position to dictate terms to India for India can forgo the use of cloves for a considerable time and can also build up, in the long run, a clove market of her own

This question does not stop at Zanzibar It includes the whole East African Coast If India, in one matter of great commercial interest, can show her strength she will be respected all through Africa

Two things remain (1) the Government of India should now realise the strength of the Indian boycott, and itself make clear to Colonial Office that the meagre concessions which had been previously offered are unacceptable (2) the vote in the Assembly supporting the Government of India in its earlier policy ought as soon as possible to be cancelled Both Government and Assembly ought to stand out only for such a settlement as the Indian merchant community in Zanzibar would regard as reasonable and just

Municipal Franchise for Women in Assam

SHILLONG, DEC 16

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed today the first reading of the Assam Municipal (Removal of Women's Ineligibility) Amendment Bill, 1937, introduced by Miss Mavis Dunn The Bill seeks to qualify women to become eligible for membership of municipal bodies in the province—*A P*

Salaries and Allowances of Ministers

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* understands that the Government of Bengal have lately made some changes in the rules guiding the travelling allowances of the highest Government officials, viz., the ministers and the judges of the High Court. The changed rules it is understood, provide for each of the ministers while on tour, rupees twenty five per day as daily allowance in addition to four first class and ten third class servants' tickets. The rules further provide that the travelling ministers may draw mileage as well as daily allowances for the same day

The rules regarding the tour allowance of the judges of the High Court have not undergone any serious change at present and the judges of the High Court it is understood will get their allowances at the same scale they used to get before the change was brought about in the rules

It may be noted here that formerly the highest officials of the state including the ministers, executive councillors and the judges of the High Court used to get only rupees fifteen per day as daily allowance while on tour in addition to actual first class and third class tickets, the number not exceeding four in the case of the former

If our contemporary has been correctly informed there is going to be legalized misappropriation of the tax-payers' money in Bengal

In an interview with the Rawalpindi correspondent of *Hindusthan Standard*, Dr Khan Saheb the Premier of the N W Frontier Province said that the main concern of the Government was to effect economies in the administration The Frontier Ministers have given a lead in the matter by accepting low salaries and a very low travelling allowance

"We have decided to charge the actual travelling expenses while on tour It will, however, never exceed annas two per mile as travelling allowance and Rs 4' per day as halting allowance When we stay with friends at a place, naturally, we will not charge any halting allowance

"Likewise the first class officers will receive 4½ annas per mile instead of 8 annas and the second class officers will receive 3 annas only Officers entitled to 3 annas will not be touched"

Owing to trans frontier raids, many Pathans have got a bad name We hope the action of the Frontier Province Ministers will give Pathans a good name For it shows that these Pathan-land ministers are not thieves or robbers but honest reasonable men whose praiseworthy example will inspire others to follow in their footsteps

Independence for Syria in 1940

PARIS DEC. 15

Agreement has been reached on all questions to implement the recent Franco-Syrian treaty giving Syria complete independence in 1940 The treaty is now expected to be ratified by both the parties soon

The administration agreed upon resembles that adopted by Egypt following the abolition of the Capitulations—*Reuter*

Britain will grant independence to India in 0491 B C.

Mr Fazlul Huq Condemns Communalism!

DACCA DEC 16

The Hon ble Mr A K Fazlul Huq pres ding the prize distribution ceremony of the Dacca Intermediate College was held here th s afternoon

In course of h s speech Mr Fazlul Huq condemned communal sm and advocated intercommunal amity and mutual co-operat on between the commun ties He said that he would not show favour to any particular commun ty

Proceeding he said that each community should work out its own destiny With the inauguration of the new reforms the Chief M n ster contin ued the people were having greater rights and privileges

One thing needed for the students he sa d was self effacement and formation of character Students should work out their dest ny not with selfish mot ves but as instruments of the will of the Alm ghty God—*U P*

If Bengal ministers take to delivering sermons unsupported by practice ministers of religion of a certain type will lose their occupation

Calcutta Corporation and Released Detenus

The Calcutta Municipality has set a good example by giving employment to some released detenus who are fully qualified for their respective appointments There are some ladies among them *e g* Miss Kalyani Das M A Miss Renuka Sen M A etc Other local bodies and business houses should follow the example of the Calcutta Corporation Miss Lilavati Nag M A of Dacca will it is said devote herself to the work of the girls' school and some other institutions founded by her It is not yet known whether she will revive her Bengali monthly *Jayasree*

Assam Demands Duty on Mineral Oil

The Bengal Government receives from the Government of India the major portion of the proceeds of the duty on jute Following that precedent the Assam Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution unanimously recommending that the Assam Government should ask the Government of India to give to Assam the whole of the amount received from the duty on Assam's kerosene oil and petrol This is a just request and should be complied with Assam is a comparatively sparsely inhabited and insufficiently developed province Its forest, mineral and other resources and its extensive tracts of virgin soil require ample investment of capital to be rendered useful to man

Rousing Communal Hatred By Lies

On the occasion of the last Muhammadan Id festival ten thousand leaflets bearing the signatures of many Muhammadan pleaders, traders members of the legislature retired judicial officers and similar 'respectable' and 'responsible' men were distributed in Chittagong among the assembled Muhammadan multitude These leaflets informed them that in consequence of the partial grant of self government of the people by the British Government in the provinces in which the Hindus form a majority of the population the prime ministers are Hindus and Hindu Raj has been established, and that in these provinces the Hindu governments are passing laws against the religion of the Muhammadans prohibiting the sacrifice of cows and similar Islamic observances These lies are sure to inflame the fanaticism of ignorant Muhammadans The Government of Bengal should order the executive officers of the district to put a stop to the circulation of such leaflets and trace their authors with a view to their prosecution

It is greatly to be regretted that some of the speeches of Mr A K Fazlul Huq the Chief Minister of Bengal have been such as to embitter communal relations

Fall in Price of Jute

Jute is the principal commercial crop in Bengal The economic condition of a large section of its population depends on the price of jute This year the stock of jute in the mills in the country is less than in the last year, the demand on the part of mills abroad is greater, and the jute produced is also less than in the last year The cultivators had naturally expected that prices would rise at this time of the year But they have fallen instead, blasting the hopes of thousands upon thousands of ryots An impartial inquiry into the causes of this fall should be instituted and all manipulation of prices in the interest of exploiters put a stop to

The Wardha Scheme of Education

The report of the Dr Zakir Husain Wardha Education Committee was published in *Harijan* on December 11, 1937 It has been carefully and somewhat elaborately drawn up The members of the Committee and in particular its chairman Dr Zakir Husain deserve the thanks of the public for the thought labour and care they have bestowed on the report The Committee have specially thanked their colleagues Sj Aryanayakam and Srimati Asha Devi

Detailed criticism of the report cannot be attempted in a brief note So we shall briefly comment on a few points

The success of the whole scheme would depend on the availability of a sufficient number

of trained teachers who are experts in some crafts and are also qualified by their intellect and educational attainments to teach boys and girls the various subjects which will be attempted to be taught For we notice that the pupils will have to be taught preferably through the crafts chosen or independently history geography (including map making and map study), civics meteorology means of transport and communication (aeroplanes and radio included?) economics botany zoology physiology, hygiene first-aid dietetics chemistry, astronomy drawing designing pictorial graphs, music, the mother tongue Hindusthani etc

It seems to us that competent teachers would be hard to get, and that on the estimated average salary of Rs 25 per month But of course anything may be considered possible if the scheme satisfies youthful idealists of both sexes and rouses their enthusiasm But we are afraid the scheme is too ambitious The report gives the following estimate of the time required to complete the different sections of the curriculum

The basic craft	3 hours and 20 minutes
Music drawing and arithmetic	45 "
The mother tongue	40 "
Social studies and general science	30 "
Physical training	10 "
Recess	10 "
	5 hours and 30 minutes

The Committee have observed

" we must sound a necessary note of warning There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children whilst neglecting the intellectual social and moral implications of craft training This point must be constantly kept in mind in the training of teachers as well as in the direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity"

We are afraid in their time-table the Committee themselves have not heeded their own "note of warning' It seems to us that they have given too little time for the teaching of subjects which are to increase the pupils' knowledge, develop their intellect, broaden their outlook, and, briefly give them a liberal education fit to make them cultured citizens and members of society To remedy this defect, the pupils cannot and should not be made to work for more than five and a half hours a day That itself is perhaps more than a day's work for them

Physical culture is one item of the curriculum like Zoology Chemistry etc It is said under it "Games, athletics, drill (Deshi games to be encouraged)" Will the ten minutes assigned for "physical training' suffice for all this? Can the young ones' play instinct be satisfied in ten minutes? Can it be satisfied even if the 10 minutes assigned for 'recess' be encroached upon for physical training?

If the training given in some craft is to be pecuniarily profitable the pupils must go on making things mechanically That would involve repetition of processes as if automatically Has that much educative and intellectual value? That reminds us of some observations of an American educationist with considerable experience of manual training in schools, quoted by the *Indian Social Reformer*

"The manual training exercises for the several years have been arranged with such variety as to insure sustained interest and to prevent irksome repetition of automatic unthinking reproduction It seems to be intended that any process shall be discontinued as soon as it ceases to compel the student to think that is as soon as it becomes merely mechanical and this is justified by the consideration that a mechanical process ceases to be of educational value to a student at the very point where it begins to be of industrial value to an apprentice since the valuable product of manual training is a disciplined mind while the valuable product of apprentice work is some article of commerce" (Bhabha's *Report on Manual Training* p 46)

According to the scheme the pupils' education is to begin when they are seven years of age Should not they be taught something told to do something trained to make some things—by way of play if you like—when they are 4 or 5 or 6? Our indigenous practice is to begin the child's education (Vidyarambha) when he is five In the West Kindergarten or pre-school education begins even earlier

We approve of the idea of teaching some craft to all boys and girls and of obliterating the distinction between the intellectual and labouring classes But we are unwilling to assume that it is not the bounden duty of the State to educate its children and youth at its own expense, if need be Still less willing are we to assume that it is children between 7 and 14 who must pay for their own education by their own labour and skill that is by their own earning capacity, whilst young men and women need not pay for their education in that way

Mr Srinivasa Sastri on the Practice of Truth

The following very valuable passage formed part of the Right Hon'ble V S Srinivasa Sastri's convocation address at the Annamalai University

I advise you to be faithful to party but always to put the nation above it I advise you not to look upon members of other parties as enemies to be avoided,

denounced and injured, but as fellow travellers choosing different routes to reach the same goal, *viz.*, the common good I advise you above all, to cherish your personal freedom as a birthright and guard it zealously except in a limited sphere, so that in your public activities you may be true to yourselves The ideal to be aimed at is the one enunciated in our ancient saying "One and the same in thought word and act" To propagate others' opinions as your own, to make speeches against your convictions and to vote habitually at the bidding of a whip, is to do violence to truth In this land men have been bidden from ancient days to speak the truth and to perform the 'dharma' Truth has been declared to be the foundation and the support of all things

Happily we are not left without some shining examples for our guidance One that will be universally admitted is Mahatma Gandhi It is not for nothing that he observes silence on one day of each week for all speech involves a certain impairment of the truth He employs the fewest words and the simplest to express his thoughts, for does not the poet say that those must be frugal in their words who wish to be truthful? I know of none who is so *preternaturally careful to avoid situations* that might compromise or weaken his adherence to the truth With a will that no bribe can buy and no threat can bend he upholds the supremacy of his *conscience Dedicated body and soul to the service of* mankind, he will seek no good however great or glittering except by methods wholly consonant with his own conception of right or truth four annas is not beyond his means if still he stands outside the Congress organization, it is because its atmosphere irks his extremely sensitive and truthful soul He protests against people following him blindly and accepting his decisions without endeavouring to make them their own Yet so weak is human nature that in the wide circle of his influence people too readily surrender their individual freedom and so palter with truth If one of the phases of truth be non violence, another is the integrity of the human soul The Mahatma's supreme merit is his unflinching devotion to the goddess of Truth in her various phases Let us be his co worshippers, not his worshippers

Zamindars and the Bengal Governor

The Bengal zamindars recently asked the Bengal Governor in effect to protect them from attacks or encroachments on the rights of private property But the latter has practically told them that as a "constitutional Governor" (there is much virtue in that blessed expression) he can and will do nothing to help them He has gone further He has reminded them of the duties and responsibilities of property and of what is taking place in Britain itself to make the State and its legislation more and more socialistic

If our capitalists and zamindars had taken the lead in political and social movements, if they had fraternized with the masses and worked for their uplift, many internal problems could have been solved peacefully and all classes of our people could have combined to win freedom for the country Instead, one finds a propertied class appealing for protection to a representative of the imperial race which keeps India in subjection

It is never too late to learn and mend Let *the zamindars now begin in earnest to do that* which they ought to have begun to do very much earlier

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Convocation Address

Addressing the new graduates at the Convocation of the Allahabad University Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who delivered his speech (extempore) in Hindi, drew a colourful contrast between the condition of the powerful Japan of today and the backward state of India as at present He said that Japan had attained the height of strength and power on a par with any nation of the West He pointed out that considering the condition of Japan in 1853 which was astonishingly backward in every respect in comparison to India under the British Rule of that day its present growth was phenomenal

Tracing the causes of this rapid growth of Japan Pandit Malaviya stated that

the secret of Japan's success lay in its mass education, which it introduced as a national measure through the medium of its own language and education was made available to every child of that country The second factor was that in Japan everybody was taught to love and to serve his country, whereas in India such procedure was prohibited in schools The best soldier and scholar in *Japan was one who was the greatest patriot but in* India any one who was so was considered a dangerous element

Proceeding Panditji said:

"Japan has compulsory primary education as well as compulsory military education That is not all Japan has planned a systematic method for development of national wealth which is never the case in India The result is that M Sc's and D Sc's who spend 25 years of their life in education, will face the problem of unemployment at the end of their academic career and find themselves unable to feed their family India being so rich in raw material and wealth, need not have been in that deplorable condition in the matter of occupation and vocation for her educated children For the solution of this state of affairs there should be proper exploitation *of the resources of the country through industries* developed by mass education and opening of polytechnic schools at several centres of each province"

Breathe Spirit of Times

Though Panditji did not like everything of Japan, especially what was going on at present against China, yet he could not but appreciate Japan's good qualities which had made it one of the most powerful nations of *the world He advised the new graduates to breathe the* spirit of times and practise the adages handed down from the ancient great teachers of India, namely to speak the truth, to follow 'Dharma', to be courageous soldiers and to apply themselves to work in earnestness whatever may be their vocation

Continuing Pandit Malaviya said:

As money was not forthcoming for universal primary and elementary education owing to the high cost of administration and the incapacity of the poor people to pay tax, there was one solution for this problem, which was that every educated man, be he a judge a minister *or a Governor, must devote at last three months to teach* ing some illiterate persons That would, Panditji believed easily work out to solve the present state of illiteracy.

Panditji has mentioned some of the secrets of Japan's success One more may be added The Samurai, the warrior caste of Japan, were socially and politically the highest and a privileged class They gave up their privileged position of their own accord, without other classes having to struggle against it The *Eta*, the untouchable" caste in Japan was socially uplifted and untouchability was abolished In these ways, the caste system as it existed in Japan was practically done away with

The advice that every educated person should be a voluntary and honorary teacher for some time is not new Even ordinary persons like the present writer have given it repeatedly in speech and writing But it has not yet been generally followed But it may be followed in the months and years to come

Italy's Withdrawal from the League

Italy had in reality ceased to be a member of the League of Nations more than a year ago She ceased to be a member in name also last month She would now feel more free to take part in the Spanish civil war openly, as she had been really doing all along, the farcical talk of *non intervention notwithstanding* She has also ceased to have anything to do with the International Labour Organization at Geneva, which is a part of the League

Three powerful fascist states—Japan, Germany and Italy—are out of the League, and have entered into the Anti Comintern Pact

Is It Japan's Reply to Boycott?

For some months past there has been much talk in India of boycotting Japanese goods But there is not any available information as to how much of this talk has *materialized* Japan, however, has taken some steps which will injure India's export trade

Information has been received from the Indian Trade *Commissioner in Japan that the Department of Commerce* and Industry of the Japanese Government have promulgated for immediate enforcement three Ordinances in accordance with the emergency export import adjustment law

According to these Ordinances the following articles which are of interest to Indian exporters cannot be *imported to Japan without* the permission of the Minister of Commerce and Industry —

Category (1) Cotton *in seed or ginned*, sheep's wool wood

Category (2) Tea hides and skin, ground nut oil, oils, fats and waxes perfumes and preparations of oil fat or wax perfumed, natural indigo jute yarns, hemp *twines and jute twines* made by twisting together single yarn, tissues of wool or mixed tissues of wool and cotton of wool and silk or of wool *cotton and silk mats* and mattings made of vegetable materials including textile fabrics, brushes and booms.

Category (3) Rabbit fur, naphthalin, nitric acid, waste cotton fibre, cotton rag, waste paper and antimony and sulphite of antimony

Congress Government Action re Kisan Movement in U. P. and Bihar

LUCKNOW, DEC. 20

"The Congress Government would either be forced to adopt coercive measures or get out of office if the peasants did not abide by the laws in force today", declared Mr Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Revenue Minister of U P., addressing a mass meeting of Kisans at the Partapgarh District Conference.

He is reported to have said that it would be too difficult for the Congress to adopt coercive measures. Therefore the only alternative left was resignation If the Government were forced to resign *the kisans would* not be able to reap the fruits of the labour of the Congress *Ministry He added that the kisans would surely be* ejected if they did not pay rents and were misguided by *the advice of those* who did not mean to do any good to the people Thus the kisans would not be able to avail themselves of the law of hereditary rights if it was passed after they had been ejected. The Congress would then be a mute spectator to their sufferings.—*A P*

This gives in brief an idea of the situation *in U P relating to the kisan movement.* As regards Bihar, a Patna message runs thus in part

PATNA, DEC. 18

Explaining the position regarding the resolution passed by the Bihar Congress Working Committee *recently supporting* the action of three district Congress committees in dissociating themselves from "kisan" activities carried on by Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, President of the Bihar "Kisan Sabha" and a member of the A I C C and the Bihar Congress Committee, Babu Rajendra Prasad has issued the following statement

"The resolution of the Congress Working Committee of Bihar has come in for comment and criticism which *are based on misconception of the fundamental position* taken up by the Committee As is pointed out in the resolution itself, many Congressmen, who have been working in the "Kisan Sabha", have been carrying on propaganda in a way which is considered by the Committee to be highly detrimental to the best interest of the country Their speeches have been openly encouraging violence in one form or another and have been responsible for the development of a situation *fraught with dangerous potentialities.*"

Babu Rajendra Prasad proceeds to add that the Kisan Sabha has not been banned, it is only the Congressmen who have been asked not to have anything to do with it

From the action taken by the Congress Governments in U P and Bihar, it appears that the leaders of the peasant movement in both the provinces have been doing things which in the opinion of the foremost Congress leaders there are of a subversive character and are not calculated to be beneficial to the Kisans

Calcutta University Studies in Aviation

Introduction of Aeronautics as a subject for Post Graduate studies which the University of Calcutta has

decided upon, will, it is expected, provide a considerable impetus to aviation in this province

At a joint meeting of the Board of Studies in Mathematics and Physics and the Board of Higher Studies in those subjects a Committee of nine consisting among others Prof Friedrich Levi, Dr D M Bose, Director of the Bose Institute Rev Father A Verstraeten and Mr Satish Chandra Ghosh was appointed to consider the matter It has been recommended that a Post Graduate *Diploma Course in Aeronautics* should be instituted and the Course would be open only to students who have passed either the B Sc or the B E Examination

It was originally intended that Aeronautics should be included as an alternative subject in the B E Course of Study *But the scheme was ultimately given up*

This is good news so far as academic studies are concerned But the question is, will the post-graduate diploma in aeronautics facilitate the diploma-holders obtaining a commercial pilot's licence? Nowhere in the world does the obtaining of this licence involve a higher expense than Rs 2,000, in some countries it is even less But in India, according to the Aircraft Rules at present in force, the expense is Rs 8,000, *exclusive of the cost of living!*

Mr Justice Jayakar's Convocation Address

In this issue we have had to mention several convocation addresses, but we have not been able to do justice to any of them We have given only brief extracts That is what we shall do with Mr Justice Jayakar's convocation address also at Lucknow

The following paragraphs form part of the indirect exhortation to the Congress ministries

It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State Their ideals of education are as the poles apart The one aims at ungrudging subserviance, the other at freedom Rebellious enterprise in thought and action will be the watch word at a democratic government Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless enquiry, will be the ideal it will set before its youth.

SPIRIT OF FREEDOM

It is therefore necessary that this spirit of freedom, this triumph of the human reason must be maintained at all cost within the precincts of our colleges, the nurseries of the future citizen Freedom must be fully preserved for the youth to use his own reason, to think for himself, to develop on his own lines, without the slightest interference from any one, except in the interests of discipline and corporate life Freedom of association and discussion, methods of persuasion and argument must be strictly preserved and the individual must be left untouched by any desire on the part of the State to become a nation wide schoolmaster.—*A P*

It is rather stimulating, if not also entertaining, to find an erstwhile very "Moderate" leader making a vigorous plea for intellectual rebellion and even rebellious enterprise in action Like many others who have devoted some thought to the subject of University education, Mr Jayakar thinks that the object of University education is not to qualify for jobs Says he:

"This education may equip the youth with a means of livelihood, but that is only an incidental advantage A test of effective citizenship is that the citizen, as a result of his wide and liberal training, looks upon public affairs as a part of his business and is able to devote to them the same skill, integrity, care and attention as if they were his own

"Place the National Interest First"

Presiding over the C P and Berar Local Self government Conference last month, Mr Sarat Kumar Ray Chowdhury, Mayor of Calcutta, concluded his address with the following words

"With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and the expansion of the Legislatures, it may be that the more talented among us will prefer opportunities of service in the wider sphere of Government But nevertheless I do venture to express the hope that as Municipal work touches the daily lives of the people at so many points and offers innumerable opportunities of doing good, although in a small way, it will continue to attract the best and widest amongst us and will enlist their energies and talents in furtherance of the health and happiness of their fellow beings

I have one last appeal to make to you Whether you are in a Legislature, Municipality District Council or in the Village Panchayet, remember and place the national interest first By so doing you will be helping your country and the cause of freedom."

Many of our Congress leaders and legislators were distinguished municipal workers For instance, C R Das, J M Sen Gupta, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Purushottamdas Tandon

Services Rendered to India by Her Universities

Mr Sachchidananda Sinha devoted his convocation address at Nagpur to many important topics As higher education has come in for a good deal of criticism, he had something apposite to say in defence of our Universities

Our universities have rendered, in my opinion, very great services to India. Assuming the correctness of the premises of our critics—that our educational system was originally designed to produce merely clerks and subordinate officials—it has certainly long since belied the intention, or expectation, of its organizers by producing not only almost all our great national leaders, but also all those who have been successful workers in various spheres of public activities, with advantage to themselves and with credit to the country It is to their 'alumni' that India owes, to a very large extent, the progress that she has made in so many fields of national activity, which has ushered in what is popularly known as the great Indian Renaissance It is the products of the universities who have made India what she is today—an India throbbing with the pulsations of a new life All University graduates might not have contributed equally to this upheaval, but I have no doubt that without them the national awakening could not have come into existence.

fessor Bose's researches and of the instruments invented by him He was a man of childlike simplicity and was greatly interested in and fond of things Indian He is the author of numerous books and other publications, the result of his own valuable researches and observations In one of them he has recorded his impressions of his six months' stay in India

Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan at Patna

The Patna session of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan opened on December 27 last with a speech delivered by Babu Rajendra Prasad, who welcomed the idea of his Bengali



Acharya P C Ray
Chief President Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan

brothers and sisters meeting in Bihar in a literary conference

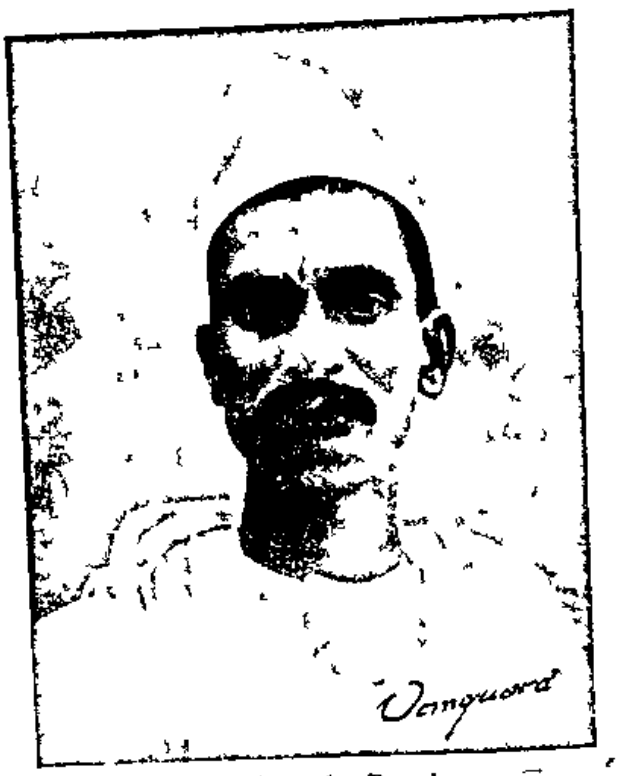
He held that all the inhabitants of Bihar speaking any language could be united and should unite in literary efforts and worship of the Goddess of Learning All vernaculars and especially Hindi and Urdu are like Ganga and Jamuna coming out of the Himalayas and he forecast the unity of all the languages just as all the rivers united in Bengal

Congressmen want the establishment of a national language he said But it did not mean the extinction of the provincial languages It meant only the substitution of a national language for inter provincial communication in place of English All languages needed encouragement and especially Bengali Literature

Sir Manmathanath Mukerjee, Chairman Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee



Sir Manmathanath Mukerjee
Chairman Reception Committee



Babu Rajendra Prasad

Acharya P C Ray, Chief President in the course of his address regretted the lack of



Prof Dvarka ia l Ghosl
Pres dent Econom cs Sect on



Dr S n ti I nar Chat erji
I res lent Art Sect on



Prof Phanibhusan Adh kari
Pres dent Ph lo.ophy Sect on



Prof Mohitlal Mazumdar
President L terature Sect on

scientific literature and of any suitable terminology in Bengali which could be made use of in scientific books



Dr Rudrendra Kumar Pal
President Science Section



Mr Nanigopal Mazumdar
President History Section

It is regrettable books worth the name on scientific researches are now seldom published in Bengali language *but if one cares to go through the advertisement columns* of the "Nature"—a magazine dealing with scientific researches he will be simply amazed to see how many books are published in foreign countries on these topics



Pandit Kshitimohan Sen
President Greater Bengal Section

"I *must mention here that absence of suitable paribhasa* is a great handicap to the writing of scientific books in Bengali

I must frankly admit that in the accomplishment of this great object there are serious problems to tackle with We have no institution that can afford us the opportunity of introducing the same terminology in different provinces or give different authors in one province the facility of using the same terminology Here in Bengal each appears to be independent of the other! *But there is few to realise that unless one and the same paribhasa* is introduced in different provinces, its equity can never be observed

I am strongly of opinion that unless the authority of one particular institution is regarded in this respect as supreme no solution of this problem of a universal scientific terminology can be arrived at

"A small ray of hope is however now visible The University which has for some time past, applied itself vigorously to this task has achieved a great success We *may rest assured that the terminology prepared jointly* by well known litterateurs the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and other science schools will be unanimously adopted to permanently end the trouble'

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A DANCER FROM JAVA

P b Ire c a M k nda Ch e

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MASARYK—THE PRESIDENT LIBERATOR

Servitude is the soul blinded Can you picture to yourself a man voluntarily blind? This terrible thing exists There are willing slaves A smile in irons! Can anything be more hideous? He who is not free is not a man he who is not free has no sight no knowledge, no discernment, no growth, no comprehension, no will no faith, no love —Victor Hugo

BY DR SUDHINDRA BOSE,
State University of Iowa, U S A

THE passing of Thomas G Masaryk, founder and first President of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, is being mourned not only by Americans of Czech descent but by America as a whole Masaryk was the George Washington of Czecho-Slovakia (Bohemia) The American metaphor is not incongruous His life, his success after the passage of centuries in effecting the rebirth as a nation of the Bohemian people are linked in many intimate details with the United States

Dr Masaryk wrote the Czech Declaration of Independence in this country He modelled the government of his native land in large part after the American His wife was an American girl and his son, now Czecho-Slovakia Ambassador to London, also married an American Dr Masaryk was for a time a professorial lecturer at the University of Chicago and his daughter, Alice, was a Resident of Hull House, the famous settlement-house in Chicago

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that there might have been no Czecho Slovakia—for all Masaryk's life-time of devotion—had there been no American Woodrow Wilson There were many affinities between the two men Both began as university professors Both were consecrated with an evangelical fervor to what they conceived to be their mission Both had at the very core of them faith in democracy, in the common people, and in the power of reason Of all the new states President Wilson helped into being at Versailles and of all the new statesmen created by the peace settlement, Masaryk and Czecho-Slovakia alone conformed to the Wilson ideal No wonder that on the tenth anniversary of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, President Masaryk presided at the unveiling of a great statue of President Woodrow Wilson in Prague and publicly acknowledged the share of Wilson in the launching of the new Republic

INSPIRING LIFE

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was the father of his country Rising from humble origins—son of a coachman and apprenticed to a blacksmith—he won both academic and political distinction in fairly early life

In 1872 he entered the University of Vienna as a student of philosophy and later attended the University of Leipzig It was there he made the acquaintance of an American girl, Miss Charlotte Garrigue, whom he married Masaryk took the wife's name of "Garrigue" for his own middle name

After his Leipzig days, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was appointed a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Vienna, and two years later, when the University of Prague was divided into a Czech and a German university,

he became professor of philosophy in the Czech University For ten years his career was that of the scholar, but not isolated from life He wrote several controversial books, in which he urged emancipation from the Germanic philosophy of Kant and his followers, and adhesion to the French and English positivist and evolutionary teachings of Hume, Mill Comte, and Spencer

He then became interested in politics As a statesman and a philosopher, Masaryk ranked equally high On numerous occasions he displayed admirable courage As a member of the Austrian parliament he incurred the displeasure of the Austro Hungarian government, and quickly became known as one of the ablest political leaders of Bohemia Indeed he attained a dangerous fame as an advocate of the nationality and independence of the Bohemian people, then submerged in the so-called Dual Empire From then on he was a "*conspirator*', an "*agitator*", a *notorious bad mash* A wrecker of empires? That he surely was Progress ever demolishes with the left hand and builds with the right

Champion of Freedom

When the Great War broke out, Masaryk became the champion of Czech independence definitely In his now famous work, *The New Europe*, he made a strong attack on the Austro Hungarian government, characterizing it as imperialistic, militaristic, pretentious and a senseless relic of the Middle Ages

While he was a political fugitive, Dr Masaryk founded propagandist papers in France advocating the complete liberty of his people from the Austrian yoke

His knowledge of history was of great value to him in putting out his publications He was a pronounced realist, rebelling against the typical Teutonic idealism and also against the Tolstoyan philosophy of non resistance to evil He stood for a unified conception of life, in which the spiritual and religious take their place with the intellectual and the political as aspects of an integral whole Although his political success overshadowed his literary activities Masaryk wrote important works on sociology and philosophy

The Great War gave him opportunity to apply his personal philosophy to the affairs of his people Even England aided the "rebel" from Bohemia Lord Robert Cecil had declared that England was fighting for the freedom of small nations Masaryk met two London Journalists then in position of power Wickham Steed and Dr Seton-Watson These men preached self-determination for all peoples—not including Indians, of course That was self-evident!

The "conspirator" Masaryk roved busily through France, England, Russia, Siberia, Japan and America—everywhere that Czechs could be rallied to fight against the Central empires He and his aides formed Czech legions from prisoners of war the Allies had captured Soon these legions were fighting for the Allies on the western front Masaryk exploited the feats of the Czech legions ably

In 1918 the American Foreign Minister, Robert Lansing, issued the proclamation which expressed American sympathy with Czecho-Slovakia aspirations for independence Then Austria sued for peace, expressing willingness to federalize its ill-assorted, ramshackle empire —a *prison house of nations* Masaryk promptly checkmated this mischievous move, which would have held his country within the cursed empire He was not like one of those weak kneed "moderates" of the Indian type, ready to sell his birthright for a mess of "dominion status" As between federation with the Austrian empire and Bohemian independence, Masaryk did not hesitate a split-second He immediately issued a Declaration of Independence, which met with an enthusiastic public reception in America That document was written in Washington

Shortly afterward President Wilson's reply to the Austrian Foreign Minister adopted fully Masaryk's point of view on the future of Czecho Slovakia With allied victory, independence had been won by sponsorship of America

As Masaryk's had been the most potent influence in the winning of independence, so it became the determining factor in the organization of the new republic. His election to the Presidency was as uncontested as George Washington's, and his motive in the acceptance of it as free from any suspicion of personal ambition

He was a patriot above patriots He continued in the Presidential chair for seventeen years because his people needed him, and would not let him go Two years ago when he resigned the Presidential office in his 85th year, the title "President Liberator" was conferred upon him by the Cabinet

Masaryk was often called "The Maker of a Nation" He seemed a wise philosopher-king beside the noisy swashbuckling posturers who dominate the European scene Not only Czecho-Slovakia and America, but the world of democracy and liberty has lost one of its greatest sons

THE HINDI BHAVAN AT SANTINIKETAN

By C F ANDREWS

My first words must lay stress on the great importance of this morning's function * It will mark, I trust, one of those turning points, where we abandon once and for all that invidious word 'vernacular', and treat the living languages of India as one of the treasures of mankind

Our Gurudeva, Rabindranath Tagore, has always kept before us the high ideal of encouraging research, not only into the languages of the past, such as Pali and Sanskrit, but also into the living languages which will mould the future Our Vidyabhavan, which is his own creation, should combine all such language studies together

Already we have a Chair of Islamic Culture, which includes Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and we have been very happy in our teachers Our Maulana Sahib, Ziauddin, and our Arabic scholar Ajmal Khan are universally respected in our Asram We have also a Chair of Zoroastrian Culture held by Dr Manilal Patel from Gujerat In the same manner, we have carried on research in Pali and Sanskrit and mediæval Hindi literature Here, the Head of Vidyabhavan, Prof Kshiti Mohan Sen, has done eminent work, which has won for him distinction among scholars all over the world Last of all, quite recently, we have established (owing to the generosity of the people of China), a 'Cheena Bhavan' where Chinese and Tibetan literature are studied and ancient manuscripts are preserved In Prof Tan-Yun Shan, Dr Gokhale and Pandit Sujit Mukerji, we have a happy combination which has already proved its worth

Up to the present among the living Indian languages, we have only been able to obtain the necessary background for the study of Bengali as a modern subject, and that is chiefly due to the fact that we have its greatest living exponent, our Gurudeva, with us But today we are going one step further and are founding a permanent home in our midst for the study of Hindi If we succeed in our aim, the research in mediæval religious literature, with its Hindi basis, which has been so remarkably developed by Prof Kshiti Mohan Sen, will be extended right up to the modern age For this Bhavan is intended to be a home, where Hindi literature will be studied in all its branches Since the word 'Visva Bharati' implies a world standpoint, we shall seek to do something in this direction, not merely because Hindi is spoken today by many crores of people, but much more because its religious and philosophic literature is unique

As I have just said, we have already proved in our Asram the value of the study of Bengali literature and language Santiniketan has been a true Academy for Bengal The very fact that we have had such success in the study of Bengali, as a modern language, makes us all the more confident that we shall succeed with Hindi It may not be known yet, in India, that one of the results of Prof Winternitz and Lesny's visits to Santiniketan has been the formation of a School of Indian languages in Central Europe I have also a hope that as one of the results of a visit which I paid to Australia a year ago the School of Oriental Studies in Sydney, New South Wales, may include Indian modern languages in its curriculum as well as Chinese and Japanese

If we succeed in establishing the study of Hindi in our Asram, we may hope that, later on, other Indian languages may also find a place All the while, we shall seek to develop the closest relationship between Urdu, with its Persian background, and Hindi, with its Sanskrit foundation, and thus carry forward the working knowledge of a simple *lingua franca*, called 'Hindustani', which shall combine both

Perhaps, at this point, I may be pardoned for making a reference to my own experiences The fact that I am talking in English at this function will show my trepidation even at the thought of speaking in Hindi and I would not venture to do so before a distinguished audience like this, since I know my own weakness But Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, about whom I have written very often revealed to me the beautiful courtesy of the Moghul period in Delhi, and taught me to appreciate the fact that some of the best Urdu literature was written by Hindus He had his friends among them and used to send them presents on each great festival occasion His own Urdu speech was never elaborately ornate, and it was easy

* Speech delivered at the laying of the foundation stone of the Hindi Bhavan at Santiniketan

to pass from it to Hindi and so to blend both in a common Hindustani Thus through daily conversation with him in Urdu I was never far away from what Jawaharlal Nehru has aptly called 'basic Hindustani', and when I went out into the villages I could easily follow what the villagers said to me Furthermore in Fiji Trinidad British Guiana and elsewhere this same mixture of Hindi and Urdu has carried me through I could never pass any examination, and yet it has been easy to make myself understood in Hindustani in every part of the world where Indians have settled Thus it has become clear to me that this blending of the two languages has great possibilities in it and it will be one of the most useful tasks of this Hindi Bhavan to explore how far this intermingling of the two language currents may be carried

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray has recently pointed out another pathway of research He has shown the immediate necessity of framing a common vocabulary of the new words of modern science which are pouring into every language today Benares University has already done something in one direction and the Osmania University in another But what we need are words that all can use and in the quiet atmosphere of Santiniketan we may be able to perform very useful laboratory work which may help to produce a new coinage of words for the whole of India Urdu words must have a place in such a process side by side with Hindi and there must be no more pedantry about it

In the same way a common philosophic and religious vocabulary is needed which will cover the ground of modern psychology, sociology and ethics

One further pathway of research into the future is needed For if Hindi literature is to meet the tastes and requirements not of a coterie only, but of millions of people it must become simple and terse and lucid laying aside its archaic and ornate forms Here in this Asram, where Bengali has been brought into closest touch with modern life this process whereby a living language can be made simple is already well known It is just what Rabindranath has done with literary Bengali It may thus be possible with such a Hindi scholar as Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi in our midst to cultivate a pure literary style, which shall bring it near to the common people in the villages as well as to the cultured circles in the towns

But if we are to carry out this programme we shall clearly need not only a building of bricks and mortar, but also some generous donor or donors who shall come forward and endow a Chair of Hindi Literature, so that the work begun here may be adequately continued in the future

More than three centuries ago in Cambridge University one such noble giver endowed a Chair of Arabic at a time when that language was little known in Great Britain This Chair was filled during the time that I was in Cambridge by one of the most brilliant Oriental scholars—a true lover of the East,—Edward Granville Browne Another donor, at a later period founded the Boden Sanskrit Professorship at Oxford Only a short time ago a new Chair called the Spalding Chair of Eastern Philosophy and Ethics, was established, which Prof Radhakrishnan is holding today with much distinction May there not be some generous hearted giver, in this country, who can realise the necessity for a Chair of Hindi Literature at Santiniketan? It would indeed be worthy of a great occasion, such as this, if the donation of a Chair of Hindi could be added to the gift of the Hindi Bhavan itself

Let us for a moment visualise the future, when our building is complete We shall have a Library and a Hall, where MSS and books will be kept, which go back to earliest times. Pictures by worthy artists will adorn the walls, showing the traditional portraits of the Bhakti saints and others who in days gone by set the standard of Hindi literature There will be a lodging for the Acharya and his staff, and a set of rooms where a guest may be received On special occasions there will be a festival in honour of Mirabai, or Kabir, or Tulsi Das, when friends from different parts of India will attend All this would help to carry forward the Visva-Bharati ideal Next door will be the 'Cheena Bhavan" with its research into Buddhist culture, and not far away will be those who are studying Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature The inter-relation of these and other studies is bound to be fruitful

Now let us classify some of the uses to which the Hindi Bhavan will be put —

(1) There will be research into the past history of Hindi language and literature

(2) There will be the publication of a Hindi journal, summing up from time to time the fruits of our studies

(3) There will be a close contact with other workers in the wide field of Hindi literature which ranges from Rajputana to Bihar

(4) There will be writings which seek to place before the Hindi-speaking public, in

modern speach, the spiritual wealth of ancient India

(5) There will be a serious attempt to remove all barriers between the Urdu and Hindi languages, and to emphasise the common element in each

(6) There will be made available in Hindi the chief works of Rabindranath Tagore, and Hindi comments will be written upon them

These are only some of the uses to which the Hindi Bhavan may be rightly put Other speakers, who follow me, will enlarge upon them

There are those who have helped us, most of all as we have struggled on to reach our present position, and I would wish to mention their names before I come to others who have done much to obtain the building fund Foremost among our earliest supporters are our own Gurudeva and Mahatmaji who have inspired us by their sympathy and encouraged us to go forward Next to them are our good friends in different provinces, who have found support for our Hindi teaching work Rajendra Prasad at Patna, Shiv Prasad Gupta at Benares Purushottamdas Tandon at Allahabad, and Jamnalal Bajaj at Wardha, have all helped us in various ways Along with them I would mention our own Hindi teachers themselves—Bhudeo Sharma Vidyalankar, Jagannath Prasad (whose literary name is 'Milind') and Durga Prasad Pande Last of all we have been most fortunate in having with us our dear friends, Dwivediji and Bhagwati Prasad Chandola Words cannot express what we owe to them for all their labours

My last pleasant duty is to record the names of those who have been instrumental in getting for us the sum which this building required Bhagirath Kanodia is one of those silent workers whose help in this matter has been always at our disposal whenever we required it He is one of those whose left hand never knows what his right hand does, so unobtrusive is he in his charity in a good cause like our own Then I would mention Sitaram Saksena, whose daughter Panna visited our Asram and by her enthusiasm enlisted her father's aid in this service Prabhudayal Himmatsingka deserves our thanks also for obtaining, along with other friends, the grant from the Halvasia Trust Ramdev Chokhany, who has helped our Asram in many matters, has been of great service to us in this matter Pundit Rup Narayan Pande and Dhanya Kumar Jain should also be mentioned, who have translated the works of our Poet and thus popularised him in Hindi Srijut Sripat Roy the son of the late Prem Chand, the great Hindi novelist, has presented us with a copy of all his future works

Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi who has been unfortunately prevented by illness from being present with us, has been one of our strongest supporters throughout Though I am disobeying his strict injunction, that I should not mention his name, it would have been quite impossible to omit it, because his persistent and devoted energy has been the driving force which has carried things through to this happy conclusion While I was lying ill at Simla, a letter from him which told me the good news about the Hindi Bhavan cheered me more than I can possibly say His friend and colleague, the late Brij Mohan Varma, helped us right up to the time of his death by his self-sacrificing service

To all those connected with the Halvasia Trust we would tender our most grateful thanks and it is our sincere wish that the fund which has thus been so liberally placed at our disposal may lead to fruitful results

While I feel entirely unworthy to be called upon to lay this foundation stone, I realise that your wish that I should do so is a mark of your affection and I would offer my affection in return If our Gurudeva's health had been such as to enable him to perform such a duty, the place I now occupy would then have been filled by him But it is a joy to me to be able to relieve him even of the slightest burden We have already received his blessing in what we are undertaking, and we would offer him our reverence and affection in return

With these words I would ask you to join with me by your presence while I lay this foundation stone

Santiniketan,
January 16 1938

DEFINITION OF BENGAL*

By R C MAJUMDAR, M A, Ph D,
Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University

In connection with the projected History of Bengal to be published by the University of Dacca, the first problem that necessarily arises is the demarcation of the territory which should form its subject-matter The problem does not admit of an easy solution but has to be faced and solved, if necessary, even arbitrarily, before we can proceed with our task For the different writers collaborating in this work must have a very definite idea of the country whose history they are going to relate

Popular notions on the subject are sometimes wildly extravagant An extreme instance is furnished by the famous song of the late Mr D L Roy in which even the birthplace of Buddha has been claimed to be a part of Bengal Views like this need not be seriously considered

Unfortunately, previous writers who dealt with the history of Bengal do not appear to have made any serious attempt to tackle the problem The author of Gaudarâjamâlâ the first critical history of Bengal did not discuss the question in all its bearings but simply referred to Râḍha Puṇḍra (Varendra) and Vaṅga as the constituent parts of Bengal (*p 1*) His treatment of the subject shows that he regarded Gauḍa or Vangadesa as roughly equivalent to the modern political province of Bengal

Mr R D Banerji in his *Bâṅglâr Itihâs* did not discuss the connotation of Bengal, but attached almost equal importance to Magadha and Bengal in his detailed treatment

Rai Bahadur Dines Chandra Sen, the author of the latest book on the history of Bengal, has, after referring to the varying boundaries of the Kingdom of Bengal in different historical periods, accepted the physical features as the chief guide in settling the question He regards as Bengal the country bounded by the Himalayas on the North, the sea on the South, the hills of Arakan on the East and the plateau of Chota Nagpur on the West He omits to specify the eastern, the north eastern, north western, and south western limits of the country, but evidently includes Assam Valley and Midnapore in Bengal

If we look upon the question from an abstract point of view, the boundaries of Bengal, like those of any other province, can only be determined on the basis of historical, linguistic or geographical considerations Let us discuss them one by one

1 To an ordinary man the simplest definition of Bengal would be the modern political province of the name But the difficulty of such a course is obvious Within the present century three separate territorial units were denoted by Bengal, one up to 1905, a second between 1905 and 1912 and a third since 1912 During previous centuries, both in British and Muhammadan periods, political boundaries of Bengal varied at different times

Such a course is open to objection from another point of view If modern political boundaries are regarded as the basis, how are we to write the history of such important countries as Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra?

If we go to ancient history, the difficulty remains equally great A small part of Bengal was called in ancient times Vaṅga There is no doubt that this name was afterwards applied to a much bigger country Similarly Gauḍa originally the name of a part of Bengal at one time signified a larger part of the Province and is now used as a synonym of Bengal To make matters worse it now appears that there were two small territorial units in Bengal called Vaṅga and Vângâlâ and the present name of Vâṅglâ (Bengal) might have been derived from either of them We are thus equally ignorant about the origin as well as the gradual extension of the name which was ultimately applied to the whole province It is certain, however, that the name Vaṅga was not applied to the Province as a whole even down to the last days of Hindu rule It may also be asserted with some degree

* As the Editor of the First Volume of the projected History of Bengal I raise here an important question in the hope that others would take it up and a general discussion would lead to an agreed solution
—R. C. M

of confidence that no general name for Bengal was in use during the Hindu period Even Gauda which probably stood at one time for the largest part of Bengal was distinguished from Vanga and certainly never included Sylhet Chittagong Comilla and other neighbouring tracts which few would be disposed to exclude from our Province On the other hand the Sarnath Inscription of Kumâradevi implies that Anga or Bhagalpur was regarded as part of Gauda in the eleventh century A D It would thus appear that no definition of Bengal that would be regarded at all satisfactory is possible on historical grounds

It is needless to add that the history of Bengal cannot mean the history of Vanga (assuming that this was the origin of the modern name) any more than the history of Radha or Suhma and Gauda or Pundra To trace the rise of Vanga and the gradual extension of the name to the whole Province would automatically leave out of account a considerable part of our Province at least during the Hindu period

2 Failing historical basis we may turn to geography for the definition of Bengal So far as the northern and southern boundaries are concerned there is no difficulty But what about the Western? The Ganges would form a natural boundary but it would exclude the whole of Burdwan Division Any other boundary further west will be somewhat *arbitrary There is nothing to choose* between the Dâmodar the Rupnarayan the Suvarnarekhâ and the Vaitarani, and *north of the Ganges* between the Mahananda and the Kosi On what definite grounds should we include Midnapore and Maldah in Bengal but not Balasore and Purnea?

3 The only possible answer is linguistic We do not include Balasore and Purnea in Bengal as *the people of these provinces* have Oriya and Hindusthani as their vernacular whereas the people of Maldah and Midnapore speak Bengali

It would thus appear that consciously or unconsciously we are more or less guided by linguistic considerations in fixing the boundary of Bengal Of course the idea has not been rigidly followed in *fixing the boundaries of the* modern province of Bengal For even leaving controversial issues it is obvious that on linguistic considerations a large part of Darjeeling district should have been excluded from Bengal while Sylhet and a part of Bihar should have been included in it It is however noteworthy that Bengal has never been reconciled to the separation of these Bengali speaking tracts and there is a persistent agitation for reconsideration of the boundaries of Bengal

There seems to be no doubt whatever that linguistic consideration appeals to us Bengalis as the most reasonable basis for the demarcation of Bengal as a territorial unit

Of the three bases stated above *viz* historical geographical and linguistic the first lacks in stability and the second in precision and both are unworkable in the case of Bengal So by the process of exclusion also we have to fall back upon the linguistic basis for defining the boundaries of Bengal It gives us a definite basis easily intelligible and possessing both precision and stability But if the linguistic basis has certain advantages it has also its disadvantages specially when we have to deal with the history of ancient times For we have no definite knowledge of the area which had a common vernacular (the Bengali Proto Bengali or the Prakrit or Apabhramsa from which the Proto Bengali was derived) during the successive periods of history There is also a great *possibility that such areas varied in different* ages It is very doubtful for example if the whole of the tract where Bengali is spoken today possessed a common vernacular throughout the Hindu period So although we start with *community of language as our basis* we may in fact include in our historical review of the Hindu period territories where there was no such common language On the contrary we may exclude certain areas which did possess a common language in old times but no longer does so

But even while admitting this anomaly it is difficult to formulate any satisfactory principle for defining the boundaries of Bengal except on the basis of language as it prevails today It is somewhat arbitrary no doubt but more satisfactory than any other scheme or *principle that can be thought of*

By a practical application of this principle Bengal for the purposes of our history should include not only the whole of the modern province of that name minus some hill tracts at the foot of the Himalayas *in the north* but also a few additional territories both on the east as well as on the west In the east the *majority of the people* in the Goalpara and Cachar districts and more than 92 per cent of the people in Sylhet speak Bengali As regards Bihar 81 per cent of the inhabitants of the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum speak Bengali '

In the subdivisions of Dhalbhum, Jamtara and Pakaur, the proportions are 36 30 and 25 per cent respectively So, the whole of Manbhum, and the eastern fringe of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas in the west, and Goalpara, Sylhet and Cachar in the east should be included in Bengal

There is some element of doubt about the two feudatory states Saraikela and Kharsawan in the Chota Nagpur plateau The following table gives the number of people per 10 000 speaking the different principal languages

Bengali	2 431
Ho	1,844
Oriya	2 744
Santali	1,649
Hindustani	548

Here no language is spoken by a majority of the people and Bengali speaking population forms nearly one fourth of the total Though Oriya is the language of the largest number, Bengali comes a good second The State border on Manbhum and Singbhum and touch a fringe of Mayurbhanj There are, therefore almost as good grounds for including them in Bengal as in Orissa

In conclusion it should be remembered that according to the latest Census Report from which the figures quoted above have been taken Bihar and Orissa contain nearly two millions of people whose mother-tongue is Bengali, and these are mainly centred in the border districts of Purnea, the Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singbhum and Balasore, and the feudatory States of Mayurbhanj, Saraikela and Kharsawan Although they may not be included in a technical sense in the history of Bengal, they cannot be altogether ignored when the main currents of the history of Bengal touch upon these fringes Old history and tradition alike associate them more closely with Gauda (Bengal) rather than with Magadha (Bihar) or Kalinga, the only two neighbouring provinces that have left any abiding impression on the ancient history of India While, therefore, the 'History of Bengal' must necessarily restrict itself to the modern province together with Manbhum Sylhet Tippera, and the eastern border of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas, it cannot be reasonably objected if occasionally it widens its horizon so as to include the districts in Bihar and Orissa, named above, which touch upon the borders of Bengal



The Captive By Kiranmay Dhar



Pipe of Peace By Kiranmay Dhar

THE CHINESE PEOPLE ARM THEMSELVES

By AGNES SMEDLEY

The Japanese imperialist army, equipped with all the mechanized forces of mass slaughter, has been proudly rolling forward over North China mowing down the Chinese armies as a threshing machine mows down wheat Not only have they moved steadily southward over Hopei Province, slaughtering the Chinese armies, but the masses of the Chinese people have stood helplessly their arms hanging by their side, and watched them roll It was the same along the whole north western front also until the latter part of September

The tide began to be turned at least to some extent, when the famous Eighth Route Army—formerly the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army—reached the battle front of North Shansi Province In the famous battle at Pinghsiangkwan a strategic pass on the Great Wall commanding one of the routes southward to the city of Taiyuanfu, the Shansi capital, the Eighth Route Army dealt the Japanese the first staggering blow they had received from any Chinese army of the north and north-west In a series of swift flanking movements, the Eighth Route smashed the Japanese at Pinghsiangkwan, killing from two to three thousand of them

With this battle as a lever, and with their whole sincerity of purpose, a representative of the Eighth Route Army and an official representative of the Chinese Communist Party, talked with General Yen Hsi shan, Governor of Shansi Province and commander in chief of the north-western armies These Communist representatives, one military and one civilian, argued that the salvation of China from subjection is the business of the entire Chinese people, and if the people are not mobilized and armed, China cannot be victorious The Chinese armies however vast, have not the equipment to match the huge war machine of the Japanese The entire people and the national resources of China must be mobilized, they argued

At that time the Central Government at Nanking did not permit the mobilization and arming of the people But General Yen agreed to some extent with the Eighth Route Army and Communist Party representative, and gave them the right to mobilize and arm all the people near the battle front This territory was largely controlled by the Japanese, so it was not a concession of much value But the Eighth Route Army took the offer gladly They were already in the rear of one of the main Japanese positions (Sinkow and Yuanping), while the other main Japanese line was along the Peiping Suiyuan railway to the north Between these two battle lines of the enemy the Eighth Route Army had penetrated and had begun guerilla warfare on a huge scale, their forces split up into small units and operating from the western border of Shansi right to the east and over into Hopei Province to the Pinghan railway, then southward and all around the Sinkow-Yuanping positions and, a little later, right up into Chahar Province They later knocked at the walls of Tatung, but that is a campaign to be waged at a later date

It was in late October that I, the writer of this article, talked with the body of men known as the General Mobilization Committee for the Front, in Taiyuanfu, the capital At that time, this Committee, was in charge of the general work of mobilizing and arming the people, in thirty *hsien*, or districts, of northern Shansi These *hsien* extend in a zig-zag line across northern Shansi, even a little below Taiyuanfu, but not taking in Taiyuanfu *hsien* itself The Committee had also just extended its work to Suiyuan and Chahar Provinces, and to every region in Shansi occupied or threatened by the Japanese The Mass Mobilization Committee consists of twenty-nine men, as follows 4 from the Eighth Route Army, 5 from Shansi Province 5 from Suiyuan, and 5 from Chahar Provinces Apart from this, each Army fighting in the north or north-west has one representative

The Committee is divided into six committees at present Organization, Propaganda, Organizing and Arming the people, the Department to Eliminate Traitors the Department for the Distribution of Work, and the General Department With two Chinese newspaper men I talked with four members of the General Mobilization Committee about their work They spoke as follows

"Our duty is to carry out our anti Japanese policy, and our chief work is the mobilizing and arming of the men into partisan groups for partisan warfare In places

under Japanese occupation, we still continue work, but the methods of work differ, of course, from those places *controlled by the Chinese armies. In occupied regions* the work is very difficult, and our plan cannot be fully realized. In those regions we devote ourselves entirely to training men *for partisan warfare*, while in other regions our work is much broader in nature. In regions still controlled by our own armies we can quite openly carry on propaganda by a variety of methods, but we can openly train men for partisan warfare. We also train first aid workers for the battlefield, and we ruthlessly hunt down traitors. We have a training school for partisans here in Taiyuanfu, and we have just sent two hundred men to the rear of the enemy. We shall soon send another group of two hundred now under training. Apart from this we have workers everywhere *in the thirty hsien lecturing and organizing and arming* and training the people. Our work just began twenty days ago, so we do not have so much to report just now. *As soon as the Central Government in Nanking gives us* the right we shall extend our work to all Shansi and to every other place where we may legally operate.

"*Here in Taiyuan, we gave but one week's training* to men in partisan tactics. That is enough here, though in other places the training is generally two weeks. Political training is also given the partisans at the same time as they receive military training. Our volunteers here in Taiyuanfu were chiefly students, and soldiers from the regular armies. In other regions, the mass of our partisan volunteers are peasants. In regions controlled by the Eighth Route Army there are more partisans than elsewhere and the work goes with great rapidity. In the one hsien of Wutai in the rear of the enemy our workers all come from the Eighth Route Army. In Wutai hsien we have already trained and armed 1,500 partisans. We also have organized village Self Defence Associations, of men whose business it is to defend their villages with arms. In Wutai hsien alone there are 800 already organized. They are nearly all *peasants and many* of them are older, or younger men, whereas the partisans are actual fighters against the Japanese at the front. The whole people are organized *and trained to gather news about the enemy and* to transmit it to our armies. The partisans do the same work, also, as well as creating disorder in the rear of *the enemy, cutting their communications and attacking* their transport units. The regular armies, of course, do the heavy front fighting, whereas the partisans harass the rear of *the enemy and their transport forces.*

The hunting down of traitors is an important work of our organization and we do constant work amongst the people to this *end. We find that traitors are chiefly* of two kinds—the richest men and the poorest men. The richest work for money and power, and are without principles or national consciousness, *the poorest many* of them the local ruffians—work *for money. Sometimes* the poorest men get one dollar a day from the Japanese to give reports. Many of the rich *traitors have Japanese* wives also. The traitors supply the Japanese with information of our armies and plans, and they give Japanese airplane signals by which they can *locate* positions to be bombed.

"Our propaganda committee has sent men to all the thirty hsien, in small groups to do propaganda. They lecture, give lessons in political knowledge to the people, collect funds, organize the people to transport and help the wounded. In this department is a section to help the refugees from the war zones. Where the wounded pass, this committee sends people to help them to give them water and food, and to change their bandages. This committee also helps the wounded and the other soldiers by writing letters for them. Most of our people are unfortunately still illiterate, and this is an important service. Many refugees themselves have entered *our work, and devote their entire time to it. They are* very glad to do this. They receive their food and lodging but beyond this nothing."

Later on, the two Chinese newspaper men and I went to Wutai-hsien, a district in the mountains between the two lines of the Japanese. Here the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army was for a time located. In one town through which we passed, we were put up *for the night by the Mass Mobilization Committee.* They were young, cheerful and even enthusiastic men *from the Eighth Route Army,* whose special work was the organizing and training and arming of partisans. They verified what the general committee of their organization had told us in Taiyuanfu. They had about 1,500 organized partisans under training so far. But, unfortunately, they have only *about 50 per cent enough arms. In groups of* 100 men there were 50 rifles only, all of them given by General Yen Hsi-shan, though some were captured from the Japanese. From this village alone, two groups of partisans had been sent to harass the rear of the enemy. The men without rifles all carried hand-grenades, but *they did not have sufficient hand-grenades.* So each man carried only five or six. The main problem is arms. The men are willing enough to be armed and only too willing to fight. But the problem of guns is an urgent one.

From this town, which had been repeatedly bombed by the Japanese, we went into the Wutai mountains, to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army. There we found the partisans have their own big headquarters where they receive political military training. We watched the training of about a hundred new volunteers, and talked with the local Mobilization Committee. This local committee consisted of seven men, all of them from the local population, and all except one peasants. The oldest member was 73 years of age. He *was a tall,* handsome and *very picturesque old* peasant who proudly led us into the fields where new volunteers were being trained. He proudly introduced us to them. A man from the Eighth *Route Army was patiently training a group of* volunteers, helped by a local civilian. We took pictures of them, and some of them stood very straight and stern. One little fellow was only thirteen, and he was so conscious of it that he was especially severe in his bearing. Then up stepped an old man sixty-five years of age and asked that he be photographed. He was a member of the village Self-Defence Corps, and this Corps had just made their own khaki

uniforms Was the old man proud! Around him stood the young men in the gray uniforms of the partisans proud of their village

We took photographs of the partisans as they trained in the late afternoon each day Here we saw these tall, strong, north Chinese farmers who so reminded me of American farmers at times Some of them were long and lanky, with moustaches and with long necks such as so many poor farmers of America are pictured There was something about their lanky frames and their protruding Adam's apples that was typical of farmers of the poorest class everywhere They are also very tall in North China Some of the younger men were stocky and as strong as bulls and it was certain that all of them would give the Japanese more than one bellyful of shot and shell Straight from their ploughing or their hoeing they know the meaning of hard labor and almost super human endurance They trained with the most intense seriousness and patience One evening we watched a unit of about a hundred under training Half of them carried rifles and had already received considerable training The other half were new Volunteers who had just come in that day The new Volunteers could not keep step, even with the constant shouting It was interesting to watch the ambling gait of the peasant, with his heavily clad feet But before the week would pass he would be able to lift his feet rapidly, and perhaps before a year is passed he will be in the regular Eighth Route Army For some of the partisans go over into the Army—that is, their units are transformed into regular military units But up to now they are not They remain farmers and fighters

The old man 73 years of age, who was a member of the Mobilization Committee was a remarkable old fellow He was very eager and proud and he talked as we walked along He was the treasurer of the local Committee He collected and disbursed funds He could read and write a little He owed seven mou of land—about 1¼ acre, so he was a poor peasant He did recruiting of volunteers he said He would go to the homes of the people and tell them what the Japanese have done in every place they have occupied—how they have killed the people, looted and raped If the Japanese come, the people cannot live at all, but will be homeless slaves, he argued No, he said he met no opposition at all from the families with sons The women are still backward, but they also raise no objection, but urge their sons to go How proud the old man was Then he added "My own son is a partisan. He is thirty five years of age and he is already fighting the enemy I would like to call him back and send him to protect you, because you are a foreign friend of ours It is a great honour!"

In the last few days of October and in early November, the general headquarters of the Eighth Route Army marched from north Shansi down to eastern Shansi to the eastern front I went with them We passed through villages where the Mobilization Committee had its representatives In one town there were hundreds of Eighth Route Army wounded all being nursed by the local population There was but one trained nurse to care for the hundreds The people had brought their own and often only quilted quilts to cover the wounded They were proud and eager to help Everywhere we saw the slogans put up by local partisan organizations on walls and trees 'Every good man into the partisans!' Or, "Every good man get ready for the front!

One night in a village, at about nine o clock, we heard a big tin pan being beaten in the streets It halted at the gate of our courtyard and the voice of a man shouted twice "All partisans come out to the grove!' Two rooms in our courtyard were thrown open a second later and two peasant men of the household, carrying rifles went silently out of the gate

When we crossed the Chentai railway line, and marched to the south of it, we entered a region in which the Eighth Route Army has just come This is a region in which the Mobilization Committee has only now received the right to mobilize and arm the people We spent the night in villages where there were no partisans at all and where the people had never heard of the Eighth Route Army The women had all fled! If we remained for two nights even—which was often the case—the people came streaming back The women and girls, with children would come I talked with some men and women who had fled from their villages when they heard an army was coming They had fled 100 li away—over 30 miles Then they heard that the Eighth Route Army had come, and that it was a revolutionary army of the people who protected and organized the people They picked up their pitiful bundles and their padded quilts and came home They sent delegations to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and asked them to leave men behind to protect and tell them what to do In all these villages south of the Chentai railway the Army headquarters left behind two armed men whose business it was to organize local Mobilization Committees, organize and

advance searched for the right path We began to straggle in units after a few hours Then we watched the roadside for the bits of paper left to guide us The bits of paper often a figure—30, 20, or 10 or such on them,—telling us how many more li we had to march There were few or no bridges over the broad icy rivers, and nearly everyone had wet feet But they crossed without complaint and marched on and on When the dawn came many men were limping and all were weary But they went on and on and I heard snatches of song I was able to ride along the good stretches of road, and across the rivers I at least kept my feet dry Later we saw that the skin of Li Po s feet is split open down to the raw flesh, all along the soles The long and hard marching, and the freezing water is the cause of this But he has not complained He has walked more slowly at times, and, with a far-away look, has replied to my questions "It does not matter"

In the darkness I lost track of my horse a number of times But he found me Two or three times I heard the low rumble that is a horse's talk of satisfaction and then his nose nudging me I felt like throwing my arms around his neck each time But when the dawn came, and I rode along level roads, I cursed him soundly For he tried to tear up the earth "running after the women," so to speak There is in our column a little bay mare jealously chaperoned by a boy about eighteen years of age For this lady my Yunnan has conceived an affection Her reply to his indelicate advances was to lift her hind legs and strike out at him in a way that belied her meek appearance But she carried a pack and it fell off For my Yunnan responded to her attack by whirling around and trying to kick the stuffings out of her It did not matter that I was on his back Not in the least! And now, that chaperoning guardian of the little mare carries a club just for use against my Yunnan I have almost fallen to sleep at times, but I was brought back to full consciousness by the glaring eyes and ferocious face of that lad coming toward my pony Realizing that we are in for another fight I turn around and seek a more secure position in the column

There is an old Hindu book which if I remember correctly, is something like the *Karma Yoga* It is a book telling of the ways and means of what we may call the "man-woman business" One passage in that book says, it is bad luck for a couple to become amorous at a cross road Bad luck indeed! It is instead, most dangerous I thought of this book today But, as the Victorian poets used to say, alas and alack, my Yunnan has not read the *Karma Yoga*

It was nearing nine in the morning, when a small straggling group of us picked our way across a riverbed filled with stones that someone seems to have sharpened to knife-like edges Before us lay the village which was to be our headquarters for a day Then, from the east, coming up the valley around a mountain, we saw a long column of slow-moving soldiers They moved slowly, wearily, as if they had marched all night We halted and watched and I took some pictures This was the Third Army, moving from a position where the Chinese troops have been defeated, to the west, where they are to be reorganized and fight again They had no animals at all with them, but carried all their arms and ammunition As they passed, voices amongst them cried out Once we heard "We have no overcoats! We have no overcoats!" There were a few people in the village ahead of us watching from a stone wall The weary soldiers seemed to be crying their complaints to the morning air, and to no one in particular Then their commander gave an order, and it was shouted down the line from man to man "Order to rest! Order to rest!" They marched on The resting place had not yet come Then came the strange cries again "We are tired! We are tired!"

This is one of the best armies of the Central Government I am told They are good fighters They carried no packs on their backs, they had no overcoats I wondered how they sleep, how they keep warm But I could not find out. When they saw a foreign face their cries ceased and in astonishment they gazed at me, and some of them smiled and halted to have their pictures taken

We came into a village entirely deserted of women and girls, and of at least half of the men population The people heard that troops were coming, and ran away We found two empty rooms in the home of what appears to be a middle peasant house Since three doors of the mud and stone buildings were locked with iron Chinese locks and chains, we went into the two empty ones and occupied them Later we found one peasant man who lives in one of the padlocked rooms He told us we could live in the two rooms His wife and daughter, who occupy the poor room, have fled with the other women to the mountains He is a poor peasant, as are the other families that live in the other rooms The men returned and talked curiously with us We tried to get them to bring their women back, but they are afraid of armies It will take another day or two for the Political Department

of headquarters to convince them that the Eighth Route Army is not an ordinary army, and that it is the protector of the people The women will be returning in another day or two, just as they have at other places And here we will leave men to organize and arm the people into partisans, just as we have in other places We left two armed men in the village where we spent the two nights before this This was the request of the people, who sent a delegation to our Military Headquarters

We leave here tomorrow morning for a new position

I wonder at the Chinese people Our only food is millet or rice, and one vegetable To day we had rice and turnips Sometimes it is *squash or potatoes And on this we live* There is no fat no sugar, and for days no meat at all I have a little money left which I borrowed from a friend to prepare for this march So I am able to buy an occasional chicken My whole group of six eat it This gives us a little protein and a tiny bit of fat The guards' shoes are nearly worn out and they have no others Nor can we buy anything There is absolutely nothing to buy This region seems very, very poor They have millet, kaoliang and squash and a few potatoes about as large as walnuts Even the chickens are very few and very thin We bought one today *but it had no fat at all We bought a squash* from the poor peasant But there are many armies in this region, and I wonder what the people will live on during the winter We buy everything we take, but much of our rice is transported on donkeys and mules with us It is many days' march over terrible roads to Taiyuanfu, and the problem of feeding and clothing an army during the winter months, in this region, is almost unbelievably difficult There are no motor roads—and no motor trucks It is almost impossible to find any man in these villages who has enough money to change one Chinese dollar We could not change a dollar to buy one chicken but had to buy another chicken this afternoon a squash, and some corn for my horse and mule For I am using the little money I have left to keep my horse and mule in good condition If either dies, I do not know what I shall do For our future marching is very hard I shall have to walk much of the time also Today my two companions and I stripped our luggage down to the barest essentials We each have the one suit we wear, our winter coats, an extra pair of socks or so, and we are rich in having one extra pair of shoes which we bought in Sian My luggage consists almost entirely of my typewriter, my typewriting paper carbon paper, my camera films, and typing ribbons I even had to give up my first aid medicines My camp bed I give to the peasant here The camp bed was a great thing for me I could sleep alone and it freed me from the almost certainty of getting lice For the k'angs of the poor peasants often have lice *in them And now I know I shall get lice* This morning when we arrived here I watched some of our armed forces sitting in doorways stripped to the waist, picking lice out of their coats They already have them Yet up to now they have been clean of them Lice in north China in winter means typhus Lice in wartime is always a typhus danger And I fear we face this very serious danger For northern Chine e typhus does not generally mean death They are practically immune to it But our army is mostly of southern men, and I fear they are in the same danger as foreigners from typhus—and that means death in 99 per cent of the cases We cannot afford anti typhus vaccine It costs $9 00 for one injection series I have not received injections either I tried it a year ago and nearly died of heart failure But still I cannot take my camp bed From now on I have one donkey, and my little mule, to carry everything for my party of six My luggage is the heaviest It is typewriting and camera supplies In these regions we cannot *buy any kind of paper whatever Whatever* we intend to use we must carry with us

Later Today the two other peasants in the locked rooms returned One was a very poor man He came into our room and asked politely and humbly for something We could not understand his dialect at all Not one of us could understand Finally he dared point at something and we saw it was an old rope *hanging on an inside door He wanted his rope* but he had been afraid to come and take it, or ask for it and point For our guards are armed men! And he has his experience with armed men! How terrible it is We laughed and gave *him his rope On his head was a bloody* cut, as if he had fallen I disinfected it with iodine and then he said he would of course pay He made a gesture of payment and we assured him that we did not want payment He watched us with suspicion—this strange, strange army that gave back a man's rope or treated his injury free Ten minutes later he came back and asked us to treat his injured foot It was useless His foot is worn to the flesh through a hole in his old cloth shoes He needs a new pair of shoes And we have none even for ourselves One of my guards took him to our doctor who bound up his foot and told

him to put a patch over his old ragged shoe

The peasant men have returned—but not yet the women and girls! What problems China has! It seems that all the problems of thousands of years rest upon the shoulders of the people I even think that these problems rest on the shoulders of the Communists! For what other force in all China comes from the heart of the masses, burdened with the full consciousness of the problems of the masses, and conscious of China's historic struggle and the possibilities of a new world struggling with such anguish for birth? What other army in all China really and truly protects the masses of the people? What other army in all China demands the reduction of taxes the end of usury, the redivision of the land, and general improvement of the livelihood of the people, the democratisation of the entire country? What other force in this vast land but the Communists and their army, truly and deeply trust the people, trust them so deeply that they would organize and give them arms? The Chinese armies are fighting for the first and most essential of all necessities—national liberation But that is only the beginning, and even the prerequisites for the victory of the Chinese armies is not yet fulfilled—that is, the adoption of such democratic, social economic and political measures that the masses of the people really feel that they have something to fight for, something to die for if necessary but, above all, something to live for Again and again as we go through the country, I am deeply, irrevocably convinced that the principles embodied in the heart of the Eighth Route Army are the only principles that will guide and save China, that will give the greatest of impulses to the liberation of all subjected Asiatic nations, and bring to life a new human society This conviction in my own mind and heart gives me the greatest peace in myself that I have ever known I suffer from an injury that exhausts me There seems little chance of it being cured until our present manner of existence, with constant marching It does not matter so very much, that injury of mine My injury is less than that of the ordinary Chinese about me This is my solace If they can fight on, so can I, in my own way

THE PLUNGE

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

Friends, let us sail
Beyond the vale
Of shadows, for the shoreless deep
Whence wing love's melodies that never sleep
Calling the soul
To the far goal
Hark to their pledge "Who breaks his gyves
Arrives"

Refrain

O Pilgrim heart!
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams!

In the hurtling rapids of desire
The masque of foam and dance of fire
Dazzle mind floats
Alas on phantom boats,
Hailing the songs of brittle waves as His
Starry symphonies

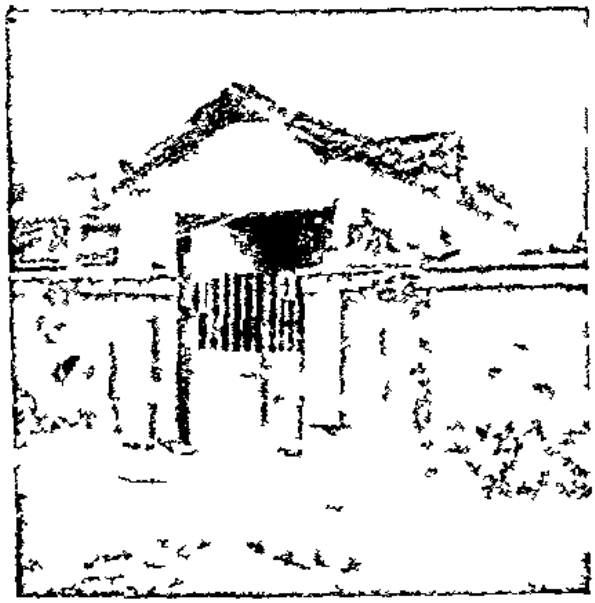
Refrain

O Pilgrim heart!
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams!

There surge the diapasons of the Far
Which earthly tumults cannot mar
Slumbering chords of life
Thrilling respond, still rapture-rife
Hush! there sings
The King of kings!

Refrain

O Pilgrim heart!
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams!



G rls Dormitory Nank n_ Un vers tv n ru ns



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A searchl ht bat ery of the Ch nese 19 h Rou e Army



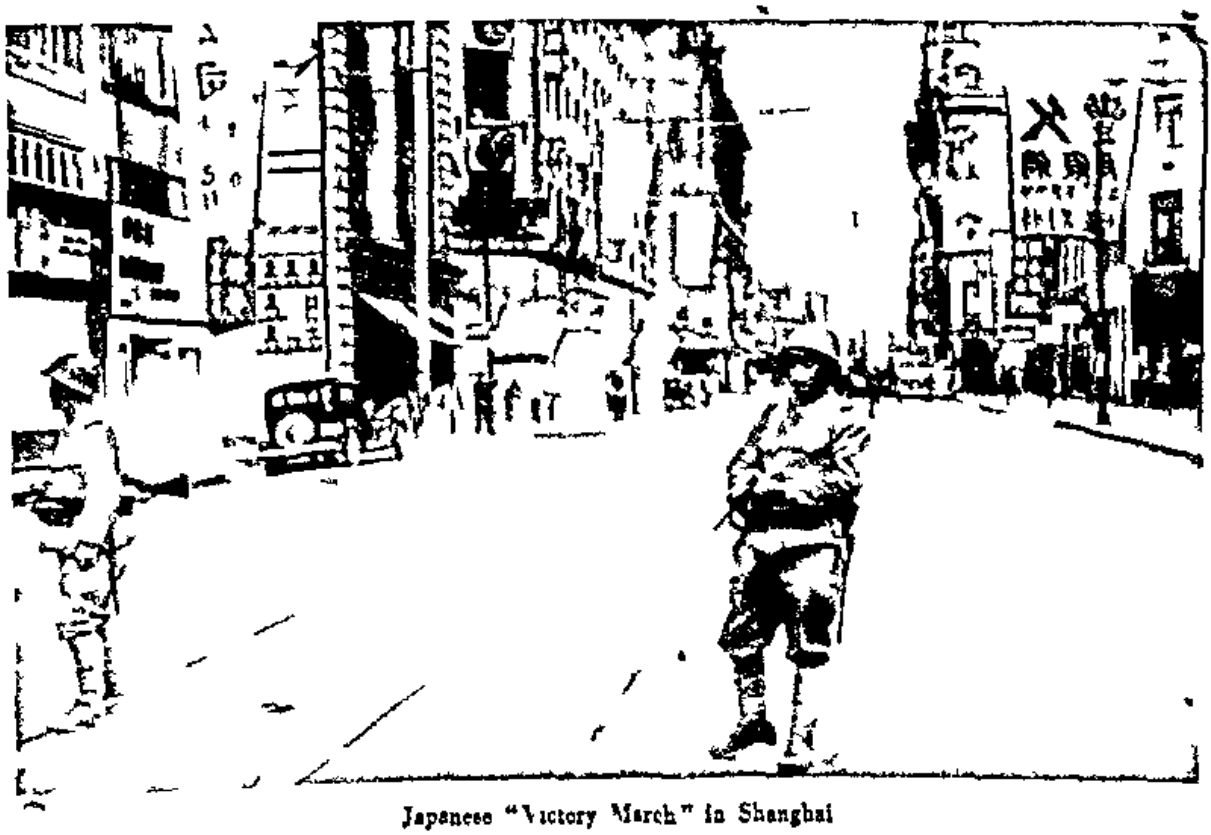
Chu Teh Commander n-Ch ef of the 8th Rou e Army in con ersat on w th a member of the Nat onal Advisory Council



The Chinese 8th Route Army



The O c pa on of Nank ng by be Japanese



Japanese "Victory March" in Shanghai

1937 : A RETROSPECT

By Major D GRAHAM POLE

We are now at the beginning of another year and it is perhaps fitting that we should take stock of the position in which we find ourselves and see how far we can anticipate what lies before us in 1938

During the year that has passed Japan has waged a barbarous, though undeclared, war on China "Incidents" in which foreign powers were involved, including the shooting of the British Ambassador to China, and the burning and sinking of American and other ships, have occurred with appalling frequency These incidents have been followed by the usual apologies and, at the time of writing, Japan has apologised no less than *twenty seven* times

Italy has left the League of Nations This makes little difference in fact as for two years she has taken practically no part in the work of the League Indeed the manner of her leaving is almost more important than the matter For in his speech announcing the withdrawal of Italy *from* Geneva, *Signor* Mussolini surprised outside observers by his bitterness They had not realized that the imposition of sanctions, and the non-recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia, meant so much to him But after all the iron has entered into his soul

The Berlin Rome axis has grown into the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle This looks formidable, but is really much less so than would appear For the Berlin-Rome axis was more an agreement of Dictators than of peoples —and the Germans who have no love for the Italians have just about as little for the Japanese

Germany clamours for the return of the colonies she lost in the Great War and Italy now backs her in this policy Signor Mussolini even goes so far as to rope in a cousin of the King of Italy, the Duke of Pistoia, and induces *him to sign an article on the subject in his* newspaper the *Popolo d'Italia* But does all this hoodwink Germany? Can she overlook the fact that after the War Italy extended her boundaries (just beyond her northern frontier) to take in some 400 000 German speaking people whose treatment by their conquerors leaves much to be desired

In Russia M Stalin seems to have got rid of practically everyone of his old comrades who were responsible with him for the inauguration of the present Soviet regime In consequence of the execution of most of the leading Generals in her Army Russia is not in the same strong position as she was to assert herself against Fascist aggression Still there is little doubt that if it came to a war of *defence*, Russia would be able to give a very good account of herself

Moreover signs are not lacking that all is not well in the Fascist countries In Italy and Germany the people are far from being wholeheartedly behind their Dictators Japan too, has found it necessary to round up and imprison all those of a socialistic tendency and even *Members of Parliament who might be expected* to oppose her present policy The cost of living in Germany, Italy and Japan is rising Japan has not got from Manchuria the material wealth that she had hoped for Nor has Italy from Abyssinia All three countries seem to be heading for bankruptcy In *such circumstances* the possibility of the present regime remaining in power for very long in any one country should be unlikely But bankruptcy of course is no deterrent to war In fact rather than face defeat at home Dictators are the more likely to risk the adventure of war

The greatest tragedy and the greatest enigma of 1937 is perhaps Spain The Civil War drags on and on Germany and Italy have openly intervened there and yet they have not succeeded in winning the war for General Franco Why? Why do they not once and for all, as they could, bomb loyalist Spain out of existence? Can it be that they are not yet ready for a show down with England Meanwhile they have done harm enough It is appalling to look at a map of Spain and to see how equally it is divided amongst Government and Rebels At *its present pace, when will the* war ever end?

A show-down with England Many people in this country believe that sooner or later there must be a show-down between the Fascist and Democratic countries The Fascist countries at any rate have no reticences that might hinder such a belief Italy inflames opinion against us in the Near East and spreads abroad the idea that we are decadent and that

it is better to follow the Italian star In the Far East, Japan says plainly that the real enemy is not China but Great Britain (And, knowing that her great neighbour, Russia, is allied to France, throws in for their benefit the slighting opinion that "France today is still France only because of the existence of Great Britain and is making her presence known only by clinging to John Bull's coat-tails")

And what about Germany? Germany has no need to trail her coat She is playing a far more dangerous, far more sinister, waiting game And the luck seems to be all on her side The *Little Entente is dissolving before her eyes* Italy is buying off Jugo-Slavia with trade concessions, thereby robbing Czecho Slovakia of a market and weakening her economically and politically Rumania has gone Fascist and although the extreme Fascists the Iron Guard are not yet in the saddle, it is plainly the *German* brand of Fascism with its persecution of the Jews and other attendant cruelties And there is the possibility that Italy may collapse *If she does so, what will become of Austria—* and the whole Danube basin? Will it not be a matter of time before it is *Deutschland uber alles?*

Germany indeed, to such English eyes as are unclouded by prejudice is the greatest tragedy of present day Europe A few years ago, when Herr Stresemann was in power, and Remarque was writing his *All Quiet on the Western Front*, we could if we had had the courage, have met Germany half-way and sought in amity a solution of the problems which are now grown so great that they threaten to engulf us all in war But France was still frightened and stifling Europe with her alliances, and screeching her everlasting parrot cry of "*Securite, Securite, Securite!*" And we listened to France But it was our own fault that France was so cautious If at the end of the Great War we had agreed, as we nearly did to join with America in guaranteeing French *security*, France would never have cast her net over Europe—and Herr Hitler's evil genius would never have triumphed Our fault, our's and America's

There are people in England now who would yield to Nazi Germany what they would not even consider when Germany was still living under the Weimar Constitution How explain this mentality? The only explanation seems to be that the only god they worship is the god of force How can we possibly, knowing that a terror exists in Germany, look on while Czecho-Slovakia, and possibly Austria, is exposed to that terror? How can we give up colonies to a Nazi Germany, knowing that

"it is undeniable that the Nazi doctrines make it impossible for the natives in any future German colony to be admitted to full German citizenship No black or yellow man can be a Nordic"

As regards the terror in Germany, a writer in this week's *Time and Tide* deserves to be studied She says

"Apologists of the Nazi revolution pretend that the 'few excesses' committed in 1933 were quite 'natural' in a time of political upheaval, and that they ceased when the new regime had settled down. The fact is that they neither were few, nor did they cease when the regime had settled down The terror in Germany today is as bad as it has ever been (readers of *Mein Kampf* can hardly be surprised for in that book Hitler preaches the most sanguinary terrorism in the most open and truculent manner) The abominations that went on in the German concentration camps are still going on Political suspects are habitually put to the torture and political offenders are executed now as before The persecution of the Jews is as bad as ever, and the persecution of the Churches threatens to grow worse."

She adds that although almost all Europe east of the Vosges is under a terror—there is a terror in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Lithuania and so on—

"there is something peculiarly shocking in the German terror Russia after all, has never been without a terror but Germany has The German is not inferior to the Frenchman or the Englishman in civilization. What happens to Germany happens to *civilization as such*"

Civilization in Germany is in fact, in the words of Ophelia, quite, quite down! How could anyone, outside a madhouse, solemnly affirm the following

"The National Socialist revolution has corrected the false view that men are individual beings. There is no liberty of the individual. There exists only the liberty of peoples nations races"

And this is Dr Dietrich, Reich Press Chief, speaking to *university students* To take away the taste of this I opened Robert Bridges' collection, *The Spirit of Man*, and came on this near the end

> " well hast thou fought
> *The better fight, who single hast maintained*
> *Against revolted multitudes the cause*
> *Of truth*, in word mightier than they in arms
> for this was all they care
> To stand approv'd in sight of God though worlds
> Judg'd thee perverse"

Who single hast maintained the cause of truth though worlds judged thee perverse Milton's words have come down three centuries But Dr Dietrich prefers *Mein Kampf* to *The Better Fight*

The people in this country who believe in the argument of force rather than in the force of argument, the great mass of Conservative

opinion that is are reversing their policy now towards Japan just as they would reverse it towards Germany (if France wasn't their conscience) In 1931, when Japan began her adventure in Manchuria, and when it would have been a far easier proposition to check her Britain held aloof She washed her hands while Japan burnt Chapei and forcibly annexed the territory of a fellow member of the League Sir John Simon, our then Foreign Secretary, flatly declined the offer of Mr Stimson America's Foreign Secretary, to co-operate with Great Britain in counteracting Japan's aggression in China

But the worst of it all was that the Conservative Press presented our part in the Sino Japanese dispute as a matter of self interest and not a matter of principle The *Times* was most insistent that there was no reason to assume that British interests would suffer by Japanese victories in China, that British trade would face exclusions or a closed door The *Observer*, and with it all the popular press with the largest circulations, exhibited the worst feature of power psychology—the desire to fraternise with a bully and join in in discrediting his victim ("He must be wicked to deserve such pain") The Chinese, declared Mr Garvin, "have harassed and hindered Japan" and Japan, said he,

"does not really seek extension of sovereignty on the mainland. Nor does she dream of keeping her troops in Manchuria indefinitely 'out of bounds' in defiance of civilized opinion" (*Observer* 15th November 1931)

And now, only seven years after, Mr Garvin himself is looking on the ruins he and his kind have made! And he actually has the nerve to write

"Far bigger in every way than the Italian annexation of Abyssinia was Japan's original conquest of Manchuria although so much less noise was made about it"

Although so much less noise was made about it! Whose fault was that—the fault of the Conservative Press who thought they could flatter and cajole Japan by admitting her to the titles of civilized opinion The fault of the Conservative Press which denounced those who did make a noise about the business in Manchuria as "curious pacifists" and "inflamed enthusiasts for League coercion" Well, they have their answer now And Mr Garvin has discovered what was never in doubt from the moment that we flatly refused the American offer to go out with them and grasp the nettle, that we are in danger in the Far East

"In China, where we have built up vast interests and a famous repute by the continuous work of generations, we are in a position more humiliating and damaging than we have ever endured since we won the name of a great people"

And in Tokio, we might add, they speak of *powerless England*—and in Shanghai nearly four hundred children among the refugees have died every day during the past three weeks That is what happens when a nation follows the line of least resistance How many people in their heart of hearts shared the complacency of Sir John Simon when he went about congratulating himself that he had kept England on friendly terms with both China and Japan? What a difference it might have made if we had been told instead of the American proposal

Should we not have been told? The whole question of the way in which foreign affairs are conducted is, we are coming to see, a very vital one The present Government has changed its Foreign Secretary twice—and now it has made an entirely new departure and appointed a Chief Diplomatic Adviser Sir John Simon is associated with debacle in the Far East, Sir Samuel Hoare with debacle in Abyssinia Progressive opinion in this country forced Mr Eden on his Government Is the Government's new move an attempt to put a spoke in the wheel of its Foreign Secretary—a Foreign Secretary they have frustrated, in any event, from the very beginning (and who could not even get a mention of the League of Nations into the last King's Speech) There might be something to be said for the appointment of a Chief Diplomatic Adviser, but on the face of it the choice of the first holder of the office seems to be an unhappy one Sir Robert Vansittart has been permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs for the past eight years But it is precisely during the past eight years that our foreign policy has got lost in the sand—and the Dictators have put about the idea that we are decadent Rumour associated the name of Sir Robert Vansittart with the Hoare-Laval Pact The Pact which was a betrayal not so much of Abyssinia (which might have come out better if it had been adopted) as of the *League* Whether that rumour was just or no one could wish that the new Diplomatic Adviser were not the man who has kept watch over so many failures

But to return to America If in 1931 the Hoover Administration, in accord with its commitments under the Kellogg Pact was prepared to concert action with England against a Power which was using war as an instrument of national policy—in 1938 the Roosevelt Administration in face of the threat which Japan is making to the very existence of China as a separate political entity, is preparing to

take action and has the entire backing of American public leaders Mr Stimson Foreign Secretary under President Hoover, has written a three column letter to the *New York Times* in his support And the Republican Leader, Mr Landon, has sent Mr Roosevelt a telegram Dealing with the Landon telegram the Scripps-Howard chain of papers makes a comment which Mr Neville Chamberlain, and all those who share his view that it is dangerous even to *express an opinion, should study* Peace, they maintain, largely depends on "whether the Japanese war lords believe they can get away with it"

But even more important to us and to everyone is the reply which the President sent to Mr Landon It has almost the Gettysburg touch

"I believe an overwhelming majority of our country men, regardless of politics, creed race or colour from the days of Washington to this hour have desired to pursue the even tenor of their way at peace with all peoples. But throughout our long history *we Americans have rejected every suggestion that ultimate security can be assured by closing our eyes* to the fact that, whether we like it or not we are part of a large world of other nations and peoples *As such we owe some measure of co-operation, and even leadership,* in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the ultimate goal of general peace"

America speaks of leadership but our language is the language of non intervention No it isn't It is only the language of politicians and the poor little street bred people who are nourished on the popular press and veer with that press

Mr Roosevelt seems to have the leaders of all parties behind him in the matter of foreign policy It would be gratifying if the same could be said in the sphere of domestic relations, and especially of his relations with big business. It is very difficult for outsiders to understand what is going on in New York References are made to a phenomenon unknown in this country, "trust busting" (though it might be a good thing here), and it is pointed out by Mr Jackson, the Assistant Attorney-General, that in America the greater part of the nation's wealth is controlled by about 2000 men who "before 1929 owned the Government body and soul" These 2000, presumably, are the men behind the recent sudden slump in Wall Street The American capitalists, comments Mr Lloyd George in an interview, are deliberately keeping back orders because they are out to defeat Roosevelt And then he made the astonishing assertion that capitalism in America is challenging democracy and in *some respects it is of greater moment than the challenge in Europe* Be that as it may it is hard to understand why there should be a slump at this particular time —and how things can deteriorate at quite such a pace Says the *Cleveland Trust Bulletin*

"The hard won economic gains of the past three years have been largely cancelled in three short months."

And in Christmas week Miss Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labour, reported that the total of workless increased by 570000 the previous month while payrolls declined by £5,180000 the sharpest decline recorded since 1920

And yet, to return to Mr Roper again, trade in America has increased 31 per cent over last year—and the total of imports and exports showed an advance of 118 per cent as compared with 1932

We in England have reason to be worried at the employment figures Indeed in a survey of 1937 one writer says that

"the biggest shock of the year is provided by December's unemployment figures: 108000 up A shock because even in 1929 at the beginning of the world slump, the corresponding increase was only 73000 and because this new increase is a culmination to rises in the previous two months."

France has been having strikes, America has been having a slump, and we have been increasing our unemployment in spite of the vast rearmament programme to which we are committed (Sir Thomas Inskip has just informed us that it will cost us £150000000 *more than we anticipated)* This simply will not do France and America and Britain must get on with the good work of arriving at an economic understanding—and put a jerk into the recommendations of the Van Zeeland Report *(on economic appeasement)* when it appears

If only there was not a Chamberlain at the head of England's Government Only this last December he declared the establishment of Imperial Preference between the Ottawa group of countries to be "a fixed and unalterable part of our Imperial policy" Fixed and unalterable

But if he is enslaved to his father's fixed idea, other statesmen and especially in the Empire, are not Canada has fought an Election on Ottawa and repudiated Ottawa The Ottawa Agreements are the chief stumbling-blocks to an Anglo-American Trade Agreement And in Africa General Smuts has also something to say "The new tariffs" he declares "have proved a greater impediment to world peace than the ideologies"

Ponder that well Mr Chamberlain and be quite certain in your own mind, as you bind England to fixed and unalterable policies, that these policies are the policies of peace—and not of war

3rd January 1938.

CIVIL SERVICE IN A FOREIGN DOMINION

By BOOL CHAND, M.A
Hindu College, University of Delhi

I

No student of Indian history, however careless, can fail to notice one outstanding feature of the gradual change in the spirit of British administration of India In the earlier phases of the British connection, British administrators of India were, on the whole, allowed a fair amount of freedom of thought and expression, and were usually guided by liberalistic ideals, while in the later epochs, the spirit of British administration became definitely reactionary and retrogressive

II

This change in the tone of Briti h administration of India is so patent that it is unnecessary to elaborate the point at any great length It was, for instance, Sir Thomas Munro, whose passionate love for the Indian people is still commemorated in certain parts of Madras Presidency in songs and ballads, who was one of the earliest British administrators to give a definite expression to the view that the purpose of the British government in India was primarily to promote the growth of self-governing institutions in the country In a minute, dated 31st December, 1824,[1] he wrote

'It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character, but under a foreign government there are so many causes that tend to depress it that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking It is an old saying that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To h ve no property scarcely degrades more in one case than in the other to have property at the d sposal of a foreign government in which we have no share The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does those of a freeman it loses the privileges of taxing itself, of making its own laws of having any share in their administration or in the internal government of the country It is not even the arbitrary power of a national sovereign but the subjection to a foreign one that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit It would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of govern ment should be such an abasement of a whole people'

A more forceful expression of sympathy with India's independence and a clearer enunciation of the Liberal creed in relation to India, it is difficult to find in the whole history of British connection Underlying this was a nobility of spirit, and what is still more important, for it helps to explain the real cause of the present-day change in the attitude of the administration, a determined sense of justice, unshaken by the po session of power and unobscured by the poison of self-interest In the later periods, there grew up the tendency to view Indian interests through different glasses from those employed in determining the British, but at this time there did exist an unmistakable inclination in a good many of the British administrators of India to apply uniform ideals and uniform standards of behaviour to the two countries, and what is distinctively significant, they were able to give expression to that inclination with perfect freedom and impunity, at times even with a little, and praiseworthy, lack of restraint

Of this inclination to apply uniform ideals to India as to Britain, the records of the Foreign and Political consultations of the Government of India of the early 19th century afford ample and rich evidence Regarding the proposal to navigate the river Indus in 1830, under the pretence of ferrying through it a present of dray horses from the King of England to Maharaja Ranjit Singh Sir Charles Metcalffe, at that time a member of the Governor-General's Council, said in a highly condemnatory minute[2] that

'it seems mere wantonness to vex and alarm our neigh bours by surveying the r lands and rivers by deceit or force without their consent The scheme of surveying the Indus under the pretence of sending a present to Maharaja Ranjit Singh seems to me highly objectionable It is a tr k in my opinion unworthy of our government, which cannot fail when detected, as most probably it will be to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it'

Undoubtedly, Metcalffe's view did not prevail, the navigation of the Indus was undertaken in spite of his strongly expressed opinion, but the fact that he was able, even from his subordinate position in the administrative

1 *Refer A J Arbuthnot Sir Thomas Munro, Selections from his Minutes and other Official Writings,* I, 237 276

2 *Minute of Sir Charles Metcalffe, dated* 25th October 1830
[Bengal Secret Consultations, dated 29 10 1830]

machine, to freely criticise a proposal emanating from such a high authority as the President of the Board of Control, does prove that, on the whole, there was less grounding and controlling of opinion and more freedom of thought and expression in the government of India at that time Unsatisfactory, from the Indian point of view, and even perfectly reactionary policies were pursued in this period as in any other period of British rule These policies emanated from the heads of the government as often as from the other factors in the administration but our point is that in the counsels of the government as well as in the ranks of the administration, there prevailed at this time a freer atmosphere which permitted the retention and unrestricted expression of personal sentiments by the administrators

As member of the Police Committee of 1837, Mr (later Sir Frederick) Halliday, himself an official of the Government condemned[3] the system of combining prosecuting and judicial powers in India in the same hands as an 'absurd and mischievous' system, proclaiming that

'the evil which this system produces is twofold it affects the fair distribution of justice and it impairs, at the same time the efficiency of the police. The union of magistrate with collector has been stigmatised as incompatible but the function of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice So long as it lasts, public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied'

Or again, Mr (later Sir John Peter) Grant, member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, in 1854 took up cudgels[4] in defence of the separation of the offices of collector and magistrate against the clearly expressed opinion of his own chief the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, and refuted the latter's plea of an oriental theory of government as distinct from the occidental as untenable and bad

About the administrative discussions of this period there is a definite parliamentary ring a sense of intelligent responsibility, which was born of the cool and impartial atmosphere in which the discussions took place No administrative official seems to have suffered in his promotions or grades by reason alone of his having taken an attitude critical of the policy of government As yet, the government of India had not hardened into one solid frame, actuated by one solid opinion As yet the policy of the government was not conceived in the narrow spirit of mere self-interestedness, but was guided by the broad principles of justice and good of the governed, in the interpretation of which mutual differences of opinion among the administrators were quite inevitable

It is no wonder, then, that the government reports and minutes of this period make a comparatively charming reading. They do not bear about them that unbroken uniformity of opinion and outlook, which is such a marked feature of government documents today They do not give the impression of having been incubated in one and the same mental frame, they are, on the whole, living expressions of living minds, each with its own ideas and sentiments and sympathies

There was room in these government reports, as there was possibility in the governmental process of the time, for a certain amount of self-criticism, and this opportunity was, as a rule, freely availed of In its report of 1854, the Torture Commission of Madras was able to sum up without prejudice that

'the mental effect of the present system of British administration on the Indian was to make him look upon complaints as useless.'

The Commission had received many complaints from people who had never complained to the local authorities, for they were afraid of 'the banded body of the *amla*',[5] believing that 'all *amla*, under one head, whatever their names, were in reality one band', ready at all times to support each other, right or wrong, so that any expectation of justice from them against their compeers was useless and impossible A statement, so bare in its truth, which was then made by three European administrators who constituted the Torture Commission,[6] has now become an exceedingly rare occurrence, except from the mouth of the advanced nationalistic section of the Indian people

III

The reason is that during the third quarter of the 19th century, there came about a sudden change in the character of the British administration of India From being a liberalistic government seeking to combine whenever possible its own interest with the interest of its subjects it became manifestly a foreign domination This formal change in spirit brought in

3 See F J Halliday's minute of dissent (pp xvi-xlvi) in the *Report of the Police Committee* [Calcutta, 1838]

4. See R N Gilchrist *The Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions*, pp. 44-72 [Calc., 1923]

5. *Report of the Torture Commission* [Madras, 1855], p. 60

6. Messrs. E J Elliot H Stokes, and J B Norton.

its train also the disappearance of the earlier freedom of thought and outlook in the service There came into being gradually a clear definition of the government view—in its scope extremely narrow, admitting of no variation, and in its tone, partisan, selfish, and generally hostile to Indian aspirations

The great event that heralded this change was of course, the Mutiny of 1857 Let meticulous historians go on analysing whether the Indian Mutiny was primarily a military revolt or a fight for national independence, whether as a military revolt it was an organized effort or merely disorganized local risings, synchronising only by accident One thing, indeed, is true and beyond all dispute that the Mutiny did produce upon the minds of the British rulers of India a very deep impression which could not be easily washed away After all, it was a rising against constituted authority, and if it was an unorganized effort, all the more ominous for the government, for it might well be the precursor of a regular organized mass rising in the future

Even to the ordinary Englishman the Mutiny became a veritable reminder of bloodshed and murder It inspired in him a feeling of horror, and perverted his whole outlook in relation to the Indian people How the Englishman's vision was generally warped by this incident may be judged from an unexpectedly bigoted estimate that was made of the Indian character by a man of John Ruskin's culture in the year 1858

"Since the race of man began its course of sin on this earth, nothing has ever been done by so significative of all bestial and lower than bestial, degradations as the acts of the Indian race in the year just passed by"[7]

Horror-striking stories of the Mutiny, some true and many false, were circulated and carefully cultivated amongst the English people by professional gossip-mongers so that the slender chain of understanding that existed between the British administration and the Indian population was completely snapped The slight sympathy that some of the British administrators of old had felt for Indian aspirations was now more or less entirely gone, either naturally killed by reason of the occurrence of the Mutiny, or unnaturally suppressed by the action of the government, which now started to enforce uniformity of opinion in the administration as a necessary part of its policy of repression and fear

This policy found its acme in the work of Sir James FitzJames Stephen 'An eminent lawyer and jurist, he left his individual mark in many places'[8] He certainly did leave it in the realms of Indian administration, although it was wholly in a reactionary direction Immediately on taking charge as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council in the year 1872, he prepared a masterly minute[9] on the administration of justice in India. The decisive importance of this minute, however, was far wider than the sphere of justice alone Sir James Stephen's achievement in this minute was to give a clear cut expression to the sentiment that had already been prevailing in the atmosphere for quite a decade He formally created the technique of the 'maintenance of British rule in India', and as a natural corollary to it, he started the fashion of 'wishing to investigate the true circumstances and needs of British India' Whenever, after this there was any question of formulating a new policy for India, it was done on the basis of 'India's true interests' and all criticism of it by the administrative functionaries was suppressed on the plea that such criticism of the policy of government was antagonistic to the maintenance of British rule in India

As a result, the government reports and documents took up a new reactionary tone They became dogmatic and matter-of-fact in their wording The spirit of thoughtful criticism and mutual discussion of the earlier period gradually vanished, and the process of government finally and once for all became the process of giving commands without the necessity of having to justify those commands to anybody, not even to themselves The tradition, thus generated has lasted down to the present times Its evil effects were noticed in 1918 by Mr E S Montagu the Secretary of State for India during his Indian tour, when he had to tell Mr (W) Marris who was charged with the task of drafting the report

"I told him that I had never met a man with a better natural style and a more real command of language But he failed, like everybody else in India failed, from having no political instinct the I C S had been so long accustomed to state their conclusions without reasoning them."[10]

In the whole period of British rule after the Mutiny, one does not meet even one solitary instance of a British administrator or

7 *The Two Paths* p. 262.
[Consult *The Works of Ruskin*, ed. by Cook and Wedderburn, vol. xvi, (George Allen, 1903)]

8. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 21, p. 386

9 Government of India selections, No 89 (Home, 1872)

10 E S Montagu *An Indian Diary* [London, 1930], p. 358.

civil servant expressing himself genuinely sympathetically towards the Indian point of view A number of them did, indeed, take up India's cause after retirement from service All the subscribers to the Hobhouse Memorial of 1899 11 were retired civil and judicial officers in India If they were prepared to express themselves so strongly in condemnation of one of India's greatest grievances, the combination of executive and judicial functions by the district officers, after their retirement from service, surely they could not have lacked a sympathetic attitude towards India s aspirations even while they were in the service, but the tone and spirit of the government had changed in such a way as to make it impossible for these people to utter their sentiments so long as they were in the service of the government The old liberty of opinion and liberty of thought had been replaced by a system wherein there was an active enforcement of uniformity of sentiment, and if possible of belief within the administration

IV

It is not difficult to find out the reasons for this change in the spirit of the British administration of India after the middle of the 19th century Such development was inherent in the very fact of foreign rule As the political consciousness of the subject people would show signs of growing the administration was bound to become increasingly reactionary As the demand for a certain amount of relaxation of political control would become visible, the government was bound necessarily to begin to think in terms of the maintenance of that control As there would come into being in the subject country a public opinion which was able to visualise their ultimate independence, in the ranks of the administration there was bound to develop the technique of 'wishing to look at things according to the circumstances and the interests of the subject country'

The development of British administration into a well-knit organization, having common interests against Indian nationalism, was, therefore, natural, in view of what was taking place in India herself So long as there was the period of territorial expansion, there could be no danger even in dangling with liberalistic ideals So long as there did not seem much possibility of a real demand for independence, there was no risk even in allowing the talk of self-government But as, with the occurrence of the Indian Mutiny, the possibility of an Indian struggle for freedom came into sight, everything had to be done to prevent that possibility Any show of internal differences in the administration, or a show of sympathetic attitude on the part of any administrator in opposition to the policy of the government, might serve simply to encourage the people Therefore, such personal sentiments could no longer be allowed to come into play

This, then, is the underlying idea that controls the policy of the British government in India during the period after the Mutiny With the growth of Indian nationalism and with the organisation of Indian public opinion, the necessity for showing a united front to the people became paramount In such circumstances, no rifts could possibly be permitted in the lute of the administration It is at this time, therefore, that there developed the tradition of a uniform civil service attitude in India 'Sun-dried bureaucrat' or whatever one might call him is a description of the Indian civil servant, the factual basis of which had its birth at this time It is again at this time that there developed that remarkable *esprit d corps, which is such* a noticeable feature of the Indian civil service, and which succeeded in making the Indian civil service a caste, such as it remains even to this day

V

With the coming of the Government of India Act, 1935, the facts of the situation have altered a little The constitution of nationalist ministries in the provinces makes it possible, at least within certain limits, to run the government now truly in the interests of the people Will the civil service be able immediately to change its attitude to bring it into line with the change of the times ?

Transition from the first type to the second type of attitude, explained in this essay, took at least a whole period of a generation, and that in spite of the fact that the composition of the civil service was a feature helpful in the task of transition The European structure of the Indian civil service made the identification of the mental outlook of the administrators with the underlying policy of the government just after the Mutiny, on the whole, an easy and convenient proposition That very fact today would stand as a great stumbling-block to the adjustment of the traditional mental attitude with the changed policy of the new governments The traditions of the civil service in India so far have been the traditions of a civil service

11 See the text and the names of subscribers, in P C. Mitter *The Question of Judicial and Executive Separation* [Calcutta, 1913] Part iv, p 19

in a foreign dominion Will it be able to transform those traditions overnight into ones of a civil service in a national state ?

The experience of civil service in other countries does not enable us to give a ready reply As a matter of general experience in the countries of Europe, response of the civil service to technical changes commanded by the government in the process of administration has been, on the whole, more rapid and sure than the response to changes of political outlook in the government itself The present change in India is eminently a change in political outlook, and that too one of the greatest in magnitude that history has ever known. How far the civil service of India will be able to respond to this change is a question which only actual experience would answer

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By Prof KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, ph.d

II

Enthusiastic feminists may hold that it is even better to be a tenth rate imitation of man than a mere woman, at best an object of man's pity, and argue with Professor Jethrow Brown that

> "There is something better than the reverence for weakness. It is the reverence for strength."[1]

Without however claiming on my part any right to advise the feminist as to the best attitude for them to adopt I would like at this place to clear a misconception involved in the mental attitude which views the consideration or respect shown to women as only a 'reverence for weakness'

The reverence shown to woman are not based on her weakness (though the patent fact regarding her physical inferiority is not denied) for mere weakness can never give rise to reverence, or else, the tiger will have revered the stag The basis of reverence shown to woman will have to be sought for elsewhere than in her weakness It is founded I submit, on the solid bed rock of her extraordinary sex-function *her maternity*—the soundest of human relationships Since the dawn of time woman is the central focus of life—the primordial creatrix (*Adya-Mahamaya*) It is no doubt found in human history that man has in times of excitement irritation and jealousy enslaved belaboured and otherwise ill treated woman This certainly is a proof of woman's physical weakness, a fact which we have all along admitted But that is not the all important fact about the life of the human race, that does not and cannot obliterate the 'Mother Child' relation binding the two sexes, just as we often come across in life cases of hatred but that does not disprove the fact that the central law of life is love not hatred

Admitting (as we do the physical inferiority of woman) we maintain that she is the central focus of our life-activities and not the central doer herself *Not she herself but it is round her that society has evolved, civilization has grown up, tradition has taken root and culture has blossomed forth The moments when man ill-treats her are the moments when he loses sight of the central focus of his existence* The moments of the preponderance of the brute in man over his rationality are the moments when he very nearly approaches his moral annihilation—when he ceases to be a man More than the physical weakness of woman such moments emphasises the moral weakness of man—the animal It is no wonder that the animal man amidst the weaknesses of the flesh loses sight of his moral self and takes advantage of his stronger physique but *the wonder is that amidst all the tumult of his raging passions he unerringly comes back for fresh vigour and inspiration to this sheet anchor of his stability, the central focus of his life—woman* And every time he comes back to hide his face in her bosom, he has come back ashamed and repentant at his own impetuous conduct and woman with the unerring mother-instinct of correcting a child through affection has received him as a naughty and tired child without refusing him solace and shelter so that every wound that he inflicted on her redounded ten-fold in his own heart-ache *This, in a word, is the process of human civilization and as the major*

1 Jethrow Brown *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation* London, 1917, p 84.

contributor to this process has woman established her claim to reverence for strength

Much as I wish to see all differences of rights and privileges between the sexes to disappear within the shortest possible time, I cannot persuade myself to believe that that reverence for strength women can earn and retain simply by making man admit her claim to the full development of all her faculties, physical and intellectual, on lines along which man has developed and found his strength Because reverence of strength can be achieved by woman only in a field in which she can prove herself stronger than man and the domains of physical and intellectual achievements are domains in which her inferiority to man *is too patently established This field I* submit is the spiritual field and in this field she *is by the very fact of her sex superior to man*

This moral superiority of woman over man is reflected in the very process of the physical union of the sexes The motive for man's sexual union is carnal It begins and ends in coition That is its highest consummation In woman coition or the very first stage of her sexual union may be an outcome of carnal desires *but from impregnation till the end of her days she is governed by motives most ennobling and divine, for motherhood entails most selfless suffering and sacrifice The woman is the first martyr on the altar of love and on the unshakable bed-rock of this martyrdom is based her reverence which therefore is founded* (as will now be seen not on her weakness but) *on her strength* The mythology of ancient India and Greece are replenished with expressions of this veneration for woman in the conceptions of Mulaprakriti Durga, Jagaddhatri, Hera, Athena and Themis

It may be argued that the mother-concept and the martyrdom of woman belong to the domain of sentiment and that no martyrdom can be claimed for women who, being physically weak are obliged to go through the ordeals of motherhood against their volition and will *Sentiment it undoubtedly is and the noblest sentiment that ever swayed the human heart withal* The moments when man had been blinded to such sentiments by giving a free play to his brutal instincts had been the moments of *his spiritual death* They emphasise, as I have said above, man's weakness more than woman's The very fact that we are capable at times of violating the sanctity of womanhood by thrusting an unwilling motherhood on women is the greatest argument in favour of encouraging the sentiment of motherly veneration towards women and fostering the growth of the Mother-cult And even in cases of forced motherhood the divine glow inherent in the concept *Mother* is difficult to be lost sight of nor the martyrdom which a woman is obliged to suffer for the sake of her motherly sex functions be denied Who would not have viewed with the utmost reverence that the maternal love of Tess for her illegitimate baby for whose sake she would rather end her own life than forsake it and seek readmission in society?[2]

As civilization advances women come to realize more clearly the real source of their strength—their spiritual superiority Knowing that men's superior physical might can never be curbed by their own physical strength which is inferior and knowing also that their sexual disabilities will neither enable them to compete successfully with men in the domain of intellectual pursuit, women, more or less in every civilized country have tried and succeeded in creating a firm hold on their men folk by *giving proofs of their moral superiority, which in brief, consists in their greater power of endurance and of sacrificing personal comforts for others, greater abhorrence to cruelty and bloodshed and a greater measure of faith in the forces of goodness and love* (than man) Women who are aware of this source of their strength never make a show of it knowing that it is having its civilizing effects in silence Indeed among peoples of ancient culture women will even like to hide their superior strength under cover of the mantle of man's superior privileges, knowing that ultimately men will have to pay them the tribute of greatness at heart Let me illustrate.

(*i*) Let *us consider* self-restraint first. Much has been said against the practice of compulsory widowhood among high caste people in India and no condemnation can be too strong for such an undesirable practice The fact however remains that to most high caste women the idea of a second marriage is loathsome (in this their up-bringing also counts for much). *It is unusual to find one* who would like to remarry after becoming a mother It is not at all unusual to find very young widows (say from 18 to 30 years of age) arranging marriages for their widower elder brothers having children. *It is taken for granted* by them that the man is capable of remarrying and should do so Why, they will say, he is a man and there must be somebody to look after him *Apparently it may be interpreted as the superior (more favoured) status of men in our society but if the underlying psychology of women when they say such things is analysed it will be found*

2 See Thomas Hardy's novel *Tess*

that they were only asserting thereby the *superiority of their own sex* and what *is more, the decisive moral inferiority of the males They were conceding that handicap to the male on the moral plane which was asked for by Mlle Lenglen from Tilden on the tennis court*

(n) Again take the case of physical endurance (apart from the travail of motherhood) in which in this country at least the women through a systematic process of cultural education have decidedly created a record which it would be impossible for men to surpass From early youth till the end of her days women are taught (by women themselves and not by men often rather in spite of the protest of *men) to consider it ignoble, shameful and unwomanly* to take food before *men and children* The mother of an Indian household is always *the last person to take her food* And it is not an uncommon occurrence that after the day's toil of feeding perhaps a score of family members, servants and guests little food is left for poor mammy and lest it would disturb the peace of mind and the comfortable mid-day siesta of *the other well-fed members of the* family she would remain unfed or insufficiently fed unless she is fortunate enough to possess an elderly daughter or daughter-in-law who would make it a point to see that mother is properly fed Indian women have turned this exercise in endurance into a systematic culture through their custom of keeping thousand and one religious fasts (often observed for the benefit, in health or prosperity of male relations, specially son or husband) throughout the year On the few occasions when men also try to earn some religious merit (on their own austerity) like the Shivaratri day, almost all of them break their fast by the evening, often at the insistence of women folk who will then remind *men and children* that they do not want them to fall ill and spoil their health by trying to do things which are not meant for them but for women only Women on the other hand would keep up their fast in spite of their household works, throughout the night and break it after bathing and much ceremony (which invariably consists in feeding *men and children*) the morning following

Careful observations reveal that this mode of treating men as grown up children by their women folk finds currency in other civilized countries as well The following will illustrate my point

A young couple entrained an early morning train at railway station for spending a Sunday at a holiday resort 50 miles away from the metropolis As the train moved on the man brought out a packet and asked his wife if she was *not hungry* "No," she replied, "but it's time for you—to take something" The man obediently agreed (Man's defeat No 1) The man brought next a loaf and in the process of cutting it into slices he thoroughly disfigured it The wife only smiled at it (Defeat No 2) He then opened a packet of butter and while trying to take out some with the help of his knife he made the towel absolutely greasy and in a last attempt to save the lump of butter from falling down on the floor spoilt his coat with his knife besmeared with butter With a fresh knife the woman scraped his coat clean (Defeat No 3) Having buttered his shapeless *slices of bread* he next brought out three hard boiled eggs In trying to take out the shell with his finger nails he seemed to slightly hurt himself and was about to spoil the egg by trying to break it at the middle when in a twinkling of an eye the woman snatched away the egg, gave two, three masterly strokes on the top end of it with her knife, cleared off the shell of about half the size of the egg and with the help of a *spoon fed him with the eggs one by one* (Defeat No 4) When the train stopped at the station at which they were to get down the man got down at the platform and with an air of great importance was awaiting at the door to help his wife out of the carriage A little later to the annoyance of her impatient husband (who was afraid that his wife would be overcarried) she came down after collecting in her hands the morning newspaper, a spectacle case, a pair of gloves and a couple of apples (Defeat No 5) I am sure the man, throughout the excursion had thought that he was guiding and escorting his wife What the woman thought is better left undiscussed 3

This tendency among women of making concessions to men for their inferior moral strength I would like to term "female chivalry" It is chivalry in the strictest sense of the term because it makes concessions for the weakness of the opposite side In a society which is so primitive that its women have not yet developed in their conduct with men this moral chivalry, no doubt the woman is an inferior and subordinate member, an object of masculine pity But the moment she brings into play upon the field of our social behaviour her superior moral strength (manifested through the developments of her inherent powers of sacrifice, endurance and self discipline) she not only qualifies herself for equality of treatment but records a moral victory of first magnitude over the opposite sex

3. Personal Observations in Europe

In her affectionate gallantry she may not make a capital out of her victory but the fact of her victory nevertheless remains unaltered When my young widowed sister (to whom the very idea of remarriage is unthinkable) tries to persuade me (a widower) to remarry and I succumb to her pleadings *I may pride in my superior privilege as a male member of the society but the fact of my moral defeat at the hands of my little sister gets irrevocably recorded in undying letters in our racial history*

Our eminent novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterji has delineated the chivalrous aspect of our womanhood, particularly through the heroines of his two best works *Srikanta* and *Charitrahin* The vagrant, introspective philosopher Srikanta rejects Rajlaksmi's love (perhaps mistaking it for something else) and in spite of it all Rajlaksmi like the goddess of love with the unerring instinct of a mother comes times and again to help him in days of distress and to nurse him to health when suffering from illness and despair and all this she does with the fullest consciousness of the realities of her life for the woman is supremely intelligent Who can forget her clever yet affectionate taunts at Srikanta in connection with his repeated and unsuccessful attempts to renounce the world and become an ascetic? Perhaps she tries to teach him thereby the utter futility of searching the light without and she teaches it never so well as when (being transfigured by her love for Srikanta) she ultimately takes her residence with her preceptor at Benares and takes to widow's garb and poor Srikanta inflicted with the agony of this unbearable sight takes flight towards the railway station, his shattering heart echoing in tune with the rattling noise of his wheeled, wooden conveyance In *Charitrahin* Sabitri wins Satish's heart through her selfless love and friendship but gently declines his proposal for marriage saying, "This heart is always yours but this contaminated widow's body is not a fit offering to worship you with O good of my pure love" She arranges her lover's marriage with a young virgin bride blesses them and goes away to nurse Satish's friend Upen in his death bed Here is a record of woman's superiority over man—an instance of true feminine chivalry

Chivalry indeed! But chivalry like any other virtue to be genuine must be voluntary and not imposed upon by the superior force of an outside authority Of late it has become fashionable among a certain feminist group to take an attitude which amounts to suggest (*a*) that women have suffered untold miseries because the conduction of the human society has been in the hands of men, (*b*) that given facilities and opportunities women can prove their equality with men in every sphere of activities (including of course intellectual and also perhaps physical), (*c*) that they have been treated as playthings in the hands of men, and (*d*) that all the sacrifices which women have undergone has been done at man's dictation It is not difficult to see the utter hollowness of these charges As to (*a*) and (*b*) it is enough to say that the very fact that men have conducted the administration of society for millions of years though nobody cared to create extra opportunities for them and excelled women everywhere without exception in physical and intellectual attainments is a proof of man's superior calibre in these fields Even if it is admitted that to further their domination and preponderance men have *systematically* deprived women from taking part in reputation earning occupations their ability to coerce in this fashion is a sure sign of men's strength Moreover, it is not true that they have so systematically deprived women of opportunities in all reputation producing pursuits Women's failure to compete with men in the fine arts proves to the hilt the baseless nature of such a charge against men

As to (*c*) my answer is that it is an argument of despair and betrays an inferiority complex In woman's pleasure-giving ability to men there is *nothing to be ashamed of* It only denotes her utility and use for man Man also gives certain pleasures to woman and that is exactly why she has any use for him *May be that the types of pleasure which man gives to woman are different from those which woman gives to man* If to refresh a tired husband or a father (when he comes back home after a hard day's toil) by a snatch of music on the piano or a few sweet words of mouth be construed most dishonestly as woman's servitude and thraldom for the gratifications of man's pleasures, how much more honestly cannot man's day-to-day labour and sweating to provide his dependents (mostly women and their children) with the necessities of life and to take them to an outing on Sundays be interpreted as man's galley-slavery at the feet of woman!

This dishonest attitude I guess appeared as an aftermath of the Industrial Revolution in Europe when women were for the first time systematically and on a large scale dethroned from their homely occupation and began to work with men in mills and factories Her taking part in the performance of works till then reserved for males created in her mind a false sense of identicality of functions of the

sexes She did not realise that what the change signified was not the obliteration of the inter-dependent and complementary nature of the sexes but only a demand (necessitated by the pressure of greater economic struggle for existence) on women to engage in more money earning occupations than she had hitherto done This created in her mind a false sense of "social equality" and under the influence of a misguided propaganda she came to think that this equality consisted in the *masculisation of her sex* No wonder she cut a sorry figure

Women may of course say, "Well that does not matter, we know our business and do not want to be instructed by men who have misused our goodness and extracted services from and enforced sacrifices upon us which we never meant nor in future mean to perform" This would no doubt be a serious allegation and if true must meet with the misapprobation of every right thinking man Instead of looking at our mothers, wives and sisters as angels who cheer our homes with sweet affectionate and spontaneous service of love, we are, in the light of these allegations, asked to look upon them as so many slaves groaning under our tyranny and serving us under compulsion *Such a state of things if true must come to an end without a moment's delay*

Fortunately for mankind such has not been the story of human history which as we have already shown in spite of man's aggressiveness and occasional fits of impetousness (the brunt of which of necessity fell on his nearest female relations) has been in the main a story of mutual understanding and co ordination between the sexes (but for the short period commencing with the large scale industrialization of the world during which some women lost their head through a mischieveous sense of equality mistaking it for identicality of functions and responsibility in society between the sexes) *It would be inflicting an insult of the first magnitude upon all those vast majority of women (the noblest flowers of world woman hood) who have realized the greatest worth and happiness of their innate radiant motherhood in undergoing infinite willing and cheerful sacrifices for making man's struggleful and worriful life more bearable and pleasureable, to degrade their self dedicated labour of love to the level of forced labours of concubines and slaves only because a handful of hysteric feminists would like to interpret their lives in this fashion* Two errors are responsible for giving encouragement and currency to this kind of thinking

(1) Some well meaning men while stating the age long truth (that it would be better for women as well as the human race if they confine themselves more to the works for which they are better fitted by nature and through which they can serve society more efficiently than by competing with men in more manly pursuits) have couched it in a language which is rather too paternal and authoritative for the modern age and which may be cited as a sample of masculine dictation specially by those who are out to create mischief An apt illustration is to be found in the presidential address to the Chemistry Society of the British Association in 1909 of Professor Armstrong Refering to the important topic of the 'future of our race' the learned Professor remarked

"The subject has been brought before the chemical world in England recently by the application of a large number of women to be made Fellows of the Chemical Society Many of us resisted the application because we were unwilling to give any encouragement to the movement which is inevitably leading women to neglect their womanhood which is in itself proof that they do not understand the relative capacities of the two sexes, and the need there is of sharing the duties of life If there be any truth in the doctrine of hereditary genius the very women who have shown ability as chemists should be withdrawn from the temptation to become absorbed in the work for fear of sacrificing their womanhood. They are those who should be regarded as chosen people, as destined to be the mothers of future chemists of ability"[4]

It is the repetition and recurrence, I submit, of the same mistake committed by Manu, Rousseau and Dr Gregory who in the atmosphere of their old fashioned days did not anticipate the feminist view-point and temper It is dangerous to try to give advice in a suspicious atmosphere where the adviser is regarded as an enemy and oppressor The danger is magnified tenfold when he comes to advise with an air of authority (an old habit with men which has *acquired the rigidity of an ancient tradition*) Since the days of Manu men have been under the disadvantage of being in the necessity of determining the boundaries of the range of woman's activities, the limits of her womanhood In his arrogance (perhaps not disliked by our ancient ancestresses) he couched his rulings in language which had the appearance more of commands than that of a mutual arrangement An impartial scrutiny however is sure to reveal to one who looks to the spirit and disregards the letter of the man made laws that the division of functions between the sexes made by man was never ungenerous in the allotment of works to women Unfortunately for our law giver there was no feminist in the days of Manu to warn him that if due regard was not paid to their susceptibilities the letter of the law will

4 Jethrow Brown *Supra*, p 249

be misconstrued to paint the spirit of the law relating to woman in black The laws of Manu relating to man is also couched in the language of commandments but then no exception is taken to that by any feminist because to mention it will be as good as to admit in them a sense of equity which they are out to disprove (The defects and drawbacks of Manu s code are not denied, they are *inevitable in such an ancient code*)

It may be argued that in a modern society where every man has the right of choosing his own occupation what right have men to bind women to a restricted field of activities which they do not like? Legal rights? Absolutely none or rather if any such right does exist it is absolutely void of any ethical justification and therefore should cease to exist this very moment To admit such a right would be putting a seal of sanction on the worst type of *despotism* Any *statute or law which exists in* any society debarring women from any lawful occupation in terms of equality with man should be forthwith repealed Their right of free choice of occupation (including the right to avoid wifehood as a career) has also to be unconditionally conceded That is admittedly the barest justice

But what is not just is to uphold that men have no extra legal right to protest against and record their disapproval of the unwomanliness of certain section of women which arises out of their engaging themselves in a certain type of work Will women like to forfeit their right to grumble at our unmanly conduct or their privilege to inspire us to be manly? What Rajput woman did not refuse her favour to her lover who fled away like a coward from the battle field? What woman of the meanest station does not reproach her man who does not mind his (God given?) business (we should of cour e never say that it is a sort of slavery) of supporting her and her off springs? If the woman has the right to register her disgust and to reproach man when she does not get what she expects from the physical and intellectual company of man the admission of the same right of registering protest at not finding his expected satisfaction from woman s company by man is simply irresistible

(*2*) The second error is that through a vigorous interpretation of the phrase "freedom of occupation" feminists came to mean and include in its meaning the freedom of having no occupation *at all (unless the art indulging in* wild rhetorics pointed against the very men who by the sweat of their brow have afforded this opportunity of exhibiting their oratorical talents be considered a socially profitable occupation) A woman should undoubtedly have the right to take to a professional career in preference to wifehood or motherhood so long as she gives service to society in some useful form but a woman who neither takes to a professional career *seriou ly nor minds her work as wife and* mother is a drone whose existence in society is difficult to justify In addition when she makes a grievance of the ill treatments of a man-managed society she only helps to make herself a public nuisance Even such a sympathetic philosopher as H G Wells has been constrained *to remark*

> It is one of the ent rely unforeseen consequences tl at have arisen from the decay of Normal Soc al Life that great numbers of women wh le still subordinate have become profoundly unimportant They have ceased to a very large extent to bear children they have dropped most of the r home making arts they no longer nurse or educate such ch ldren as they have and they have taken on no new functions to compensate for these dw ndling activ ties of the domestic interior"[5]

5 Wells in *The Great State* p 41 Quoted by Brown *Supra.* pp 251-52



THE SECONDARY SCHOOLMASTER IN THE BALKANS

By JOHN BROWN

Educational facilities were extremely limited in most Balkan countries before the Great War, but in recent years there have been several remarkable bursts of energy Yugoslavia, for example, has now no less than 168 secondary schools, and in the Education Ministry in Belgrade I listened to grandiose but rather unconvincing plans for doubling this number within two years

According to Yugoslav law all secondary schools may be co-educational, but I always found separate schools for boys and girls, and one Belgrade assistant master told me that Serbian and Bosnian public opinion would be against the experiment I realised the force of this point in Serajevo, where the teachers are having an uphill fight against semi Oriental traditionalism In the Moslem household where I stayed, my host told me that many of his friends had had grave doubts about sending their daughters to school, and had only agreed when a girl from the local secondary school made a singularly brilliant marriage!

Until recently headmasters of Serbian secondary schools were appointed only from the list of graduates of the Teachers' Training Colleges at Zagreb and Belgrade, but a spanner was thrown into the promotion machinery when Premier Stoyadinovich was fired on in the Skuptshina He and his colleagues, alarmed at the terrorist threats of the military "White Hand" league, have brought pressure to bear through the various Ministries to debar all suspected opponents from key posts In practice, all men are considered opponents who have not been members or have not contributed to the funds of the controlling party

Naturally, this has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction especially in the provinces, and this is not lessened by the new "regional inspectors"—some of them illiterate political demagogues—who descend on secondary schools "out of the blue", for their powers are wide and indefinite

But one Belgrade secondary schoolmaster at least is untroubled by these developments He is only too glad to be away from Macedonia, where he was appointed some time ago at a higher salary The Macedonians look on all Serbian officials as interlopers and foreigners, and he had hardly arrived before he was advised by an agent of Imro (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) to demand a recall on grounds of ill health Some of his colleagues who refused the advice were murdered by the Imro gunmen shortly afterwards, and as the agents of the society were everywhere in the district he and most of his friends left for the north Today Imro has been temporarily submerged, following military action, but in Skopje and Gorna-Djumaya, capital of Bulgarian Macedonia, I heard many rumours of a resurrection being planned in Anatolia, where the leaders have gathered

Imro, however, is only one of the societies which menace the liberties of Balkan school masters In Bucharest, any secondary school master who has lived in the same house or shared a meal with an Iron Guard supporter is liable to dismissal, and the government is organising a careful "comb out" of all suspected opponents This investigation is directed by agents of Madame Lupescu, the green-eyed, red-haired Jewess who infatuated King Carol at a chance meeting a few years ago, and who is the main target of the Iron Guard propaganda The Iron Guard leader, Stilescu, has been murdered, and there is no doubt that reprisals will be ordered by the terrorists In Kishinev, the chief town of Bessarabia, I found that the Iron Guards had the backing of a section of the garrison, and as the province is under martial law this gives them some control of public affairs, in spite of Bucharest decrees Secondary school teachers in the town are placed between two fires, and most of them are taking the line of least resistance—denying membership of the Iron Guards while at the same time they pay a secret levy to the local "Blue House"

Promotion systems based on merit or seniority have never survived for long in Rumania, and in the secondary schools masters applying for better appointments must be well supplied with cash or have friends in government circles if they are to succeed In the areas inhabited by racial minorities such as Transylvania and the Bukovina, masters are expected to act as agents for the government in the work of denationalisation, and to report any traces of anti-Rumanian sentiment in the work of their

students to the authorities The system caused a revolt in a Cluj school, where the masters were pro-Hungarian, but the objectors were soon dismissed and replaced by government nominees

Hours are long in secondary schools, but salaries are high in the upper grades, and a nation wide pension scheme has been drafted There are still vast tracts of the country which have never been touched by the Education Ministry's activities—Bessarabia being one of the worst examples of this neglect—and when the department is reorganised there will no doubt be a lack of qualified masters Meanwhile, those men who have been dismissed by the present government are being approached with offers of paid employment by the Iron Guards At their Blue House at Jassy where I was received with Nazi salutes and the Nazi greeting, I met an adjutant of Codreanu, the chief Blueshirt, who is at present in gaol This man told me that the few teachers already enlisted in their ranks were proving excellent propagandists He reminded me with a smile that Mussolini had once been a teacher! As I expected, he denied the Berlin subsidies his party is alleged to receive but it is significant that the swastika has been adopted as the official armlet emblem of the fighting squads while the new policy includes a close alliance with Germany

In Bucharest, Jewish headmasters are receiving threatening letters from the terrorists, and although these have been disregarded in the past, the recent outrages have changed the atmosphere, and there is a constant stream of callers at the Ministry and at Madame Lupescu's apartments demanding government action

Albanian secondary school masters are free of these worries but are faced with special problems of their own, which require delicate handling Thus in the northern mountains where I stayed among the Gheg clansmen, the habit of carrying arms survives and the blood feud tradition is still strong This means that the task of maintaining class discipline is rendered doubly difficult for masters who are Tosks, from southern Albania, for a boy complaining of punishment might precipitate bloodshed Many of the blood feuds, which have caused the loss of scores of lives, have started over much more trifling arguments!

One master, a Moslem Gheg, told me that his salary was so low that it took years of saving to accumulate the price of a new European suit from the Zagreb factories Many of the secondary school masters receive less than twenty shillings a week, and when complaints are sent to Tirana about the rise in the cost of living it is pointed out that the Minister himself has less than £250 a year!

For centuries the clansmen have fought against Turk and Slav, and the military tradition dies hard, in spite of the suppression of banditry and the new 'bus services A man who is not a good shot or who does not at least possess a good knowledge of weapons is despised, and one of the first things newly appointed masters must do is to demonstrate their prowess with a rifle Otherwise they are socially ostracised, and in a community where the word of the clan chief is law, this is more serious than it sounds Some masters sent north from the capital with excellent scholastic records have returned after a few unpleasant months

Illiteracy is widespread among the older people, but they have their own ideas about the subjects that should be taught in the schools, and one clansman confessed to me that he was disappointed in the local secondary school, which did not include military map-making and reading in its curriculum! When he served in the war, he added, his lack of this knowledge was the only thing that prevented his promotion Apart from this, he had never felt the absence of an education!

In the southern and central provinces of Albania conditions of work are better for secondary masters, and the country is comparatively free from the corruption prevalent in other Balkan countries But salaries remain pitifully small in view of the qualifications demanded, and it is no wonder that they feel envious pangs when they hear of British secondary school masters enjoying Balkan holidays



NANDA DEVI

Empire's Highest Peak Climbed

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

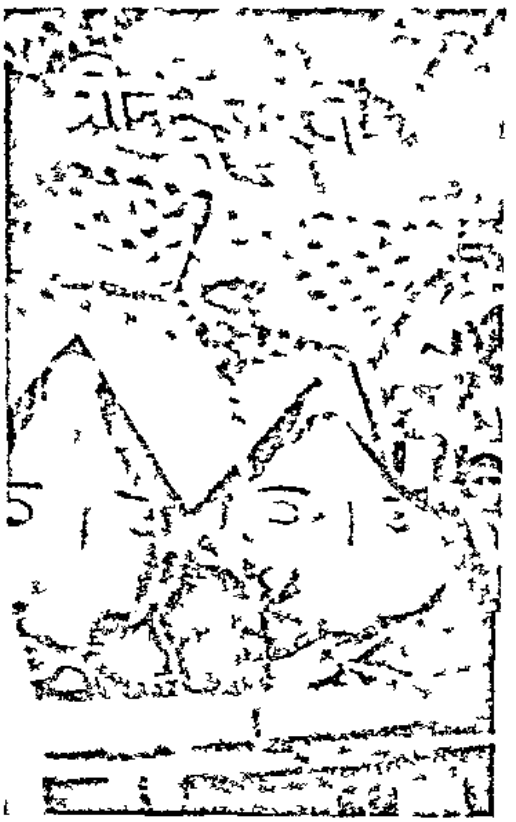
DOUBLE crowned Dhaulagiri in the central Caucasus is the only mountain which I can compare for beauty with Nanda Devi. But the surroundings of the latter are more beautiful even than in Svaneția. Nanda Devi was my goal years before I set foot in the Himalaya. After six visits to the snows I still believe that Garhwal is the most beautiful country of all High Asia. Neither the primitive immensity of the Karakorum, the aloof domination of Mount Everest, the softer Caucasian beauties of the Hindu Kush nor any of the many other regions of Himachal can compare with Garhwal. Mountain and valley, forest and alp, birds and animals, butterflies and flowers all combine to make a sum of delight unsurpassed elsewhere. The human interest is stronger than *in any other mountain region of the world, for these* anciently named peaks are written of in the earliest annals of the Indo-Aryan race. They are the home of the Gods. For two hundred million Hindus the shrines *of Garhwal still secure supreme merit to the devout* pilgrim. Nanda Devi reigned over the most supremely beautiful part of the Himalayas and the climbing of this peak would be a sacrilege too horrible to contemplate."

Thus writes Dr. T. G. Longstaff, the famous mountaineer, in *The Ascent of Nanda Devi*.

There can be few regions of the Himalayas providing topographical problems of more absorbing interest than that lying in Garhwal. *For centuries it had inspired worship and* propitiatory sacrifice as the Blessed Goddess of Hindu philosophers and scribe. There is probably no other region in the whole world where such rich mines of knowledge await the investigator. The superstition, myths and traditions relating to mountains are mostly thrilling. The mountains of Garhwal are particularly rich in such stories because Garhwal is the fountain head of the Hindu religion, the traditional home of most of the Gods of the Hindu Pantheon and the terrestrial scene of their exploits. Every mountain and river, almost every rock and pool is associated in legend with the life of some God.

The Himalayas are the Olympus of India. The two *most sacred rivers of India, the Ganges* and the Jumna, take their rise in the Garhwal Himalayas. From Vedic times down to the present the Himalayas have been held in the highest reverence by the Hindus. The snowy peaks of Garhwal have a peculiarity of forming distinct groups, a fact which is absent in other Himalayan tracts. In stupendous sublimity combined with a magnificent and luxuriant beauty, there is no other part that can be compared with the Himalayas. The average elevation of the snowy range of Garhwal and Kumaon is nowhere surpassed. For a continuous distance of some 200 miles the peaks constantly reach a height of from 22,000 to more than 25,000 ft. The holy peaks have been receiving great veneration from the Hindus from the earliest period. In a hundred ages of the gods," writes one of the Sanskrit poets, "I could not tell thee of the glories of Himachal."

It is here that the Empire's highest peak, Nanda Devi, stands magnificently in the centre



The two images of the goddess Nanda Devi

of the great Himalayan range. It is situated in British Garhwal at 80° east longitude and 30° 20' north latitude. The peak is surrounded by a vast amphitheatre of mountains. It is seventy miles in circumference and twenty in diameter. Nanda Devi is guarded as Mr. Hugh Ruttledge has said:

"A seventy mile barrier ring on which stand twelve measured peaks over 21,000 feet high, which has no

depression lower than 17 000 feet, except in the west, where the Rishi ganga river, rising at the foot of Nanda Devi, and draining an area of some two hundred and fifty square miles of snow and ice has carved for itself what must be one of the most terrific gorges in the world Two internal ridges converging from north and south respectively upon this river form as it were, the curtains of an inner sanctuary, within which the great mountain soars up to 25 660 feet So tremendous is the aspect of the Rishi ganga gorge that Hindu mythology described it as the last earthly home of the seven Rishis. Here if anywhere their meditations might be undisturbed"

Mythological History

According to a legend the hand of the Princess Nanda the beautiful daughter of a Hindu King of Kumaon, was demanded in marriage by a Rohilla Prince It was refused and war followed Nanda's father was defeated and the future Goddess fled, and after many vicissitudes, took refuge on the top of Nanda Devi There are two other mountains in the vicinity which also are affixed by the name of Nanda Nanda-ghunti to the west is supposed to mean 'the halting-place of Nanda', it is only 19,893 feet high and was probably used as a stepping stone to Nanda Devi To the east is Nanda Kot, 22,500 feet, which means 'the strong hold of Nanda,' and south is Trisul, 'the trident,' a defiance to the rapacious Rohillas



A view of the Nanda Devi fair held at Almora (Himalayas)

Nanda Devi, the daughter of the Himalaya and the consort of Mahadev, is worshipped by the hill people as the 'Guardian Goddess' To them Nanda Devi is something to be feared and loved She is a merciless Goddess She loves blood and knows no pity when her devotee betrays her Woe unto the man who swears by her and tells an untruth or cheats another in her name The Goddess rules the hearts of the Kumaonies in a hundred ways A big fair is held in her honour, when buffaloes and hundreds of goats are sacrificed to propitiate the Goddess Over a mile below the summit a religious festival is held every twelfth year, starting from the village of Nauti in Talla Chandpur, but access to the spot is so difficult that it is reached by scarcely fifty of the pilgrims who make the attempt

Her position and altitude was determined as long ago as 1845 Nanda Devi had for over fifty years repulsed all attempts not only at scaling but even of approach as the series of peaks encircling her constitute themselves unrelenting guardians of the great mountain to defeat any penetration This sacred mountain of the Goddess Nanda had remained unassailable until E E Shipton and H W Tilman first explored and mapped the basin in 1934 By forcing a passage up the tremendous gorge of the Rishi-ganga, they entered the remarkable meadow-spread basin out of which Nanda Devi rose to the heavenly heights

There are three main ridges on the east that on which stands the Nanda Devi, in the middle that of Kamet, 25,447 feet the second highest peak, and on the west that of the Badrinath-Kedarnath group of peaks, in formation much more complex than that of the other two

The Nanda Devi group itself, presents unusual features The main ridge runs from north to south and in the southern half three arms project to the west. At the southern extremity, a long one leads up to Trisul, 23,360 feet, which is nowhere less than 20,000 feet in elevation for a length of ten miles to the west and culminates in Nandakana, 20,700 feet, and Nanda-ghunti About ten miles north is a shorter arm marked by Dunagiri, 23,184 feet and between the two short parallel spurs lies the shortest arm of Nanda Devi

Earlier Exploration

Few developments in world exploration during recent years have been more interesting than the increasing interest and enterprise shown in climbing the Himalayan mountains and naturally so grand a mountain drew many climbing parties The names of those who made the attempts earlier from almost every direction are: T S Kennedy and W. W Graham in

1883, Boeckh in 1893, T G Longstaff in 1905, Longstaff, G C Bruce and A L Mumm in 1907, Ruttledge, Howard Somervell, and R C Wilson in 1926 Longstaff and Ruttledge in 1927 and Ruttledge in 1932

Mr Traill, the first Commissioner, crossed a pass between Nanda Kot and Nanda Devi in 1830 for the first time In 1855, the same route was taken by Adolph Schlagintweit and his brother Robert and both explored the great Milam glacier and travelling to the west they reached Kamet and climbed to an altitude of 22,239 feet, which was then the greatest height attained

Colonel Edmund Smythe in 1861 crossed the Traills pass and T S Kennedy, the great Alpine climber, explored the Milam side of the range in 1883

This goddess peak then attracted the attention of W W Graham in 1883 who reached the Rishi gorge accompanied by two Swiss guides near the junction of Rishi and Dhauli rivers Mountaineering into the Himalayas was then partially unknown and it is only during the last few years that the lure of the Himalayas has spread widely over Europe and abroad In 1893, Dr Kurt Boeckh with an Australian guide, Hans Kerer, made his way to Milam glacier but he was deserted by the porters before he could go very far He however crossed the Untadhura pass (17,590 feet) to the north and descended through the difficult gorge of the Girthi in the Dhauli valley In 1905 Dr Longstaff and two Italian guides trekking through the Gori valley made a serious start from Milam and got on to the rim of the Basin at 19 100 feet and were the first to look into the Sanctuary although on account of extreme steepness descent was out of the question Not undaunted by this excursion Dr Longstaff returned back in 1907 with General Bruce, Mumm and three Alpine guides and crossing the Bagini pass, descended and got into the Rishi gorge at the point reached by Graham But finding it not possible to go beyond it he took the opportunity to scale Trisul, 23,360 feet, the highest summit trodden by man until that period

In 1926 Mr Ruttledge accompanied by Dr Howard Somervell and Major General R C Wilson attempted an approach by the Timphu glacier to the north-east but failed Mr Ruttledge came again in 1927 with Dr Longstaff and climbing at the head of the Nandakini valley, reached the crest of the wall at its lowest point 17,000 feet but their further progress was barred by bad weather

1934 Expedition Basin Reached

In 1934, Messrs Shipton and Tilman with three Sherpa porters tried a route through the tremendous gorge of the Rishi-ganga and succeeded in forcing their way into the remarkable meadow-spread sanctuary of the Blessed Goddess Not only this they discovered a practicable route up the sacred peak and quitted the basin over the inner rim to the south by the difficult Sunderdhunga Col It was considered to be a magnificent achievement of what may be accomplished by two resolute mountaineers at an almost negligible cost



Pilgrims and visitors watching sacrificial rites

British-American Expedition (1936)

The British-American Himalayan Expedition at last succeeded to scale the peak in 1936 It consisted of eight members, namely (British) T Graham Brown, N E Odell, H W Tilman, Peter Lloyd and (American) A B Emmons, C S Houston W F Loomis and Adams Carter They were drawn from the Universities of Cambridge Wales and Harvard

Professor Graham Brown of Cardiff University has done much Alpine climbing and has made the first traverses of some very difficult routes He was also a member of the first party to climb Mount Foraker in Alaska

Odell was the last man to see Mallory and Irvine before they disappeared on their fatal effort to reach the summit of the Everest in 1924 Before the last Everest expedition he

condition, the result being disastrous not only to the patient and the community exposed to the risk of infection but also to the reputation of the physician

Now the question arises whether people dreading the disease as they are justified in doing, can reasonably work themselves up into such a state of nerves as will lead to the development of phthisiophobia Knowing that phthisiophobia derives its origin from some exaggerated notions having as we shall see presently no sound basis in facts and that with its repercussions it has as shown below been persistently putting back the cause of campaign against tuberculosis it is high time that the public mind was disabused of misapprehensions If phthisical patients are dangerous it is not those who observe all commonsense precautions and obey the laws of hygiene but those who for some reason or other disregard them and spit promiscuously Many phthisical patients scrupulously particular with regard to the well being of the community are often tempted and sometimes fairly compelled by the phthisiophobiac attitude of a large section of the public to disregard the laws of hygiene and go on as if there was nothing wrong with them (phthisical patients), because so long as you conceal your disease and do not care about the necessary precautions *e g* in the matter of spitting which are so essential to prevent the spread of infection to others you are welcome everywhere but the moment you use a spittoon and obey the necessary laws of hygiene in the interest of public health you are going to be hated and shunned like a leper Says the American historian William Garott Brown, in his *Confessions of a Consumptive*

"We must incessantly take for the sake of the public precautions which are disagreeable and costly and meanwhile a great part of the public is, by its attitude toward us, steadily tempting us and even sometimes fairly compelling us if we would live to discontinue these precautions and go on as if there were nothing the matter with us. The folly and stupidity of this attitude it is impossible to overstate It is of itself by far the chief cause and source of the persistence of this scourge

"Known recognized and decently entreated we are not dangerous. Shunned and proscribed and forced to concealments we are dangerous. Victims ourselves of this same regime of ignorant and self deceiving inhumanity we are called on every hour of our lives for a magnanimous consideration of others. Society can hardly find it surprising or a grievance if our human nature should sometimes weaken under the strain of incessant provocation it endures from this strange working of human nature in general Why should we ourselves be expected to be guiltless, always to our own cost and sacrifice of that form of man's inhumanity to man from which we ourselves are suffering more than anybody else? Yet I can honestly attest that the vast majority of us are guiltless of any merely resentful offence, that as a rule when we fail to protect the public it is only because the public compels us to disregard its interest its safety This is what I earnestly entreat the public, for its own sake candidly to consider

"Candidly means fully If the public is to be safe from us if the public is to continue to have our protection from which it failed to protect us then the public must make it possible for us to get—it must certainly cease to make it impossible for the mass of us to get anything except by subterfuge—what we must have to live We are neither criminals nor mendicants We do not ask favours We merely revolt against a mean and stupid oppression We revolt against ignorance and against a lie The public would get rid of us and thereby makes us inescapable It would pretend and would have us pretend, that we are nowhere It thereby insures that we shall be everywhere It proscribes us and thereby admits us."

What a height of folly and stupidity is associated with our people's phthisiophobiac attitude which is thus responsible for driving tuberculosis underground and seriously endangering public health and safety is now quite clear It will be no exaggeration to say that the public are as it were digging their own grave because of this attitude If on the other hand the average consumptive was not shunned by adults but told that he was only a menace to infants less dangerous to children and not at all dangerous to adults who might safely associate with him at least casually he would surely take all commonsense precautions against infecting those who may be harmed by it If he was permitted to work unmolested after he is cured or the disease is arrested or quiescent allowing him to earn his livelihood a considerable part of the economic stress caused by this disease would be done away with How long it will take for the public to realize these facts God only knows

Even viewed from the medical standpoint phthisiophobia amounts more or less to a scientific heresy Because phthisis is not so infectious as measles diphtheria and other such conditions For instance the virus of measles appears to be spread only from persons actually suffering from or in process of developing the eruptive stage, but it is so highly infective that it succeeds in producing this effect in nearly all persons who survive to adult age As for the diphtheria bacillus and some other pathogenic micro organisms although they cause clinical disease in only a small proportion of those who are infected yet actual disease is not essential to their propagation because they may be transmitted from host to host even by those without actual disease On the other hand in the case of tuberculosis we find that in order to be infective the disease must be of the 'open' type (*i e* the type in which tubercle bacilli are present in the patient's sputum) and that such

types of disease are produced in only a limited proportion of infected persons In other words supposing X to be the number of persons having tuberculous infection the number that will get tuberculous disease will be much less, and the number that will develop the open or *infective type of the disease* will be comparatively still less This shows that there is the combination of two limiting conditions characterising tuberculous dissemination Hence it is reasonable to say that tuberculosis is not so infectious as the other diseases mentioned before In fact there are many notable authorities such as Wingfield Fishberg Pottenger Saugman Baldwin who do not exactly believe in the infectivity of phthisis so far as the ordinary adult population is concerned Says Baldwin in this connection

"Adults are very little endangered by close contact with open tuberculosis and not at all in ordinary association It is time for a reaction against the extreme ideas of infection now prevailing There has been too much read into the popular literature by health boards and lectures that has no sound basis in facts and it needs to be dropped out and revised"

It is also interesting to mention that experimental infections of physicians have almost without exception proved harmless Thus Alfred Moller was infected intravenously with tubercle bacilli He did not develop any *acute disease excepting that he lost in weight* for a few months and then recuperated without showing any symptoms of tuberculosis Baldwin and Gardner also mention that Garnault injected virulent bovine bacilli (a variety of tubercle bacilli) into his own forearm with no harmful results Ritter and Vehling report accidental inhalation without harm of millions of dry virulent tubercle bacilli by Hans Much and his co workers Say Baldwin and Gardner

"It is difficult to avoid such accidents in research laboratories where dry material is manipulated yet to *our knowledge no authentic instance of the recurring* pulmonary tuberculosis has been reported"

On the other hand when tubercle bacilli gain entrance into the body of an infant (or even of an adult belonging to the primitive community that are raised in the remotest *interior of the country) the results may be* disastrous

Now a pertinent question crops up—if the infectivity of adult phthisis is very little or negligible then why according to Vasudev Rao as quoted by Benjamin was tuberculosis in *some form or other found in* 32 79 per cent *of* a group of 2 620 contacts of patients with open tuberculosis ? Similarly why in 30 9 per cent of the patients of the Madanapalle Sanatorium was there a history of direct contact with tuberculosis domestic or extra domestic (although the larger proportion of the patients *i e*, 64 1 per cent gave no history of the kind)? In answering these questions we must enquire under what circumstances there might have been dissemination of infection and disease in the above instances The predisposing factors for dissemination of tuberculous infection are among other things overcrowding bad hygiene bad standard of living inferior economic condition and indiscriminate spitting and when these occur simultaneously with the contact that has been intimate repeated and prolonged the probability of the disease being transmitted will be great That such conditions prevailed in the above instances it won't be far wide of our mark to presume Says Opie

Tuberculosis of human races is profoundly influenced by habits of life crowding poverty and many other factors

Similarly Dr Frimodt Moller, Superintendent of the Madanapalle Sanatorium who is regarded as a redoubtable figure in the Tuberculosis field in India says

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As regards the Brompton Hospital for consumptives in London there is on record statistics showing that among the physicians *assistant physicians hospital clerks nurses and* others to the number of several hundred, who had served in the hospital (not few of them having lived in it for a number of years continuously) phthisis had not been more common than it may be expected to be on the average *among the civil population of the town* Similar statistics are available for many hospitals and sanatoria in other countries Saugman who had collected from many sanatoria in various countries instructive data on the subject found that among *the laryngologists exposed to infection* more than any other class the incidence and death rate of tuberculosis was less than would be expected He concluded that tuberculosis was extremely rare among those who were

condition the result being disastrous not only to the patient and the community exposed to the risk of infection but also to the reputation of the physician

Now the question arises whether people dreading the disease as they are justified in doing can reasonably work themselves up into such a state of nerves as will lead to the development of phthisiophobia Knowing that phthisiophobia derives its origin from some exaggerated notions having as we shall see presently, no sound basis in facts and that with its repercussions it has as shown below been persistently putting back the cause of campaign against tuberculosis it is high time that the public mind was disabused of misapprehensions If phthisical patients are dangerous it is not those who observe all commonsense precautions and obey the laws of hygiene but those who for some reason or other disregard them and put promiscuously Many phthisical patients scrupulously particular with regard to the well being of the community are often tempted and sometimes fairly compelled by the phthisiophobiac attitude of a large section of the public to disregard the laws of hygiene and go on as if there was nothing wrong with them (phthisical patients), because so long as you conceal your disease and do not care about the necessary precautions *e g*, in the matter of spitting which are so essential to prevent the spread of infection to others you are welcome everywhere but the moment you use a spittoon and obey the necessary laws of hygiene in the interest of public health you are going to be hated and shunned like a leper Says the American historian William Garott Brown in his *Confessions of a Consumptive*

"We must incessantly take for the sake of the public precautions which are disagreeable and costly and meanwhile a great part of the public is by its attitude toward us, steadily tempting us and even sometimes fairly compelling us if we would live to discontinue these precautions and go on as if there were nothing the matter with us. The folly and stupidity of this attitude it is impossible to overstate. It is of itself by far the chief cause and source of the persistence of this scourge

"Known recognized and decently entreated we are not dangerous. Shunned and prosecuted and forced to concealments we are dangerous. Victims ourselves of this same regime of ignorant and self-deceiving inhumanity, we are called on every hour of our lives for a magnanimous consideration of others. Society can hardly find it surprising or a grievance if our human nature should sometimes weaken under the strain of incessant provocation it endures from the strange working of human nature in general Why should we ourselves be expected to be guiltless, always to our own cost and sacrifice of that form of man's inhumanity to man from which we ourselves are suffering more than anybody else? Yet I can honestly attest that the vast majority of us are guiltless of any merely resentful offence that as a rule when we fail to protect the public it is only because the public compels us to disregard its interest its safety This is what I earnestly entreat the public, for its own sake, candidly to consider

Candidly means fully If the public is to be safe from us if the public is to continue to have our protection from which it failed to protect us then the public must make it possible for us to get—it must certainly cease to make it impossible for the mass of us to get anything except by subterfuge—what we must have to live We are neither criminals nor mendicants We do not ask favours We merely revolt against a mean and stupid oppression We revolt against ignorance and against a lie The public would get rid of us and thereby makes us inescapable It would pretend and would have us pretend that we are nowhere It thereby insures that we shall be everywhere It proscribes us and thereby admits us."

What a height of folly and stupidity is associated with our people's phthisiophobiac attitude which is thus responsible for driving tuberculosis underground and seriously endangering public health and safety is now quite clear It will be no exaggeration to say that the public are as it were digging their own grave because of this attitude If on the other hand, the average consumptive was not shunned by adults but told that he was only a menace to infants, less dangerous to children and not at all dangerous to adults who might safely associate with him at least casually he would surely take all commonsense precautions against infecting those who may be harmed by it If he was permitted to work unmolested after he is cured or the disease is arrested or quiescent allowing him to earn his livelihood a considerable part of the economic stress caused by this disease would be done away with How long it will take for the public to realize these facts God only knows

Even viewed from the medical standpoint phthisiophobia amounts more or less to a scientific heresy Because phthisis is not so infectious as measles diphtheria and other such conditions For instance the virus of measles appears to be spread only from persons actually suffering from or in process of developing the eruptive stage, but it is so highly infective that it succeeds in producing this effect in nearly all persons who survive to adult age As for the diphtheria bacillus and some other pathogenic micro-organisms although they cause clinical disease in only a small proportion of those who are infected yet actual disease is not essential to their propagation because they may be transmitted from host to host even by those without actual disease On the other hand in the case of tuberculosis we find that in order to be infective the disease must be of the 'open' type (*i e* the type in which tubercle bacilli are present in the patient's sputum) and that such

types of disease are produced in only a limited proportion of infected persons In other words, supposing X to be the number of persons having tuberculous infection, the number that will get tuberculous disease will be much less, and the number that will develop the 'open' or infective type of the disease will be, comparatively, still less This shows that there is the combination of two limiting conditions characterising tuberculous dissemination Hence it is reasonable to say that tuberculosis is not so infectious as the other diseases mentioned before In fact there are many notable authorities such as, Wingfield, Fishberg Pottenger, Saugman Baldwin who do not exactly believe in the infectivity of phthisis so far as the ordinary adult population is concerned Says Baldwin in this connection

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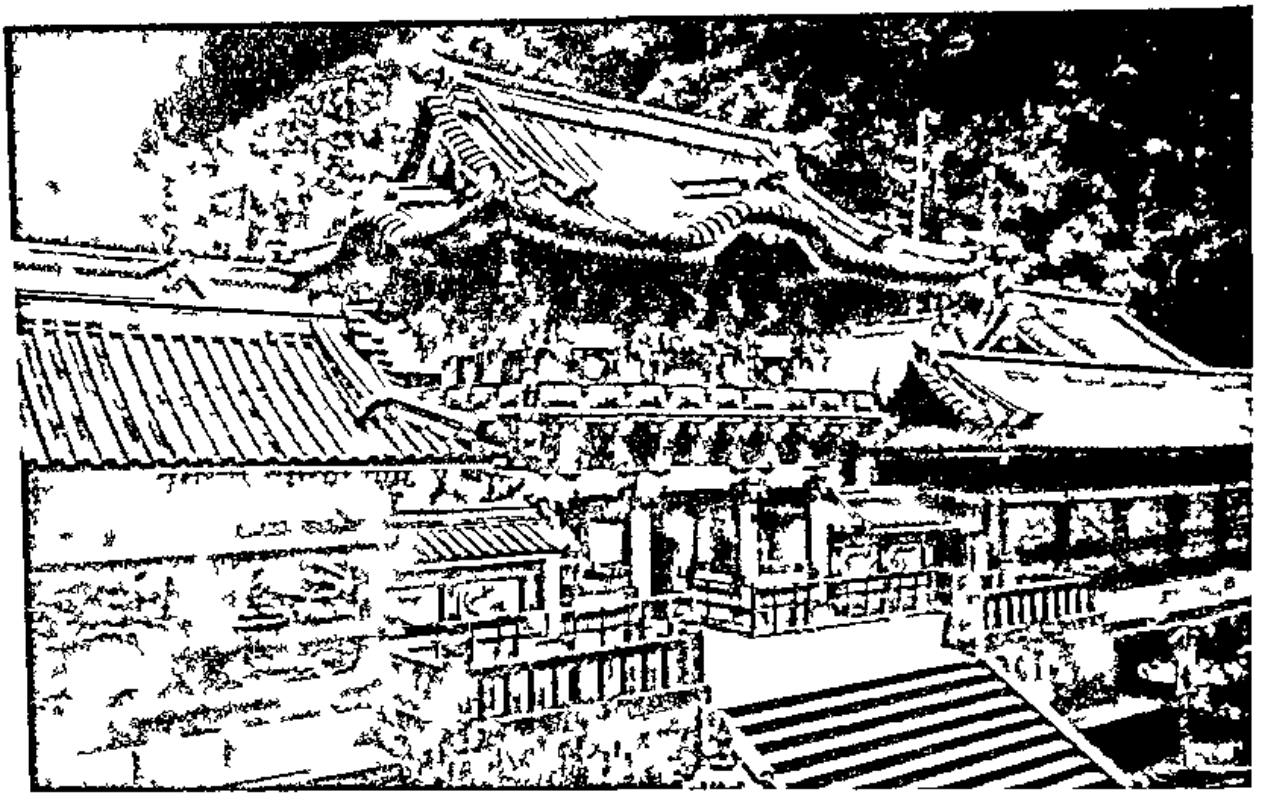
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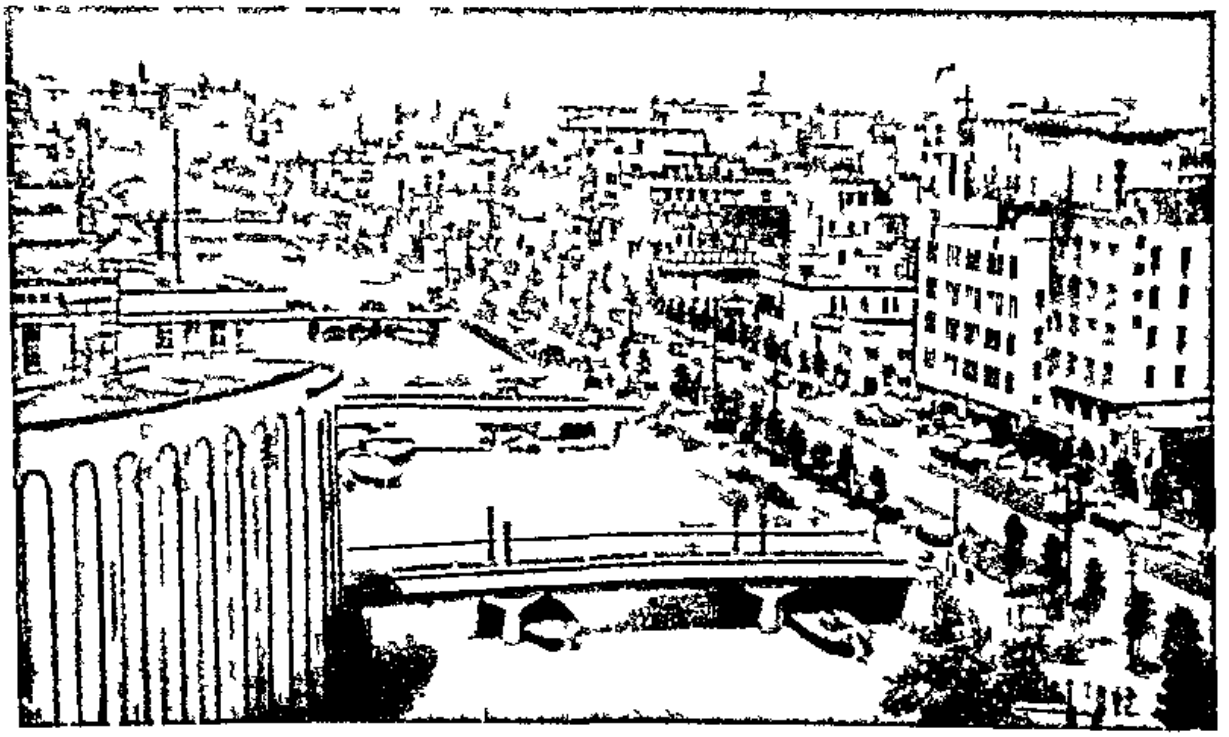
The Ainus of Japan



Members of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council going on a pleasure cruise



Y me mon Ga f To h gu h n N kk Japan—a monum n o f udal sp end r



Tokyo at mid day

THE PRACTICE OF THE BUDDHIST TENET OF AHIMSA IN JAPAN

By Prof Dr RAGHU VIRA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt et Phil
Director, the International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore

The Japanese people recognize fully their debts to India in raising them from primitive conditions of life and mind But not so with the Indian people In a vague way they know that Japan's religion is predominantly Buddhist By Buddhism again they understand entirely a different thing from that practised in Japan Books on Indian history, read by them as boys in the schools, bring into high relief the Doctrine of Ahimsa, "non-killing," "non-annoying" of any living creature, not even for food This doctrine has, however, never flourished in any of the countries outside India India lost the statutes of Lord Buddha, but not the great doctrine for which Buddha came into being Other countries accepted Buddha, the numerous tenets, rites, scriptures and systems of philosophic thought connected with his name, but connived at this, to them inconvenient, control of the palate in favour of a vaster life of sympathy for the mute population of the world

In the earlier and middle years of Japan the monks, nuns and a few pious men and women practised vegetarianism, but it was so superficial that at the mere touch of the West it disappeared rapidly Formerly a nation of fish eaters, it is now equally proud of being beef and pork eaters Even the pious, whether among the clergy or the laity, relish without any compunctions forbidden meat But it should not be understood that the idea has altogether become extinct

In recent years it has taken a new form that of memorial services They will interest the reader by their novelty and freshness However corrupt, Buddhism still lives, it still forges new channels for expression Finding non-killing impossible it still tries to retain what it can Let the readers see it for themselves

(1) In Tokyo the members of the wood-print engravers' guild occasionally hold memorial services in honour of the spirits of countless cherry trees whose lives they and their fellow craftsmen have taken in making wood-print engravings Up to 1911 all wood print engravings made in Japan utilized cherry wood for the blocks Since then about 20% of the blocks have been made of box wood Leaders of the guild realizing that Japanese culture owes much to wood print engraving hold such services as the only way of showing their sentiments for the tree which has contributed so much to the artistic life of Japan The first service of this kind was held in Tokyo on April 1, 1923, at the Shinryion Temple near Heno Park.

(2) On May 21, 1932, an elaborate Buddhist mass for all the silk-worms which have given their lives for the silk industry in Japan was recited by 24 priests in the Asakusa Kwannon Temple, Tokyo This memorial service was the idea of Mr K Kijima, the head of the seventh generation of a family of silk-thread dealers in Tokyo At Uzumasa, near Kyoto there is a small shrine called Kijima Jinja, dedicated originally to honour and to give thanks to silk worms and weaving machines for the production of silk-thread, perhaps erected by an ancestor of Mr Kijima mentioned above

(3) On March 22, 1932, a Buddhist mass service for the purpose of comforting the spirits of fish that have been caught to feed the nation was held at the great Sodosect Temple, Sojiji in Tsurumi and elsewhere The next day the Tsurumi priests observed a service on the sea for fish that had died from natural causes This took place on the waters of Tokyo Bay These services were held under the auspices of organizations of marine product dealers throughout Japan and the Government Department of Fishery and were made possible through their monetary contributions It is expected that this service will be observed annually

(4) On November 6, 1932, a service was observed in Hibia Park, Tokyo, in honour of the chrysanthemums which have beautified the November chrysanthemums exhibits in the park held annually for many years

(5) Annually in early June, a Buddhist service is held at the Teikoku Primary School in Nishi Sugamo, Tokyo, for dolls that have been broken beyond repair The dolls are buried in the playground of the school, the grave being marked by a stone about 2 feet high inscribed "Grave of Dolls" Since the

service was started in 1918, several hundred broken dolls have been buried there The ceremony is always largely attended by school children and their mothers Priests chant the *sutra* intended to compose the soul of the dead This service is an outgrowth of the Doll Hospital conducted by the school since 1913 An expert repairs all dolls turned in at the 'Hospital,' and those broken beyond repairs are saved for the annual ceremony which never fails to delight and impress the children Dolls have been the intimate friends and companions of children from time immemorial and they are regarded and treated by children as living beings and are factors in their education, and that is stated to be the reason for establishing the 'Hospital' at the school The dolls thus treated here have exceeded ten thousand in number

At another place, the Kosenji temple in Tokyo, the first stone at the entrance on the left is a grave stone for broken dolls and toys It was placed there in 1931 through contributions of pupils of several girls' schools, each one giving a few sen The names of the schools are on the back of the stone The temple priest states that there are no set days for the burial but that broken dolls and toys are occasionaly buried under the stone

(6) Annualy on December 8th, but more generally on February 8th, services for broken needles are held in many girls' schools, and in some private homes, to comfort the spirit of needles broken during the year, the needle being regarded as a living being whose body has been sacrificed in service An alter consisting of two or three steps is set up In front of it is the sacred staff and rope, cut paper strips being suspended from it On the top step offerings of cake and fruit are placed On the second step is a plate on which a cube of bean curd, into which the broken and crooked needles are thrust, the idea being to give the needles a soft rest

(7) Under the auspices of the Tokyo Ivory Art Object Dealers' Association and the Association of Artists of Ivory Carving, a Buddha mass for the spirits of elephants which have supplied ivory carving in Japan, was celebrated by twenty-one priests on April 15, 1926, at the *Gokoku temple in Otowa It was attended by* more than one thousand persons

(8) "The Butchered-Cow-Tree-Stupa" is a monument erected in the precinct of Gyokusenji temple, near the decaying stump of the citrus tree to which was tied the cow that was first butchered for meat in Japan This was an unusual slaughter as the tenets of the Buddhistic religion then strictly prohibited the use of meat for food, though fish had been in common use. This historic event took place in 1856 so that Townsend Harris, the first U S Consul-General to Japan, who was domiciled in the temple could be supplied with beef It is further recorded that when it became known that Mr Harris was a beef eater the owners of cows throughout the neighbourhood were so alarmed that they built high railings around their cowsheds in order to prevent their cows from being butchered for the Consul These cows were used for draft purposes and not for yielding milk The stump of the Cow-Tree is enclosed by a marble fence and is protected from elements by a bronze lotus leaf A new sapling has been planted at the back of the stump A monument of marble and bronze, ten feet high, topped with an image of Buddha, was unveiled on April 8 1931, the birthday of Buddha Its cost of 5 000 yen was met by contributions from dealers and users of beef in the eastern part of Japan, under the auspices of the Butchers' Guild of Shimoda province, which promoted the project



THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

By V SRINIVASAN

By a proclamation issued on November 2, his 26th birthday, His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore has constituted a separate University for his State At present all the colleges in the State are affiliated to the Madras University The new University is not intended to be a mere replica of the existing ones Its chief objectives differ from those of the existing Universities in two ways Firstly, it seeks to encourage and foster scientific, technical and technological studies, so that its graduates may be in a position to exploit to the full the State's natural resources and take to agricultural and industrial pursuits Secondly, it aims at conserving and promoting Kerala art and culture

It is refreshing to read Section 5

"No person shall be excluded from membership of any of the authorities of the University or from admission to any degree or course of study on the sole ground of sex, race creed, class or *political views*, and it shall not be lawful for the University to adopt or impose on any person any test whatsoever relating to religious belief or profession or political views in order to entitle him to be admitted thereto as a teacher or as a student or to hold any office therein, or to graduate thereat, or to enjoy or exercise any privileges thereof except where in respect of any particular benefaction accepted by the University such test is made a condition thereof"

This provision, though not new to universities, gets a special significance in these days of dictatorships and state-controlled education

The Constitution of the University

The constitution of the University follows that of the other Universities with very few changes To start with, there will be the Faculties of Arts Science, Fine Arts Oriental Studies, Technology, Education and Law The Faculties, the Senate and the Syndicate will be the authorities of the University

The Senate will be composed of—(*a*) *Ex-officio members* the Vice Chancellor, the pro-Vice Chancellor, if any, the D P I Travancore, Deans of Faculties and Principals of Colleges (*b*) *Elected members* 7 graduates of the University, 5 members of the State Legislatures 1 representative of each Faculty, 1 representative of each college (*c*) *Life members* appointed by the Maharaja—Chancellor (*d*) *Donors* all persons contributing not less than Rs 10 000 for the *general purpose* of the University and one representative of each Association making an annual contribution of Rs 1000 for a period of not less than five years, and (*e*) not more than 20 members nominated by the Chancellor All members of the Syndicate shall also be members of the Senate

The Syndicate, the Executive of the University, will consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the pro-Vice-Chancellor, if any, the D P I, 2 representatives of private colleges in the State, 2 members elected by the Senate, 3 Deans of Faculties nominated by the Chancellor and 2 others nominated by the Chancellor

The State and the University

The University will depend for the present almost entirely on State-aid The six Government colleges will be transferred to the University and the private colleges admitted to its privileges The amount spent by the State hitherto on collegiate education—nearly five lakhs of rupees a year—will be allocated to the University The University will get block grants from the State

The University is not strictly an autonomous one The Government reserve to themselves the power of auditing the accounts, conducting inspection of the University and directing its administrations if and when necessary The following section speaks for itself

"If, at any time the Government are of opinion that the affairs of the University are not managed in accordance with this Regulation or the Statutes or the Ordinanc , or in furtherence of the objects and purposes of this Regulation, they may call for an explanation from the Syndicate in regard to any matter connected with the University If the Syndicate fails to offer any explanation within the time prescribed or if the explanation offered is, in the opinion of the Government unsatisfactory the Government may issue such instructions as they may deem fit and the Syndicate shall comply with such instructions The Government may also exercise all the powers necessary to enforce compliance with their instructions."

There will be very little need for the exercise of these provisions, as the Senate is over weighted with a good number of Government nominees, 20 members are nominated by the Chancellor in addition to the life-members

The University starts under many advantageous circumstances

Firstly, it is the product of two decades of investigation and study It does not owe its

establishment to an act of generosity on the part of a single private donor, as was the case with the Annamalai University an earlier offshoot of the Madras University, where in recognition of the generous offer the Incorporation Act was hurried through the Legislature In 1917, the Government of Travancore appointed a committee to go into the question, the majority reported in favour of a separate University The Government appointed another committee in 1923, and asked them to submit "a fresh scheme for a University of the State of Travancore *by itself or in association with adjacent areas*" This committee were unanimously of opinion that a separate university was both desirable and feasible and recommended a federal type of university Another committee appointed in 1932 under the presidency of Mr R M Statham to go into the whole question of the educational reorganization of the State reported that the disadvantages of Travancore colleges remaining within the Madras University outweighed the advantages At the same time, it sounded a note of warning

"Experience both in Madras and all over India, has tended to show that the new Universities, *unless accompanied by very distinctive features not existent elsewhere are expensive and not altogether necessary luxuries*"

So the committee entrusted with the framing of the Act embodied in the Proclamation had before it all the *pros* and *cons* of the question, and the committee was representative of every interest in the State

Secondly, the new University starts with very good resources resources far better than what the Mysore University, the Andhra University, the Annamalai University and the Nagpur University had when they began to function There are 10 colleges of the Degree grade in the State There are over 300 feeder "English Schools" with nearly 60 000 pupils, and the State spends nearly 20 per cent of its revenue on education, the highest figure for all India

Thirdly the University commands the confidence of the public as evidenced by endowments of over a lakh of rupees, by men and women of the State representing all interests, created so soon after the Proclamation

It is to be hoped that besides developing technological centres of all types and centres of Fine Arts (under the guidance of Dr J H Cousins), the University will (*a*) like the Osmania University take steps to impart University education through the vernacular of the State and (*b*) open a college of Indigenous Medicine and thus make available to the outside world *the secrets of the famous Kerala* system of medicine

A great deal depends on the Statutes to be framed under the Act and the personnel of the first members of the Senate and the Syndicate, who will be nominated by the Chancellor and hold office for two years

CHILD GUIDANCE CLINICS

By H P MAITI
Calcutta University

The 20th century has been described as "the Century of the Child Never before has man appreciated the importance of proper training of the child for his future welfare so keenly as in the present century We have come to realize that what we become in our later years are essentially determined by the way in which we are brought up during the first few years of our life The child's habits of reactions, specially to the social environment of his early years, mainly determine his future emotional dispositions, character traits tastes and even intellectual abilities A defect of development in these years is very difficult to be compensated by later educational measures however ingenious these may be If one has not been able to enjoy security within family relations in his early days, he will never be able when grown up to move in outer society with feelings of confidence and ease which are necessary not only for the individual's own happiness but also for his useful service to the society If one has the good fortune of unrepressed and free development in childhood under the loving care and help of his elders and in the joyful company of other children like him, if no foolish obstacle is placed on the smooth course of his natural development and on the budding of his

individuality, he would grow, in all probability, into a self-reliant being who is equal to all circumstances of life and who is happy to live for himself as well as for others in society In a word if we want less of unhappy and inefficient, and more of balanced, happy and capable men and women in society, we should apply ourselves more earnestly and intelligently to child rearing on the principle of mental hygiene than we have done hitherto

As a matter of fact, children are at present very much neglected and mismanaged Our dealings with them generally fall into two types over strictness or over-indulgence But in either types of relation we fail to understand the individual peculiarities and needs of the growing child A plan of upbringing that would make the child happy and would at the same time prepare for his future good should be adapted to such needs, and this can never be done without a proper and sympathetic understanding of his behaviour Such a plan should specially take into consideration the conflicts in his emotional and instinctive life It should also be guided mainly by the idea that the dominant natural trend of the child's emotional life should not be rudely smothered but helped on to progressively stable and happy adjustment to the conditions of social life

Acute conflict in child life in which one emotional tendency is violently pitted against another, as for example, love or hate against the desire for social approval, is mainly responsible for the peculiarities of the "Problem" children These are children in whom upbringing has been miscarried, and whom we fail to understand and deal with successfully, in spite of our efforts to do so Failure in upbringing is manifested in various ways in their lives Some of the children present open defiance to society and the social code of behaviour This defiance may range from non-co operation or disobedience to grossly anti social behaviour like stealing and arson Disinclination to learn may express this tendency Perverse or sexual habits in childhood may also in many instances be traced to the spirit of defiance There is another group of Problem children who can be described as budding neurotics Neither fully defiant nor fully docile, they are both at the same time They are always trying to overcome their strong feelings of anger with those of submissive obedience They develop in course of time certain neurotic peculiarities of behaviour Their capacity for normal development becomes greatly jeopardised by an inner conflict and a heavy unconscious sense of guilt Nervousness, complete or partial inhibition of intellectual power, absence of self confidence proportionate to the age, physical illness of the functional type like asthma, diarrhœa etc, may be due to the working of the unconscious sense of guilt

Parents ordinarily feel helpless in their dealings with children In a sense, however, it is they who may be regarded as responsible for the behaviour troubles For, from the psychological point of view, refractory behaviour in children is mostly a reaction to the kind of treatment which they have had already received from the social environment provided by the parents themselves Not knowing the psychology of the 'Problem' behaviour, the parents usually accuse their children with an inborn mischievousness, or thoughtlessly ascribe it wholly to outside influences like the play-mates or the defective school organization

Though parents cannot escape the criticism in many cases that they have not done, and even perhaps have not understood, their duty to their children during their early years it must be said in their defence that the task of child rearing on healthy lines is not an easy one Recent advances in psychological knowledge indicate how difficult it is to adjust the environmental factors specially those in the social sphere, to the susceptibilities of the child during the formative years of his growth Many parents cannot understand the exact requirements of the situation on account of their own intellectual limitations or lack of opportunity of learning Many have not the leisure for this delicate work Many are temperamentally unfit for the patient handling of young children Many suffer themselves, from inner emotional coflicts so that it becomes difficult for them to look at the problems of child's development in a detached way The fact is, that all of us tend to react unconsciously to our children generally in the same way as our parents did with reference to us in our childhood

There are three ways in which we can attempt to solve the difficulty of child rearing (1) Seeing that the ordinary parents are so ill fitted for giving the basic education in the period of childhood, we may arrange for this education under the guidance of properly qualified teachers who are to act as foster parents There has been considerable progress in nursery education in western countries in recent years and I hope we shall very soon see a number of nursery schools flourishing in our country But we cannot expect to provide the advantage of nursery education to all children Neither is it a complete remedy for evils of defective child rearing 'Problem' behaviour does not

exist when the child is sent to school The method of education may be defective in the school as well as in the home Then again, even in the case of a child attending a nursery school, it is difficult to keep him altogether away from the 'harmful' influence of his parents with whom he has to spend a considerable part of his time For these reasons, it is necessary for the society to arrange for some education of the parents through which scientific knowledge bearing on the upbringing of children may be imparted to them

(2) A plan of Parent education is, therefore, the second way in which we can attempt to meet our difficulty of child rearing This education can be given through popular lectures, pamphlets magazine articles and radio talks In order to be effective such talks and lectures should naturally lead to discussions of actual cases and, whenever possible, demonstrations about the proper method of dealing with children's 'problems' by properly qualified persons should be arranged

This takes us to the third way of meeting our difficulty, namely, (3) 'Child Guidance Clinics' The primary function of such a Clinic is to help the home and the school with expert advice on the subject of child rearing and child education It is not necessarily confined to 'problem' children, but tries to direct the mental development of normal children as well It aims at the complete understanding of the child We try to understand the child—physically, intellectually and emotionally, in the weak, as well as the strong points of his personality No advice is offered at the Clinic without a thorough scientific study of the child as far as possible The predominant impulse of his individuality is specially taken into consideration at the time of giving advice

The examination of the child falls into several parts (1) The specific object of the visit of the child and his guardian at the Clinic is specially noted This is followed by a detailed family and biographical history An enquiry is made into the heredity, the size, and economic and social conditions of the family, any notable incident in the early life of the child that may have given him some emotional shock, and also the nature of social relation between the inmates, specially between the parents themselves History of physical illness is also recorded Specially important for diagnostic purpose in certain types of cases are informations about the course of bodily and mental development The records of educational progress have also to be looked into sometimes

(2) A thorough physical examination follows the biographical history It should preferably be conducted by one who is a specialist in children's diseases This examination is necessary for the detection of foci of infection or some other source of chronic physiological irritation, for, the mental trouble of the child may in some cases be due to a physical cause and may disappear when this is attended to

(3) In the third part of the examination we come to a psychologist who can apply mental tests, and make observation for himself about the peculiarities in the conduct of the individual child He should preferably be a psychoanalyst also, so that he can observe the unconscious links between the different acts and traits of the child, and form an idea about the real dynamics of his personality Applications of mental tests on the Problem children should always be done with special care and results of such applications should be estimated in the light of the emotional conflicts from which such children usually suffer There should be opportunities of play at the Clinic, for, it has been found that the conflicting impulses of the child usually come to spontaneous expression through his play activities An opinion is finally formed about the probable psychological cause of the trouble of the child by taking many things into consideration, *viz*, biographic history, physical defect or illness, and the actual behaviour of the child at the Clinic and outside In many cases such an opinion is to be checked up by observation of changes in the behaviour and attitude of the child with 'trial' or experimental behaviour from the psychologist, or as advised by him.

In many cases the observation of the child's behaviour cannot be completed at the Clinic and he has to be followed to his home and the play field He may not show all the aspects of his personality in the strange atmosphere of the Clinic and, therefore, it is necessary to observe him in his ordinary milieu This is done by a social worker, who is usually a lady, and who is possessed of tact and sympathy with some training in psychology This visit is to be made not only for observing the child but also for observing parents, as they behave towards each other as also with the children It has been rightly said that the Problem child has usually a Problem parent behind him

The social worker is an important link between the Clinic and the home, and practical effect of the psychological advice given at the Clinic depends to a great extent on his or her ability to help the child and his relations to live a more happily adjusted life together

A few words about the nature of treatment of the Problem children may not be out of place here In the simpler cases a few talks to the parents as well as to the child may suffice to bring about a better relation between them and to put the child on the right line of behaviour In the case of mental deficiency, the duty of the Clinic ends with advice for a special type of education either in some institutions or at home If the deficiency be so much as to amount to idiocy or low imbecility, custodial care has to be recommended In the more complex and serious cases of Problem children, a more radical method of treatment has to be adopted Psycho-analysis has been found to be successful in many cases Change of the home atmosphere and specially of the attitudes of the parents become necessary in almost all cases

The Child Guidance Clinic usually forms a part of Psychology department or an out door hospital or a medical institution It al o may be run independently It is desirable that there should be arrangement, if possible, for prolonged observation and treatment of children suffering from more serious maladjustments, and, therefore, it is good to have a Clinical Ward, if possible, attached to the outdoor Clinic

The Child Guidance Clinic is meant to serve not only the interest of the Problem and Defective children, but also more important interests of normal ones There are many educated and intelligent parents who are eager to know if their children are developing as they should and in what way this development can be helped The question of Vocational guidance of children and youths has become prominent in recent years and this work has to be taken up by the Child Guidance Clinics The natural aptitude, the points of weakness and the compensations thereof, have to be studied psychologically and an advice has to be given as to the further educational line or vocations in which the child is likely to excel

The Clinic can also be used as a medium of Parent education, for, with the variety of cases that visit the Clinic, it is possible to explain and to demonstrate the harmful effects of different types of parent behaviour on children's habits and emotional attitudes It can also enable the parents to learn how their dealings with their children should be improved Valuable knowledge about children and child training is sure to grow and accumulate in course of time at the Clinic, and this knowledge should be utilized not only for research by child psychologists but also for the enlightenment of the parents and the society

The idea of the Child Guidance Clinic is not wholly new in India It has been discussed in lectures and magazine articles from time to time But there are not many Clinics working at present in India The city of Calcutta possesses two Mental Clinics which give advice on Problem children One is run by the Indian Association for Mental Hygiene, Calcutta Branch, and is attached as an Outdoor department to the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia An eminent Psychiatrist is in charge of it and it attends to all types of mental cases The Psychology Department of the Calcutta University examines and gives advice upon children referred to it It confines itself mainly to psychological examination and advice Some time ago, F C College, Lahore, started a Child Guidance Clinic under its Psychology Department Recently a Clinic has been established at Delhi by Mr U S Gheba There are proposals at present to start two other Mental Clinics in Calcutta, one of which will devote itself solely to Child guidance, and will be organized by the Marriage Welfare and Child Guidance Association, Calcutta The other will be run by the National Medical Institute and will form a part of the Chittaranjan Hospital There are a number of qualified psycho-analysts in Calcutta and it is possible for a guardian to have his Problem child psychologically treated, if a need for this arises

It has been proved beyond doubt by the researches of modern psychology that the future happiness of the child is essentially determined by the way in which he is brought up in his early years Child-rearing in the past has considerably suffered from ignorance and bias Expert advice may help happy and successful adjustment, if it is sought for before the trouble in child's behaviour is very far advanced Child Guidance is a technical service of great practical importance to the society and its future welfare



VIENNA'S SHARE IN THE RESEARCH OF INDIAN ART

By Frau H FULOP-MILLER

The beginning of serious work of investigation in Vienna both of Asiatic Art as a whole and of Indian Art in particular is connected with the name of Joseph Strzygowski He was the first man who systematically extended the principle of comparative history of art (which before his time was restricted to the European Art) to the Asiatic countries While, in former times we were accustomed to measure the works of art of the Western Asiatic countries of India and the Far East by a scale generally used for European Art by and by we got convinced that we should better understand the real quality of all these cultures and try to know them by their own premises In this way it was necessary to find out the exact standpoint for the old Indian culture and the monuments of architecture, sculpture and painting and to make the history of Indian Art an equivalent part of the general history of Art This was the aim which Strzygowski pursued at the University of Vienna where he occupied the Chair of History of Art, since 1909 In his institute for History of Art, which existed till 1933, besides European students students from India were to be found Strzygowski himself did not publish special works on Indian Art, although he treated it extensively in his lectures But in his fundamental book *The Art of Asia* (1930) he has drawn a comprehensive picture of Indian Art

Some of Strzygowski's pupils have, occasionally or continually, devoted themselves to the investigation of Indian Art In 1926 Ernst Diez in the *Manual of the History of Art* published the volume on India Karl With produced in his publication about Java (1920) an intensive study of Indian sculpture A *Salmony* wrote about plastic art in Siam (1925) Last but not least, Stella Kramrisch is to be mentioned, who, for many years, has been lecturing as a Professor of History of Art at the University of Calcutta having devoted her life to the investigation of Indian Art It is impossible to enumerate her publications important as they all are Her book about Indian sculpture (1933) will always be a standard work, her latest publication is a detailed account of the painting in the Deccan In Springer's *Manual of the History of Art* she wrote the part dealing with Indian Art (1929) Besides, she is editing the excellent *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Vol I, 1933) in collaboration with Abanindranath Tagore

In Vienna the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art and Culture was founded in 1925 by the students of Strzygowski In lectures held by Austrian and foreign scholars and in essays, published in the *Year Book*, problems of Indian Art are treated Also in an exhibition of "Asiatic Art in Private Possession in Vienna" specimens of Indian Art are shown to the public Besides, the interest for Indian Art in Vienna as elsewhere is created by and based upon works of Art which are in the possession of the Museums It is worth mentioning that there exists in Vienna a great number of interesting Indian miniatures since the 18th century They are preserved in that well-known room in the Castle of Schonbrunn, which by its wooden casing is called Feketin-room, or Room of the Million The walls of the room were in the second half of the 18th century under the reign of Maria Theresa, covered with rose wood in such a way that the fine Rococo-ornaments of the wainscot formed single frames for the inlaid pictures There are a great number of Indian miniatures of the 16th to 18th century, works of the court-painters of the time of the great Moghuls These paintings, probably presented in whole collections to the Imperial Court of Vienna, were cut apart and put together again into new units, as we find them at present These miniatures have been edited in a splendid publication by Heinrich Glueck (1923), The same author wrote a similar work about the miniatures of the History of Emir Hamza, which are preserved in the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, containing sixty large folios which form an unparalleled specimen of Indo Islamic painting under the Emperors Humayun and Akbar These two collections of miniatures—in the Castle of Schonbrunn and in the Austrian Museum—suggested Joseph Strzygowski's book on Asiatic miniatures This book also contains contributions by H Glueck and Stella Kramrisch also one by E Wellesz, whose earlier work about the Art of Gandhara (1924) should be mentioned apart

Of earlier Indian Art there is not very much

WINTER IN BADGASTEIN

By E SCHLNKL

The train leaves Salzburg at about 1 p m and wends its way southwards Looking back one can see the castle of Salzburg saying farewell from the distance It takes only a few minutes before the train reaches a narrow valley The railway lines, a road and the river nothing more finds room in this valley that is deep cut in the midst of gigantic mountains soaring high on either side On and on the mountain railway goes and one can easily notice the change in temperature It gets colder The summits of the mountains at a distance begin to appear with a touch of snow

Schwarzach St Veit is reached where one must usually change for Badgastein unless it is a through train In half an hours time the train will get there (Badgastein) up till Schwarzach St Veit the train runs on the same level with the road but now it begins to climb leaving the river and road down below in the valley Near Hofgastein the valley broadens out From the train the village looks like a picture drawn on a flat background or perhaps like a toy village in a box The next station after Hofgastein is Badgastein which is reached at 3 p m

On leaving the train fresh cold mountain air fills the lungs and one takes a deep breath

Badgastein has been a health resort for centuries In 1936 it celebrated the 500th anniversary In ancient times people came there to find relief for their ailments through the hot springs Today we know that the healing factor in this water is radio-activity and doctors prescribe the use of the water for various illnesses like rheumatism gall bladder trouble, stomach trouble and general weakness and debility The treatment consists of two kinds—namely bathing or drinking bathing being more important In summer the place is crowded—people from all parts of the world are coming to find relief but it is also a rendezvous for the fashionable people like actors sportsmen artists writers and the like The municipality of Badgastein has naturally provided for all their needs—big hotels, restaurants cafes, concerts cinemas and all the paraphernalia of modern civilization which people will not miss even when coming from the noisy towns But this season does not last long—a few months and the village sinks back into its winter-sleep

Coming here in December one finds a different place and certainly a nicer one

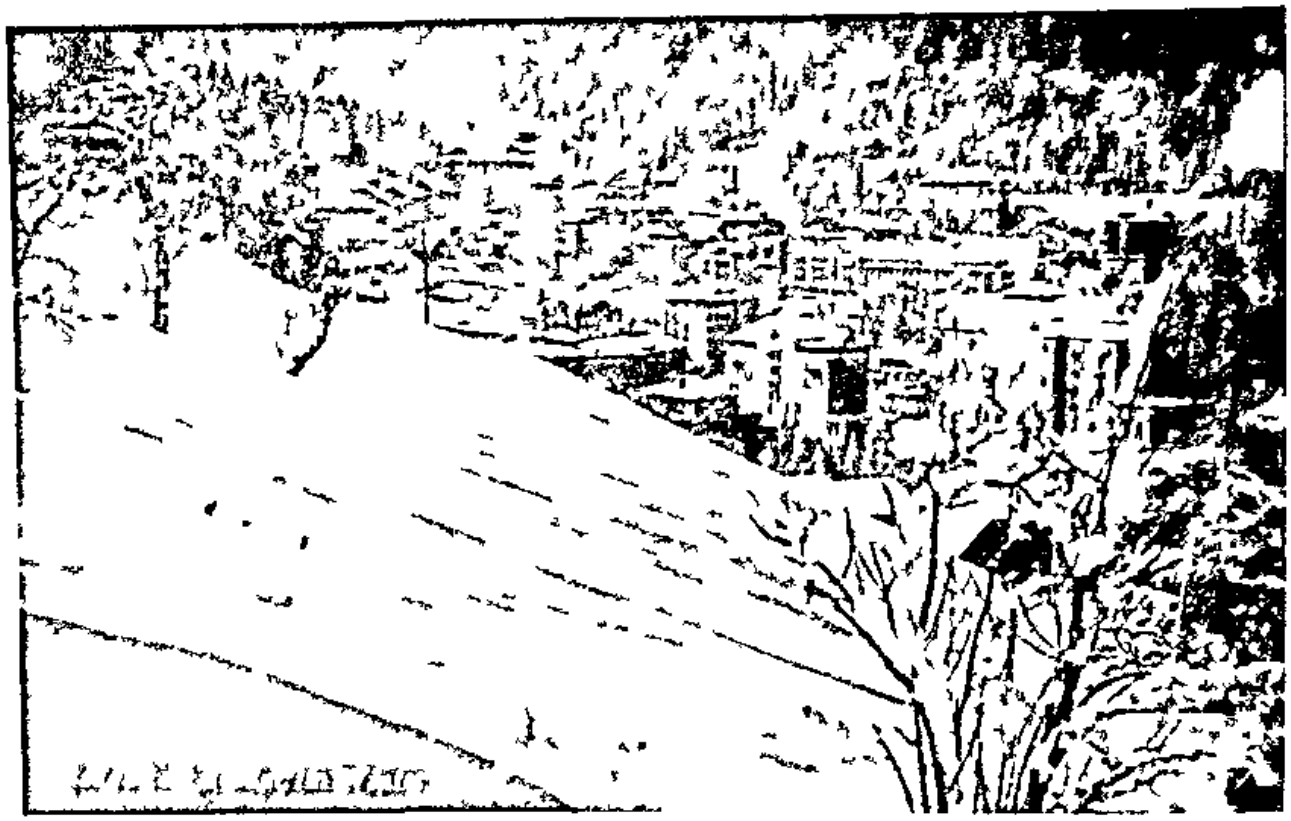


The famous waterfall of Badgastein which has a drop of 600 feet

Quietness everywhere Snow covers the roofs the trees the streets like a white soft mantle The silent range of the snowy mountains with its hoary peaks looks down upon Badgastein

The town itself or rather village is built on three terraces about 3500 feet above the sea level Right in the centre roars down the gigantic waterfall in three cascades A grand view indeed! Dark fir trees on the slopes of the mountains help to make a harmony of white and green

But also in winter people come to visit Badgastein Only they are the more quiet types of mankind those who want to enjoy nature and quietness The place is also famous



Badgastein in winter

for winter sports and in the morning one can see these people go out with their skis The fashionable folks are of course not there and the big hotels are all closed giving the place a weird appearance But prices are generally cheaper and even baths cost less If one would like to combine treatment with work or rest or sports then winter is the proper season in Badgastein There are no distractions of the kind that one finds in the big cities in Europe but there are plenty of these distractions in Badgastein in summer No I would not go to Badgastein in summer for anything though it may be the fashion to do so

Further in winter the climate is at its best The air is fresh and pure Snow may be lying thick all round but it is a dry cold which does not depress like a London fog It exhilarates because the sky is blue and a warm sunshine smiles on a silvery landscape It is this combination of sun and snow which has a maddening effect on me and lures me as no city entertainments could

In the matter of walks Badgastein has much to offer Aged folks can walk for miles on the same level along the river bank and enjoy the babbling music of the river Youthful individuals go up the mountains along hilly paths in search of adventure And between these two extreme one can enjoy a longish walk down to the neighbouring town of Hofgastein and walk back again There is also a regular bus service between these two places

From Badgastein one can continue the journey in the mountain railway southwards Passing Bockstein and Mallnitz one comes to Villach an important junction on the Vienna Rome line But at Villach the snow begins to thin off From Villach a half hour's journey brings you to the Austro Italian frontier town of Tarvisio And from Tarvisio the line goes down straight to Venice

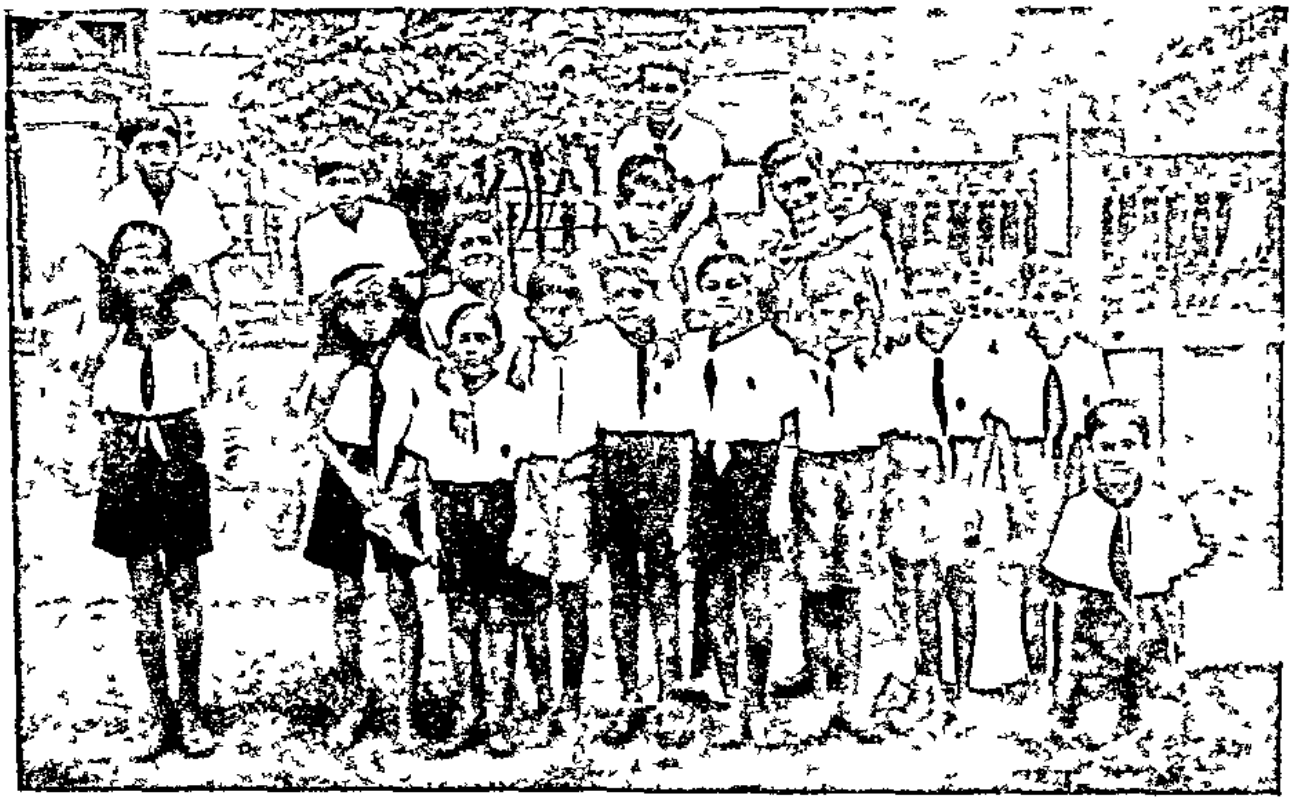
Apart from the bracing climate Badgastein has hot mineral springs which used for bathing (or for drinking) serve as a natural tonic These waters are the most highly radio active in the world—that is why people come from all over the world The usual course of treatment consists of twenty one baths—with proper intervals in between There are crowds of men and women who come every year and spend six weeks or a couple of months in Badgastein and go back entirely refreshed so that they may carry on for another twelve months with full energy and vigour Why do not Indians try this health resort also?

ALL INDIA SEVA SAMITI SCOUT MELA

By AMIYA ROY CHOUDHURY

THE Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association celebrated its ninth annual mela at Calcutta at Eastern park Park Circus the famous venue of 1928 session of All India Congress during the period 26th to 30th December 1937 *Organization of Shantiniketan* were also represented in this pilgrimage of brotherhood

It won't be out of place here to write a few lines about the origin and growth of the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association Scouting



The writer with a jolly group of Calcutta Wolf Cubs

About five thousand Scouts from every nook and corner of India came to share a common *life in open air at this vast encampment of* fraternity

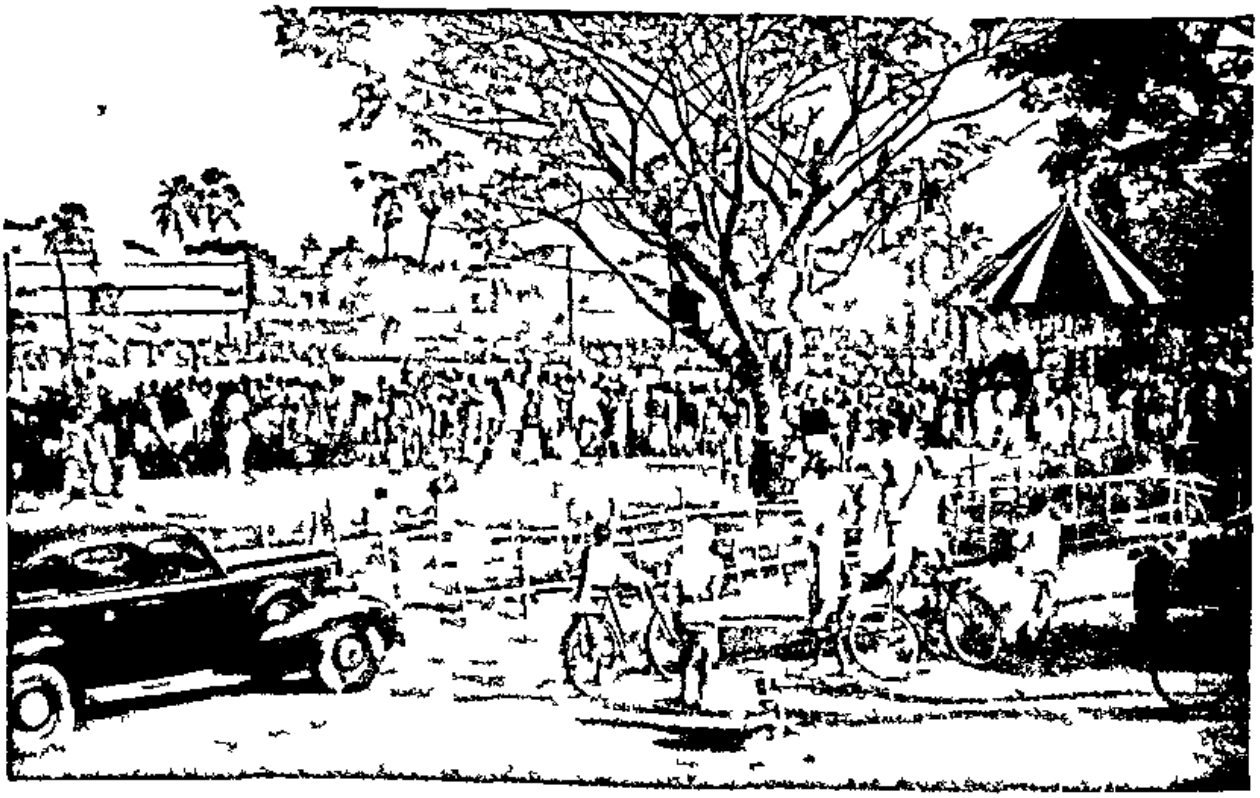
"Mela" is the Indian term for Jamboree and is held every year to stimulate fellowship and goodwill amongst the youth of the country This "mela" was more than an educational experience and was an actual demonstration of the practice of Scout law and promise of patriotism and citizenship and more than that of universal brotherhood, and lastly of training discipline and innate character

The Baden Powell Boy Scouts Association National Scout Association Bratri Balak though introduced in India as early as 1911, was not meant for Indians Realizing the need *of scouting for Indian boys people like the* late Mrs Annie Besant and Dr G S Arundale started the Indian Boy Scouts Association in 1917 in South India In Northern India Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Pandit Shree Ram Bajpai started the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association in 1918

In 1921 Lord Baden Powell the Chief Scout of the world visited India and extented affiliation to all the existing Scout Associations in India under certain conditions which though accepted by many, did not satisfy a section of



Group Mahatma Singing of Padree Ram Bajpa



A general view of the huge crowd that assembled to witness the demonstrations of Scout craft at the Mela

the early pioneer of scouting in India Several States Scout Associations and the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association preferred to remain outside and to carry on on strictly national line



Prof P Sheshadri awarding trophy to a Girl Guide

The intrinsic worth of Seva Samity was realized and it spread out to all corners of India with tremendous rapidity and in 1922 U P Government recognised it and Seva Samity Scouting was officially recommended in school by the Education Department The Seva Samity Scouts Association has a girl guides section also

The recent agitation due to the alleged criticism by Lord Baden Powell of Indian character and Honour has resulted in the awakening of national prestige in Scouting and the consequent stimulus of Seva Samity Scouting

As Pandit Raghunath Misra President Puri Congress Committee has stated after his five days camp life in the Mela that Scouting is one of the best ways of unifying the youth of the country and engaging them profitably at the service of the motherland and as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru trusts that they will grow up as soldiers of India freedom Mr G S Arundale has rightly stated that the Seva Samity movement has done immense social service to our country It has helped to create in our youngmen and women noble feelings of self sacrifice and service for others and I pray that this useful organisation may gather more and more strength every day The Mayor of Calcutta in his address during the opening ceremony also emphasized the need of a national



Miss R Majumdar Organizing Commissioner for Girl Guides, addressing the General Conference

Scout organization like the Seva Samity and appealed to the elite and intelligentsia of the country to adopt Seva Samity Scouting as a supplementive and corrective of bookish education

RELIGION AND MORALITY AS THE BASES OF SOCIETY*

By Prof UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M A

I

The existing social order in most, if not all, countries of the world, is still based on religion and morality is perhaps still the steel-frame upon which the *structure of society* is built Social institutions are moral institutions And man's rights, and duties and responsibilities centre round these institutions Man is a moral agent because he is a social being and he is a social being, because he is moral And if society is founded upon morality, morality in its turn has its foundation in religion Religion thus is the deep fountain head of all our strivings and aspirations—in fact of all our life's endeavour

Stability of social order depends,—at any rate, it has so long depended—on religious beliefs Man can be reconciled to social inequalities only if he believes in a moral order and a divine administration Caste in India for instance, inspite of its apparent hardships as a part of social structure, was acquiesced in because there was a religious sanction behind it The inequalities of birth and wealth were submitted to because of man's belief in a previous birth and the fruits of *Karma* Even without a belief in a previous birth, in all countries there was the general belief in divine dispensation and society was what it was because God wished it so And His wishes were expressed in the moral law Social order is thus a moral and spiritual order

This belief still finds acceptance in many quarters Many of us still think that human society would not last if moral ideas were banished and religious beliefs were abolished But we live in a time when this proposition can *no longer be affirmed without fear of contradiction* The very facts of man's social life—the inequalities between man and man, the difference in power and opportunities—the difference between what they in economics call the 'haves' and 'have-nots'—are tending to undermine man's religious belief The ideas of justice and retribution have undergone changes and these facts of difference between man and man are cited as evidence of inequity and injustice of the existing social order, and the continuance of a wrong once perpetrated by one *section of the population upon another* There is a growing tendency to alter these facts and therefrom alter the spiritual theories with which these facts were supported *viz* Religion

In economico political theories of social recon truction we hear the cry against vested interests And religion is always suspected to be an ally of vested interests Of course, this does not apply to the religious emotion of the individual—to religion in the abstract—but to organized religion,—or, what is the same thing—to the institution of the Church or, where an actual church does not exist to the organized theological creed—the dogmas This attitude *of hostility towards religion* is not new to our age In two great countries of the world during a period of a tremendous upheaval, religion has been condemned as the most impregnable fortress of reactionary forces by those who constituted themselves the vanguard of progress During the Revolution in France at the end of the 18th century and also during its more recent counterpart in Russia at the beginning of the 20th religion was found opposed to the improvement of the lot of the masses for whose souls it professed so much concern During both these great events of history, two things that were most violently attacked were property and *religion Aristocracy of birth also suffered* but that was chiefly because it owned property

This tendency has not died out with the success of the Russian Revolution Even in Turkey of today, the home of the old Caliphate, *a recent traveller has discovered that 'Allah has* been dethroned' In Nazi Germany, if recent newspaper reports are to be credited the relation between the Government and the Church is far from happy And in Fascist Italy too, some time ago between the Vatican and the Secular Government the relations were strained to a breaking point

That religion is a conservative tendency in society cannot be denied That it is opposed to any kind of innovation even though such innovation may be manifestly for the better, is

* Presidential *Address at the Section of Ethics and* Social Philosophy, Indian Philosophical Congress, Nagpur, December, 1937

also not untrue Nearer home those of us who are engaged in the struggle for political better ment of their country know well enough how the cry of 'religion in danger' often procures an unholy alliance of men and parties and thwarts progress

In the world today, in more countries than one, social progress is synonymous with economic welfare and political power A society is con sidered progressive if political power in it lies in the hands of a majority and if economic poverty is reduced to a minimum Even in countries more or less free from the influence of Marxian economics, this is the usual idea of progress In countries dominated by Marx's theories—in a country like Russia, for instance, "dialectic materialism" is the creed of pro-gressive thinkers In any case, the leading tendency among political and economical thinkers of the day is to dissociate religion from social progress

It is not for its alleged opposition to social and political progress only that religion has been condemned It has been attacked on other grounds, too We have an excellent summary of the modern challenge to religion in Sir S Radhakrishnan's book *An Idealist View of Life* Religion today is being attacked on all fronts By the new psychologies—especially psycho analysis—religion is being exposed as at best an 'unhealthy' condition of the mind By science it is being shown to be founded on unproved premises And by socio-political re-formers it is being attacked as the last citadel of reactionary conservatism

The antagonism between science and religion is an old anecdote But during the last century attempts at reconciliation have been made chiefly through the mediation of philo-sophy The result perhaps has not been quite happy Philosophy by this gratuitious act of mediation has often incurred the displeasure of both science as well as religion Both look upon it as meddlesome and needlessly interfering in other peoples' business And the result is that with all this, science and religion are still at loggerheads

The attempt at reconciliation between the two, was further implemented by the advent of natural theology, which threw revelation into the background and depended mainly on the labours of science for its belief in God and its knowledge of divine nature

But inspite of its proffered friendship for science-religion is faring little better in the hands of science than before An offshoot of philo-sophy's alliance with science has been the new psychologies And psychology today professes to probe deep into the mysteries of religious consciousness and thinks it has found out the sources of man's religious life Religion is after all a kind of neurosis—a kind of physical unhealth

Religion is dependent on a view of man's place in the cosmos and his destiny which science has seldom condescended to support When science is interpreted by philosophy, the facts of science seem to yield better results, for instance, the facts of biological and cosmic evolution have been supposed by philosophy to prove the existence of a Designer behind the world process But left to itself, science would not accept the conclusions of which philosophy is so fond

Philosophers generally believe that there is a purpose behind the world processes and that that purpose may even be traced in the general scheme of things The vast inorganic world is adapted to the appearance of life on earth—and life came on earth in order that man might appear on the scene and in man we find a further unfolding of the scheme,—from mind we pass to morality and morality is destined to lead to a fuller spiritual life Religion is founded on some such world view and on a belief in a world beyond this But this world-view is challenged by science Science is not inclined to see purpose where religion thinks there is one And the scheme of things is inter-preted by science in a way which may fill the mind with wonder, yet does not always lead to a belief in God

Astronomers, who claim to be more con-versant with the vastness of the universe than philosophers, are inclined to think that, although life and mind and morality have actually appeared on the stage of the earth, it cannot be said that the universe happened to exist *in order that* life might come and life did not happen to begin in order that mind might come and so on That is to say, according to astro-nomy, the teleological interpretation of the universe is not borne out by facts The universe was not intended to be only a means to an end and that end was never intended to be man's spiritual life

Sir James Jeans in his book *The Mysterious Universe* compares the vastness of the universe with the earth

"The total number of stars in the universe is probably something like the total number of grains of sand on all the sea-shores of the world" (p. 1)

And the majority of them are at such great distance from the earth that light from them takes 50 million years to reach and [illegible] travels at the rate of 1,86,000 [illegible]nd

And some of these stars are so large that hundreds of thousands of earths could be packed inside each and leave room to spare! Compared to the vastness of space and to the total mass of the universe, the earth we inhabit is *absolutely insignificant*. Was *this vast universe* designed to produce life and life only on this insignificant earth? For

"Life of the kind we know on earth could only originate on planets like the earth" (p. 4). It seems incredible that the universe can have been designed primarily to produce life like our own. had it been so surely we might have expected to find a better proportion between the *magnitude of the machanism and the* amount of the product. At first glance at least life seems to be an utterly unimportant by-product we living things are somehow off the main line.

It was an accident that life came upon the earth and an accident may again sweep it off into nothingness.

What is true of life must be more true of morality and spirituality. For these things we come across only as we ascend the scale of life.

The proposition implied here is that life was no doubt *caused* by the world process at a particular point of time in a particular portion of space but it was not the *end* for which the rest of the universe came into being. Of course the controversy between causality and finality is still alive. Science wants to explain the universe according to the principle of causality —or, what is the same thing, it explains the present by the past what is by what has gone before, whereas philosophy and theology tends to explain things according to finality—the present by the future or what it will lead to. And we have yet to decide which is the right view. Until thought is definitely in favour of the doctrine of finality, religion cannot regard *itself as out of danger*.

Religion is thus considered an unwanted hostile element both by science as well as social philosophy. Perhaps religion is here being made to pay for the past. Since the execution of Socrates till the time of Kant and Fichte, the champions and pioneers of thought have often been oppressed and persecuted by the custodians of traditional religion. And the tendency of religion to dominate thought and activity is not dead even now. No wonder therefore that free thought and progressive activity smells in it a perennial enemy. Will religion survive this attack?

Idealism of course thinks that no substitute for religion can be found. Says Sir S. Radhakrishnan

"The different attempts to accommodate God to the needs of the modern mind are not quite successful in their ambition. Their one lesson is that, notwithstanding the transformation of life, the shifting of moral values and the pre-occupations of the times, the primal craving *for the eternal and the abiding remains inextinguishable*. Unbelief is impossible. Along with a deep discontent with the standard forms of religion there is a growing seriousness about it. The forms are dissolving but the needs persist."[1]

That the standard forms of religion are dissolving is an admitted fact. But whether the needs of a religion are felt by all is not equally certain. Statistics collected some time ago by an American writer shewed that among educated people the percentage of those who believed in God and in immortality and allied ideas of religion was rather small. And in the post-war literature of Europe the challenge to religion is more marked than before. One recent writer calls it an intellectual crime to say what we do not know and hastens to add that God is such an unknown entity. God is not known, and it is an intellectual crime to make any statement about Him.[2]

In India relics of mediaevalism are perhaps still there. Both within Hinduism as well as *outside there has been what some are pleased* to call a religious revival but what at best is religion untouched by science and unimproved by philosophy. There has grown a stupendous literature in English and in the vernaculars describing the lives and doings of Saints and *Avatars*. Almost every other district has a messiah and a multitude dogging his steps. At best this is rank mediaevalism and cannot last long. Social and political workers know to their cost how such recrudescence of faith in old *forms retard what many of us call progress*. In the world of today, nowhere outside India perhaps, do we find grouping of men on religious basis alone. In India, even political parties are formed with religious profession as the only cementing force. Outside India nationality is independent of religious persuasion. No nation is formed on the basis of religion and no political party is formed on the same principle. Even in the unchanging east, even in immobile China, recent times have seen a Christian leading the country to freedom and Mahomedans holding important positions in the State—and this in spite of the fact that China is pre-eminently a Buddhist country.

If the Christian countries of Europe and America could combine on the grounds of a common religion, white domination of the world would have been a settled fact. Nations of Europe are not one politically, even though they are all Christians. Being a Hindu or a

1. *An Idealist View of Life* p. 82.
2. Janet Chance *Intellectual Crime*

Christian is not an agreement in essentails but in the form of religious worship and observance This is much less fundamental than many other things of our life Hence a grouping of men on this ground alone obviously implies a mediaevalism, against which progressive political thinkers have a right to raise their voice

We could speak of a 'growing seriousness' about religion only if it were the fact that these forms were found dissolving But the contrary is the case here The forms are being tightened And to the extent they are being emphasised, the essence of religion, one feels inclined to think, is being stifled out of existence Seriousness about religion does not grow *in spite* of the dissolution of the standard forms but it is rather the dissolution of the forms that makes a seriousness about religion possible So long as man concentrates attention on the form, the content escapes

Sir S Radhakrishnan says

"The philosophical fashions of naturalism, atheism, agnosticism, scepticism humanism and authoritarianism are obvious and easy, but they do not show an adequate appreciation of the natural profundity of the human soul"[3]

But neither is an adequate appreciation of the profundity of the human soul shown by the stubborn resistance to all innovations that established religions always offer And the mushroom growth of religious institutions and the appearance of prophets and saviours like the prophet's Gourd, is not a sign of health in any society Can we really say that the world of stars and planets—from the milky way to the solar system—will dwindle into a chaotic mass of aimlessly moving electrons and protons, once we give up our belief in the prophethood of X or the messiahship of Y, and that they will at once acquire a new significance as soon as such belief is restored? Yet religion for most men mean nothing more than this

As against the mediaevalism of some countries especially those of the East, there is progressive movement in others Any one who observes the array of forces against religion today cannot but think that the old forms of religion are bound to disappear And perhaps they ought to disappear In most cases, the forms have been more important,—more obtrusive than the matter And the forms have therefore, to go But that does not mean that we shall be left with a blank in its place Civilization must needs have a religion But it must be the religion of philosophy, the religion of reason, the religion that takes account of the changed conditions of our life, the religion that is shorn of its dilapidated forms, and the religion that will not be a clog to the wheel of progress

The mind that looks behind but not before is a stagnant mind And a religion that takes its cue from the dead past and cannot adapt itself to the present and shape itself according to the future, is approaching death Science 1300 years old is not science today Can religion of antiquity be so? Religion formulated centuries ago, must allow itself to be remodelled or it mu t be extinct We must remember that stabilisation of belief is stagnation of intellect A religion also like other social institutions must be judged morally And if so judged, will not many of the existing forms of religion be found wanting? Can we support morally all that is practised everywhere in the name of religion?

Of course, we are discussing here religion as a social institution This institution is based on an ideology which is admittedly undergoing rapid transformation As the individuals' convictions about it are altered, its form must either be adapted to new ideas or be no more Most of the old forms of religion have been shorn of their value, and men must find satisfaction of their spiritual needs in religion which philosophy alone can provide To quote Sir Sarvapalli again

"It is the function of philosophy to provide us with a spiritual rallying centre, a synoptic vis on as Plato loved to call it a samanvaya as the Hindu thinkers put it a philosophy which will serve as a spiritual concordat, which will free the spirit of religion from the dis ntegra tions of doubt and make the warfare of creeds and sects a thing of the past."[4]

Yes, the warfare of the creeds and sects must be a thing of the past!

A modern war is not a war of religion It is neither a crusade nor a *jehad*, but a clash of economic and political ambitions Yet a warfare of religious creeds and sects is not altogether a thing of the past There are still countries and communities for which the old forms of religion have supreme value and which are yet prepared to fight for their continuance In such countries and with such communities a religious war is not yet a thing of the past The spectacle of men fighting each other for the sake of religious observances and customs which to the philosophers have no special significance, may yet be seen But if philosophy functions properly, it ought to be a thing of the past.

Philosophy must instil courage into the mind of humanity to shake off the obsession of the fossilized past—and not to feel forlorn when

3. *Ibid*, page 82.

4. *Ibid*, page 83.

it sees the dilapidated relics of antiquity swept away by the hurricane of time

But when this happens, what of the existing religions will be left to mankind? The customs associated with religion—however deep the allegory behind them may be—are unessential The slaughter of one animal rather thar another—a fast on the tenth day of the moon rather than on the twelfth—sabbath on the first day of the week rather than on the last—does not imply more of religion If religion is ever rationalized these accretions must cease to have any importance In rational religion, not only will the beliefs be adjusted to science, but the acts also will be harmonised with social and political welfare and peace and progress

A picture of the future religion of mankind cannot be drawn except perhaps negatively We can definitely say that the observances over which religious sects quarrel with each other, must not be there And if a religion cannot exist without some form or other, it will have such rites and observances which are not offensive to others or to good taste and decency

RELATIVE READINESS OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS TO DEFEND INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Some Muhammadan politicians claim that their weightage (*i e* over representation) in the various legislatures is justified by the fact that in the Indian Army the proportion of Muhammadans is greater than their population quota The Hindus retort that recruits are not taken in the Indian Army from so called non martial races (mainly Hindus) for political reasons Just as the British Imperialist have given weightage to them in the Councils and Assemblies, so they have preferred them in the Army

A measure of the relative readiness of the Hindus and the Muhammadans to shoulder the responsibilities of defence can be estimated *from the respective number of candidates* (*i e* those who in their own opinion are fit for the posts) for entry to the Indian Military Academy who presented themselves before the Interview and Record Boards in 1936 37 We give below the relevant statistics

Candidates by Communities	Oct Nov 1936	Mar Apr l 1937	Total
Hindus	73	39	112
Muslims	21	15	36
Sikhs	24	15	39
Parsis	3	Nil	3
Anglo-Indians	2	1	3
Europeans	2	Nil	2
Indian Christian	1	1	2
No Religion	Nil	1	1
Buddhist (Burmese)	1	*Nil*	1
	127	72	199

Thus the Muhammadans furnished less than 18 per cent although on a population basis they should send some 24 per cent candidates

Now it may be urged by the protagonists of the Muhammadans that *perhaps among the* so called non-martial races the Muhammadans form the majority and as a consequence the Muhammadans supply a less than their 'proportional to general population' quota

Let us examine the facts, a little more closely We give in the table below the number *of candidates by Provinces and States* and calculate what should be their quota

Candidates by Provinces and States	Total No of Candidates	Percentage of Muhammadans in the Provinces	Muhammadans Quota
Punjab	88	57	51
Madras	7	67	05
N W Frontier	8	916	7
U P	31	14	4
Bengal	5	55	26
Bombay	16	9	1.5
Burma	7	3.8	.2
C P	5	4	.2
Bihar	2	15	.3
Sind	1	75	75
Delhi	3	29	1
Baluchistan	1	83	1
Ajmer	1	20	.2
Coorg	2	8	1
States	22	22	5
			75.3

According to our above calculation there should have been 75 Muhammadan candidates, but actually there were 36 *i e*, a number less than half their proper share

[These facts are taken from the little booklet supplied to the Members of the Council of State.]

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc are not noticed The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered No criticism of book reviews and notices is published —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW

ENGLISH

THE EVALUATION OF PERMANENT INCAPACITY FOR WORK IN SOCIAL INSURANCE. *Studies and Reports, Series M (Social Insurance), No 14, x+375 pp Price Paper cover, 10s 6d $2 75 International Labour Office (League of Nations), Indian Branch, Delhi.*

The evaluation of permanent incapacity affects the rights of millions of injured and disabled workers Workmen's compensation and invalidity insurance require for their proper working a suitable definition of the incapacity for which benefit is payable and well-considered methods of evaluation

The problems which arise in the evaluation of permanent incapacity are both numerous and difficult they are especially so for countries which are just taking up *social insurance*

The Office decided to undertake, in collaboration with its Committee of Experts for Social Insurance, a study of the chief problems involved in the evaluation of permanent incapacity The work which the International Labour Office has just published sets forth the results of this study It consists essentially of a comparison, and a critical analysis, of the methods widely used for the evaluation of incapacity in workmen's compensation on the one hand, and in invalidity insurance on the other It does not purport to be a handy guide to the evaluation of incapacity, nor is it a sort of international schedule, the value of which would necessarily be questionable in view of the diversity of physical types, the different possibilities of rehabilitation, and the unequal duration of life, especially working life, in the various regions of the world.

The publication is of topical interest as several of the Indian provincial governments are now seriously considering the feasibility of introducing social insurance schemes in this country The present publication makes available to those interested in the complex problems of social insurance a comparison and a critical analysis of the methods used in the leading industrial countries for the evaluation of workmen's incapacity on the one hand, and invalidity insurance on the other

FINAL REPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS MIXED COMMITTEE ON THE RELATION OF NUTRITION TO HEALTH, AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC POLICY. *League of Nations, Geneva. India League of Nations (Indian Bureau), Improvement Trust Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay I The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, 4/4A, Calcutta 327 pages Price 7s 6d $2.00 Ser L O N P 1937, II A 10*

The Report is the result of two years' work by an international committee of agricultural, economic and health experts under the auspices of the League It is concerned for the main part with the economic aspects of nutrition policy and with its relations to agriculture To complete the picture, a chapter on the physiological side of the problem from the Interim Report of the Committee (The Problem of Nutrition 4 Vols, 1936) has been included modified in the light of recent nutrition research

The Report is divided into three parts The first part, which has three chapters, gives a general survey of the problem and of the work already carried out The introductory chapter traces the activities of the Mixed Committee since its inception and of other international bodies working *on the problem of nutrition The second* chapter outlines the development of the science of nutrition and indicates the role played by nutrition in the striking improvment in public health and in the increase in population which occurred in the course of the past century The third chapter summarises the contents and conclusions of the Report and reproduces the recommendations published by the Committee in its Interim Report

The second part of the Report is devoted exclusively to the health aspect *of nutrition It contains* a clear account of the main principles of the "new knowledge of nutrition" as they have been developed by recent research, a description of the nature and functions of the most important vitamins and minerals and of the diseases resulting from their deficiency, an analysis of the nutritive qualities of various foods, and their classification as "energy bearing" or "protective", the dietary requirements of particular classs of persons, expectant and nursing mothers, infants children of pre-school and school *age adolescents, recruits and adults*, and a summary of the dietary standards adopted by the Technical Commission of the Health Organization of the League of Nations and of the valuation placed by this Commission on various important foodstuffs

The third part of the Report contains a more detailed examination of the economic and agricultural considera*tions connected with nutrition policy It begins* by tracing the main changes which have occurred in food consumption habits during the last few decades and reaches *the conclusion that average consumption in most countries* of Western civilization has on the whole been tending in the direction of improved nutrition The second chapter discusses the problem of the adaptation of agriculture to the desired changes in consumption. It is demonstrated that agriculture has shown considerable powers of adaptation in the past, in particular where no obstacles have prevented changes in demand from

expressing themselves through changes in price. It is argued that an extension of the movement towards better nutrition should prove of benefit to national agricultural systems, calling both for an increased production of protective foods—fruit, vegetables and dairy products—and for an increased output of various cereals for fodder.

Chapter III is concerned with the relation of food prices to consumption and shows that the demand for most foodstuffs—particularly for the protective foods—is considerably sensitive to price changes. The effects of price movements on the mutual substitution of various foodstuffs, the significance of seasonal price movements, and the differences in elasticity of demand in various income groups are also discussed. The following chapter considers the main determinants of food prices on the supply side—technique and costs of production, commercial policy, marketing organizations and distribution costs. Particular reference is also made to the contribution of the co-operative movement in reducing retail food prices. The fifth and sixth chapters of Part III are devoted to the roles of income and of nutritional education in influencing consumption habits. The improvements in diet which accompany increased income are demonstrated from the results of family budget studies in various countries. A comparison between the existing distribution of incomes and the costs of minimum nutritionally adequate diets shows that malnutrition of important sections of the population and particularly of families with many young children, even in such relatively prosperous countries as the United States and the United Kingdom, can be directly traced to the effects of poverty.

The Report concludes with a collection of evidence relating to the present state of nutrition in various parts of the world demonstrating that in spite of the considerable progress that has taken place in recent decades, the problem is still an urgent one. "The malnutrition which exists in all countries is at once a challenge and an opportunity, a challenge to men's consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods which will increase economic prosperity."

This book is an authoritative and comprehensive study of the broader aspects of the problem of nutrition—a problem of world-wide importance. It is likely to form for years to come the basis of efforts by Governments and by private initiative to improve the nutrition of a very large part of the world's population. The book is eminently one for the general public as well as for the experts in the various fields covered by the study. Its simple style and comprehensive treatment of the subject make it easy to read.

S

CREATIVE SEX: *By E. D. Hutchinson with an Introduction by Canon C. F. Raven, D.D., London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, pp. 122. Price 3s. 6d. Size 5" ins. by 7½ ins.*

It is a sign of the times that women in increasing numbers are coming forward to discuss sex. This little volume by Mrs. Hutchinson is an effort to harmonize the recent sex movement in the west with Christianity. Although the book is not altogether free from a tinge of mysticism and some amount of vagueness it is on the whole a creditable production and will certainly be appreciated by religiously inclined persons. The author is inclined to believe with the late Dr. Rivers that it is only "when mental tension arises in the control of instincts and emotional energy is compressed that the best results are attained in artistic and intellectual work." "To such fine work the unmarried are called and in it can find satisfaction." Unfortunately for the author such fine assertions appear to be mere pious wishes in the cold light of statistics.

G. Bose

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY. Vol. III. The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 1790-93, *edited by Prof. Nirod Bhushan Ray. (Pp. xlu+694 and one portrait. Rs. 7-4-0.) Vol. IV.* Maratha-Nizam Relations, 1792-95, *edited by V. G. Dighe. (Pp. xxx+330, two portraits and one map. Rs. 4.) Government Book Depot, Bombay.*

We are glad to note that this exceptionally important series of historical records has been enriched by two more volumes. Though edited by two younger scholars, they well maintain the high level of excellence exemplified by the preceding volumes of this series which came out of the hands of veteran historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rai Bahadur Sardesai. Each of these new volumes breaks new ground for the Indian student, as their subjects, viz., the third Mysore War and the campaign of Kharda, had never before been illustrated with such a profusion of original despatches and other contemporary records. Here our vague general knowledge has been replaced by authentic information in the fullest detail.

The Bombay Government and the honorary editors alike deserve our warmest gratitude for making these valuable records available to us. The low price in the case of such admirably printed volumes deserves special recognition, and may well be imitated by certain other provincial Governments especially that of the Panjab, whose record publications are priced absurdly high.

The introductions, including Sir Jadunath's Foreword to the third volume, unfold in clear outline the main features of the episodes treated, especially the diplomacy of which we here get the clearest inside view for the first time. Justice has been done to Tipu Sultan's military genius and also to Cornwallis's wonderful powers of organization and his unfailing patience and foresight. In fact Prof. Ray's volume will henceforth be an inseparable companion to Wilks' *Mysore*, the standard authority on the subject. The student must have at his elbow a large atlas of Southern India, because in the case of a war ranging over nearly the whole of our peninsula, no single map can serve his purpose.

Mr. Dighe's volume will be a revelation to Marathi readers even, because the much vaunted Kharda campaign was hitherto known only in its general features, while the military movements and the diplomatic chess-play will all come as new. The excellent map illustrates the campaign most helpfully.

We should like to draw attention to two very valuable sections supplied to these volumes by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, namely, all the extant letters of the Nizam's French general Francois Raymond (in vol. 3) and Sir Charles Malet's most penetrating description and criticism of the Maratha army (or rather armies) that assembled for the fight at Kharda. Full details are available in Vol. IV, of the military organization of Raymond, "which may be compared with that of De Boigne, given in Vol. I" (edited by Sir Jadunath). The materials are thus at last before us for an accurate comparison of the training of Indian troops by the English and the French respectively. It is a subject of enthralling interest.

Brajendra Nath Banerji

HINDI FOLK-SONGS. *By A. G. Shirreff, I. C. S., Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 53. Price Re. 1.*

Anatole France has rightly said that the works that everybody admires are those that no one examines, for we receive them as a precious burden which we pass

on to others without glancing at them. Of course, I could not do so when I got Mr A. G Shirreff's little book A lover of Indian folk songs, I read it now and again.

Almost all the 15 songs given here represnt, more or less, Eastern Hindi Mr Shirreff owes these songs to Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi's Hindi book, *Kavita Kaumudi*, Part V, *Gram Git* We find Mr Shirreff retelling the story of Tripathiji's love for Hindi folk songs a single line of a song, which the village women sang on the railway platform bidding adieu to their husbands who are leaving for Calcutta, was sufficient to bring a turning point, so to say, in his life with his umbrella he sits on the knife-edge boundary of a rice-field taking down hurriedly the notes of the songs which the womenfolk engaged in the work of weeding sang in chorus Mr Shirreff compares Tripathiji standing outside the hut of a Chamar, with Jonathan Oldbuck recording a ballad of love and chivalry then we find the villagers suspecting Tripathiji to be a C. L D man, a fugitive from the court of justice, or a town Lothario bent on village intrigue

Mr Shirreff is, perhaps, a poet himself He loves narrative songs of the villagers He at once remembers the popular line of a Scottish song of Annie Laurie, "She's backit like the peacock, She's breistit like the swan," as soon as he hears the song of a U P village girl with her nose like a parrot's beak and her fingers like the bunches of the banana. He hears the echo of "Edward, Edward" in a tragic ballad of a brother's murder in some U P village The Hindi song of the faithful doe calls to his mind "The three ravens" in which the fallow-deer bears home the body of the slain knight

Now as regards the translation of the songs, one may find fault with Mr Shirreff "In the translations which follow," he writes in the introduction, "my aim has been to give as accurate a rendering as possible in a form which may remind English readers of folk poetry with which they are very familiar" But he has not always been literal and strictly faithful to the original colour of the songs. And one cannot be possibly so while rendering the songs in verse, as Mr Shirreff has done. I would omit the verse-scheme altogether where it is to be adopted at the cast of the originality and local colour of a particular song The idea of rendering the songs in verse with the object that they should remind English readers of their own ballads is very dangerous. It is only for the sake of verse-scheme that Mr Shirreff translates the refrain of a song, "त यहि रन बन में" as "under the greenwood tree" In song No 8 he translates the Hindi word "सारी" (sari) as "gown." Such a licence should not be allowed for it kills the spirit of the Indian folk song I do not know if the sari of an Indian woman looks really less lovely and beautiful than an English woman's gown but I would like to keep it as it is even in the English rendering In song No 2 the Hindi word "मचिया" is transformed into "Stool," and again the name of the Dhak tree under which the sad doe is seen sighing for the deceased deer, is reduced to only a green tree in the fair forest. Simple prose translations in good English, as we find in the case of Verrier Elwin's Gond folk-songs, can do much more justice to the original references to life and local colour of a country to which the songs belong "It was after adopting the lowland Scots dialect for some of these translations" says Mr Shirreff at one place, "that I found good authority for so doing in Legge's translations from what is the oldest collection of folk songs in the world, the Chinese Shiking." I do not know if all the English people can really follow the lowland Scots dialect. Even if some people may be able to follow it and enjoy it, what about the vast majority of international readers of books in English to whom the lowland Scots dialect cannot but be all Greek? Let us hope that in future Mr Shirreff will be saved from such a dangerous attempt as it is in the present case Mother India as well as the wide world of international literature will be more grateful to him if he offers more Hindi songs in good English prose, keeping in view the original local colour

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

AN ENGLISH VERSION OF THE ARTHASANGRAHA OF LANGAKSI BHASKARA *By R V Jahagirdar Dharwar, 1932*

This is not an ambitious but a useful work by a young scholar, meant chiefly for college students who want to study this well known treatise on the elements of Mimamsa. The work has already found several translators both in English and German. The present translation is hardly an improvement on the previous attempts but it will evidently serve the purpose for which it is intended. An inclusion of the Sanskrit text would have facilitated the reading of the English translation.

S K. DE

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING. *By N S Subba Rao Published in 1935*

This book comprises the materials contained in six lectures delivered by the author at the Madras University during 1932 and 1933 The principles of economic planning and their application to Indian conditions are dealt with from the point of view of the scientist and the inter action of controlled economy and *laissez faire* has been traced Although the author does not encourage the adoption of planned economy by India alone, he believes that greater stabilisation will follow in our economic life, if India becomes an integral part of a World plan or an Empire plan.

The book, however, does not provide the material from which the nature of planned economy in India may be visualised

INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OR THE WAY TO PROSPERITY *By S Lakshminarasiah, B.A 1935*

In this book the author deals with certain problems of Indian Economics and explains its methods on the back ground of India's socio-economic life The conservative manner of treatment of the various subjects and the uncalled for introduction of extraneous matters take away a good deal from the real u fulness of the book.

N SANYAL

DID MADAME BLAVATSKY FORGE THE MAHATMA LETTERS *By C Jinarajadasa. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras*

This book refers to a controversy about certain letters alleged to have been written by Mahatmas or Adepts, *i.e*, minds of a superior order living in an invisible world Many of the letters, in part or in whole, have been reproduced in this book. They are alleged to have been written to different persons in different countries and at different times and in different hand writing. They were despatched to the addressees sometimes by post, sometimes through messengers who appeared and disappeared in the twinkling of an eye and somet no one knows how Their contents always refer

to the Theosophical Movement or to the leaders and originators of the movement

A section of the world's public naturally refused to believe that the letters were genuine Madame Blavatsky was suspected of forgery The opinion of a hand writing expert, who examined some of these letters and declared them all to have been written by the same hand was the chief argument for such a theory The author of the present book challenges this opinion and declares that the letters were *not* forged His main argument is that an examination of the scripts shows that they were *not* by the same hand He has given facsimiles of the scripts and invites his readers to examine them and agree with him He does not doubt—nor does he allow others to doubt—*the possibility of such communication* and the existence of such minds or persons as the Mahatmas.

The Theosophical Society has many good points in its favour but when it asks a science-intoxicated world to believe such mysterious things as letters written on gross materials by the denizens of an invisible world and *equally mysterious despatch of such letters to persons* living here on this earth perhaps it asks men to strain their will to believe a little too much

U C BHATTACHARJEE

MEENAKSHI'S MEMOIRS *By Miss H Kaveri Bai, B A L T published by C A Natesan & Co, Madras Price Rs 3*

This is a novel of Indian Christian life as lived in Madras and South India generally The home-life of Indian converts to Christianity and their hopes and aspirations as a social or political entity are delineated with perfect realism and fidelity In the book under review the author takes the readers to the hearth and home of the Indian Christian Community and lays bare the real facts of their lives their hopes and dreams, their frailties and new ideas. The author treats with sympathy the drawbacks of the Indian Christian Community and states that under favourable circumstances and proper guidance they are also showing signs of national consciousness The author's style is simple and *appealing The printing leaves nothing to be desired* The get up of the book is excellent

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO 1938 *By S C Sarkar Sixth Year of Issue M C Sarkar and Sons Ltd, Calcutta. Pp 357 Rupee one only*

The latest issue of this year book maintains its past standard, and will be useful to students and publicists An important feature of this year book is a summary of the new constitution of India

P B S

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT? *By J C Kumarappa Hindustan Publishing Co, Ltd., Rajahmundry, S India, 1936 Pp 91 Price Annas eight*

The book sets out the economic ideas underlying the All India Village Industries Association Instead of offering humanity more material comforts through centralised production and of more leisure to be filled in anyhow by cultural pursuits, *the basic purpose of the* Association is to distribute work more equitably, and make work itself a school for the unfoldment and proper fulfilment of the individual. It thus proposes to rescue work from its irksomeness as under centralisation, it stands not only for decentralisation but also for the replacement of the profit motive by that of service and *human welfare*

MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION 1937 *Official Handbook and Guide Bangalore, 1937*

This sumptuously illustrated volume is not merely a guide to the Dasara Exhibition of 1937, but also contains a sufficiently detailed description of the industrial and cultural activities of the State It will prove a helpful guide to intending visitors to Mysore

A GUIDE TO SERINGAPATAM *By Dr M H. Krishna, M.A., D Litt (Lond.) Published for the Government of Mysore. Bangalore, 1937 Price Four Annas Pp 25, plates 8 and 2 maps*

This booklet forms the first of a series of guide books for the use of travellers in Mysore It is well written and well illustrated

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM PART I EARLY INDIAN SCHOOLS *By N C Majumdar Archæological Survey of India, Delhi, 1937 Price 1 2 or 2s Pp 106 and 12 plates*

The book deals with the Maurya and Sunga sculptures exhibited in portions of the Indian Museum The sculptures are described in a manner suitable for the general reader, while a list of the inscriptions with translations is given at the end of the book The plates are very well printed and are of a representative character

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE MAHABRATA IN ENGLISH PART I (containing the first Ten Parvas) *By Ramanadasa K S. Seshagiri, B.A., 138, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras, price annas ten*

The writer has skilfully pieced together the threads of the main plot of the Mahabharata as occuring in the first ten Parvas

ISANCHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

SRI BHAGAVAD GITA EDITED WITH A GLOSS SIDDHIDATRI *By Raj Vaidya Jivarama Kalidas Sastri, Gondala, Kathiawar Pp 153 Price not mentioned*

The editor claims that he has revised the Gita in the light of a rare and ancient manuscript with various readings incorporated therein

The introduction supplies various information as to Gita its nature and its history, etc. for which many will be benefited to a great extent, though there are several points which require evidence or justification As for instance, we can not take it as a settled fact from the mere statement of the learned editor, that Sankaracharya flourished about 2,500 years ago His time we believe to be not before 686 A D *i.e* 1251 years before this day (*Vide* 'Acharya Sankar and Ramanuja' in Bengali)

Then the learned editor enters into the discussion as to the number of the slokas of Gita. In this connection he says that the number should be 745 according to a statement by Vedavyasa himself in his Mahabharata, instead of 700, which is current since the time of Sankaracharya whose commentary is the oldest one now extant.

However the present edition under review consists only of 719 slokas with different readings based upon 18 MSS collected by him the oldest of which dates back up to 1392 A D and some printed editions of the same with commentaries of much later period

The learned editor is also writing a commentary in the name of 'Chandraghanta" which he expects to be

completed and published soon with the 26 slokas still wanting He is confident that these 26 slokas will be found in some of the MSS in libraries not yet explored and for which he invites the co-operation of the Sanskrit knowing Hindu public. He has already found out that in Persian translation of Gita made in the time of the Mahomedan Emperors in the sixteenth century A D., there were 745 slokas in the original, and thus it is not an impossible task for him to discover a MS of the sacred book containing full 745 slokas. This is no doubt a very laudable attempt on the part of the learned editor in these days of research We earnestly hope that his attempt may be crowned with success But there is one thing to which we wish to draw the attention of the learned editor How can we expect the authenticity of such a MS of 745 slokas which was not written before 2500 or 1300 years, i.e, the time of Sankaracharya How is it, that Sankaracharya with a host of his follow ers, and the other Acharyas of other schools, with their d sciples and adherents, failed to notice this discrepancy of a book which is equally authoritative like the Upanishads. So it suggests in our mind that there must have been a difference in the method of counting the slokas as it is in the case of Durgasaptasate, or it may be said that since many of our religious books were written down from memory after they were destroyed by the Buddhists, just after the reign of Bhajya Raja of Dhara this discrepency has crept in However how far this latter fact will explain the difference in the reading of the book in MSS of later date is a thing which requires a careful consideration of all of us The tables supplied for the different readings are not qu te intelligible and leave room for improvement The English rendering of the gloss Siddhidatri is most in teresting aspect of the book, the arguments therein in favour of correct readings require careful examination However we may expect that the learned editor will soon complete his commentary "Chandraghanta" and publish an edition of 745 slokas of the sacred book at an early date. RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT

SRUTI KALPALATA, *with an annotation by Srimad Wamana Pandit Published by Tikaram Pundalik Sekhia, Book-sellers and Publishers Madhavbag, Bombay Pp 268 Price Rs 3/8/*

This is a Sanskrit commentary on the Vedastuti, the 87th Chapter of the 10th Book of Srimadbhagavata Purana, with a very valuable introduction by Pand t Ram Chandra Mahadeva Athavle of the council of Masura sharam, Nanpada, Thana Bombay, both in Sanskrit and Engl sh

The commentary is very exhaustive and illuminating and is written in a very lucid and simple Sanskrit. It contains innumerable quotations from Upanishads, and explains the most knotty points of Philosophy with admirable accuracy The quotations from Upanishads prove that Bhagavata Purana is nothing but a recapitula tion of Vedanta, i.e., the Upanishads, although technically Bhagavat doctrine was refuted by Vedavyasa in his Brahmasutras. The commentary was written by Pandit Wamana of Maharastra, who flourished in the 17th century of the Saka era, and who was celebrated for his profound scholastic learning and was possessed of unquestionable devotion with rare spiritual power This brilliant commentary of Vedastuti will be found very much useful to those who want to make a comparative study of the book with the teachings of the Upanishads. The whole commentary is based on the Advaita Vedanta system, but perfectly in consonance with the philosophy of devotion, i.e., the Bhakti cult We are sure this book will attract the attention of a large section of intell gent public specially of the Pandits and savants in Sanskrit Philosophy The editing is also commendable as also its printing which is elegant. We trust this publication will be well received by the public. RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

HINDI

HITLER MAHAN *By Acharya Chandra-sekhar Sastri. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Mandir, Delhi. Pp 382 Price Rs 3/*

The scheme of reorganization in Germany, and in cidentally the part played by Hitler in bringing that about are delineated in this book. The writer has drawn his materials from such authoritative works as Hitler's *My Struggle* and General Goering s *Germany Reborn.* This is a welcome addition to Hindi literature in the branch of contemporary history There are several illustrations

BIMA-SANDES *By Manibhai Gopalji Desai Bombay Pp 70 Price /6/*

Translated from the Gujarati edition The author has put together in a nutshell all the various topics connected with the life insurance business

KALA *By Kaka Kalelkar Translated by Hrishikes Sarma. The Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad. Delhi. Pp 106 Price /8/ 1937*

This as a dissertation on Art and its place in the philosophy of life Both Indian and Western theories of Art are discussed here The Appendix treats of the theories about the *rasas* The author deplores the ugli ness of life in modern times because it is divorced from Art RAMES BASU

BENGALI

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH OR ENCYCLOPÆDIA BENGALENSIS *Edited by Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, M.A., with many learned and competent assistant editors Published by Syt Satish Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Secretary Indian Research Institute, 170, Manicktala Street, Calcutta Price per number eight annas*

We have noticed this excellent encyclopædia previ ously several times. The article on Ajanta covers pages 658-664 of No 18 and pages 665-692 of No 19 For an encyclopædia article it is fairly exhaustive and is profusely illustrated It is written by Mr Ajit Ghosh, who is known to possess adequate information on the subject We notice two omiss ons in the bibliography The editor of *Prabasi* wrote an illustrated article on the Ajanta cave paintings 37 years ago in the very first number of *Prabasi*. Perhaps Mr Ghosh does not know this Sister Nivedita wrote more than one article on Ajanta in *The Modern Review* Mr Ghosh does not mention these also In the article on Akshay Kumar Maitra also in this encyclopæd a his contributions to *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* were not mentioned

BANGIYA SABDAKOSH *By Pandit Haricharan Bandyopadhyaya of Santiniketan Price per number, published monthly, eight annas*

This lexicon, which will be the biggest Bengali dictionary when complete, has been reviewed and praised in *Prabasi* by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji and by the editor several times. It has been reviewed in *The Modern Review* also favourably ere this. As the work of one man it is a remarkable achievement. It is noteworthy not merely on that account It is scholarly, comprehen sive and accurate. Forty nine numbers have been pub lished up to date, the last word in the 49th number

being "Devadatta All university, college, high school and town public libraries should include this meritorious work in their collections Nearly half the work has been published The entire manuscript was complete long ago and is being revised and re written part by part

PRANTIK, OR BORDERLAND POEMS *By Rabindranath Tagore Visva bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta Price eight annas*

Except a few all the poems in this little book were written by the poet after his recent serious illness. The last two were written on the 25th December 1937 The last but one denounces predatory imperialism, such as is in evidence in the Sino-Japanese War, in words of prophetic indignation

VISVA PARICHAYA OR AN INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIVERSE *By Rabindranath Tagore Second Edition Visva bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street Calcutta. Price one rupee*

We noticed this book, meant for boys and girls when it was first published That a second edition of a scientific work should be required in less than four months, is something new in Bengal The excellence of the book perhaps supplies the explanation, and perhaps also the fact that it has been written by a great poet In the present edition the author has subjected it to thorough revision Though written for juvenile readers, old readers like us learn from it many things which we did not know before D

SRI NIMBARKACHARYA O TANHAR DHARMA MAT *By Pulin Bihari Bhattacharya M A To be had of the author Village Mahasahasra, P O Rajnagar District Sylhet Assam Pp 149 Price Rs 1/8/*

This is a little unpretentious work on Nimbarka the famous Vaishnava teacher and his doctrines and incidentally it discusses a number of matters connected with Vaishnavism and the various Vaishnava sects and schools It is a well written book although with an orthodox view point. History and chronology are not its strong points as a number of mistakes of omission and commission would show nor is the author's attitude that of the scientific student of history Nevertheless, the average reader will find the book an useful introduction to the subject and will obtain from it a clear expose of the philosophy of the sect

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TELUGU

MAHABHARATA KAURAVARANGAM *By Umar Alisha, M L A (Central), President, Vignana Vidya Peetam, Pithapur Pp 115 Price Re 1/*

A drama in seven acts The subject of the work needs no introduction Throughout the pages of the work, Mr Alisha influences the reader and enlists his sympathy for Duryodhan The treatment of the subject at the hands of this well known Telugu Poet is commendable

R S BHARADWAJ

GUJARATI

VASUNDHARA NAN VAHALAN DAVLAN *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Swadhen Printing Press, Ranpur Cloth bound Pp 256 Price Re 1-8-0 (1937)*

This story a realistic one is a vivid representation of the life led by a certain class of society in Kathiawad, *viz.*, the class between the middle and the lower one The tatoo woman Tejudi, the boy with a lip cut—a helping hand to the wandering Madari—the man who goes about with a monkey, and a bear and gives street entertainments, and the blind, motherless child of four, form a trinity round which the story revolves In homely language studded with words and expressions of Kathiawad's dialect—in the nature of a handicap to a reader of Gujarat Mr Meghani has successfully attempted to breathe life into them, and we feel as if we were eye witnesses of the joy and the sorrow being felt by them as incident after incident is narrated by the writer

BUDDHA CHARIT By Dharmanand Kosambi. Printed at the Utkrighta Printing Press Ahmedabad Thick Cover Board Pp 360 Price Re 1-4 (1937)

When Achatya Dharmanand Kosambi writes any thing on the life and times of Gautama Buddha, it is a guarantee of the fact that the reader gets everything that is genuine and based on authority This interesting volume is the best life of Buddha till now to be had in Gujarati Its characteristic feature is that it tells the truth even at the risk of offending religious feelings and pet theories of people, for instance the author shows conclusively that Buddha did not inculcate *Ahimsa*, non killing of cattle for food in the sense understood at present What he preached was a prohibition of the sacrifice of cattle, robbed from poor people by the rich man who performed a sacrifice (*yajna*) He also shows that in those times Jain *Shramanas* partook of flesh food, and that the revolt against it came later The story is told in a very engaging way and an excellent index at the end considerably helps the reader

SHERATHA NI ARTHIK TAPAS *By Vithaldas M Kothari and Jhaverbhai P Patel Printed at the Aditya Printing Press Ahmedabad Pp 45 Paper Cover Price annas four (1937)*

A typical small village in North Gujarat was selected for Economic Survey of its industries and the mode of life of its inhabitants. The result is a valuable pamphlet which notices the difficulties of the workers in this line, even in those days, due to the mistrust, in consequence of the ignorance and illiteracy of the villagers It is a very useful record of facts and interesting from several points of view

K. M J

THE STRIBODH SPECIAL, *edited by Mrs Maniben Nanubhai Desai*

It is a handsome special number of a Gujarati monthly *Stribodh*, which has rendered during its long career of 82 years yeomen's services to the cause of womanhood The special feature that attracts our notice in this publication is that its contributors are all ladies and that it has been edited also by a lady

The subjects discussed cover a wide range, social political and literary, and the contributors are some of the most eminent social and political workers of India, amongst them being women of renown like Mrs. Uma Nehru, Hon Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs Rameshwari Nehru Dr Mrs Muthulakshmi Reddy Mrs Dharamshila Lal Bar at Law Mrs Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Mrs Hansa Mehta Mrs Lilawatti Munshi and others. Their thoughtful articles all invite attention and are worth a perusal Mrs Mani Desai in an illuminating article discusses the relationship of Russian Women with Family and dispels the false notion that the new order of things in that land without unemployment has shattered the family life and has made its women miserable The number contains some entertaining short stories too, amongst which "Poor Empress," 'Prayashchitta," "Parajaya" and "Madagantha" deserve special mention.

R K.

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Anthropology Section

The proceedings of the Anthropology section began in the Ashutosh Building on January 4, under the presidency of Dr B S Guha The session was unique as besides the leading anthropologists of this country, a large number of distinguished members of the foreign delegation, such as Profs H J Fleure, F R S, R A Fisher, F R S, R Ruggles Gates, F R S, H Peake (Ex-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Great Britain), F W Thomas Frhr von Eickstedt and H Holosworth, was present Dr Mrs E W Macfarlane, Research Associate of the University of Michigan and Drs M B Emenau and D G Mandelbaum of the Yale University, who are carrying on anthropological investigations in this country also took part in the meetings Besides the reading of papers, there were three sectional discussions on "Blood Grouping and Racial Classification," "The Importance of Anthropological Studies *for India*" and "A *Programme of Archæological* Excavations for India"

The papers read, dealt with both the general questions of the scope and functions of anthropology, methods of racial analysis, blood group distributions and particular items of interest

Discussing the question of the proper scope of anthropology from the cultural standpoint, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi pleaded for the study of the higher and spiritual side of Man and deplored in this connection the action of the National Institute of Sciences of India for including Anthropology under zoology, for the science of Man was concerned not only with his zoological history, but should also study the outward manifestations of the Eternal Spirit which resides in man and lifts him above other animals Frhr von Eickstedt on the other hand, considered that as a scientific discipline Anthropology could only deal with the biological study of Anthropos himself, and the modern idea of a holistic anthropology was the only logical and scientific conception of the subject Prof R A Fisher, Galton Professor of Eugenics of the London University, in a very suggestive paper on the functions of Physical Anthropology remarked that racial differences between two somatic types were due to selective modifications in which a number of genetic and environmental factors operated and slowly affected the evolutionary processes The best means of studying these differences would be in living persons rather than in skeletal remains, specially the homozygotic twins Prof H J Fleure went more searchingly into the question and said that almost every population received contribution from several in-drifts which did not completely blend The persistence of these diverse types side by side in a population is to be explained on Mendelian lines and the safest method in racial analysis is to study these bundling of physical characters in individuals and to see what are the more general bundlings in particular populations

Among many interesting papers read on particular subjects that deserve special mention, are Dr Mandelbaum's "Investigations on Polyandry in Kota Society", Dr M B Emenau's "Analysis of Kinship and Marriage Among the Coorgis", Mr K P Chattopadhya's paper on "Indian Oil Presses", Prof N N Sen Gupta's "Interpretation of Dancing as a Method of Inducing Ecstasy and Frenzy", and Dr P C Biswas' "Studies on the Heredity of Palmar Pattern"

Keen interest was taken in the three discussions, the first of which on blood groupings and racial classification was opened by Dr Mrs Macfarlane Dealing with her own researches and as well as those of Mr S Sarkar of the Bose Institute, among the lower section of the Bengali population, she showed the preponderance of B over A as an essential Indian condition to which Hirzfeld was the first to draw attention In collecting the data the technique must first of all be well mastered and each caste and tribe be separately tested Future investigations carried on in this way may be expected to throw light on the origin of the mutation to B

Prof R Ruggles Gates remarked that blood groups were definite units and as their method of inheritance was known, they have an advantage over other physical characters in racial classification which should be interpreted in terms of isolation, migration and racial crossings It is important that future blood group tests be combined with anthropometric

studies, and in this connection attention was drawn to the close correspondence of the blood group tests carried on by Dr Macfarlane with the Anthropometric studies of Dr B S Guha

The discussion on the importance of Anthropological studies for India was opened by Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur and Prof H J Fleure H Peake, Frhr von Eickstedt and Mr K P Chattopadhaya took part in it As a result of the discussions a resolution was moved by Prof H J Fleure

"that in view of the urgent necessity of Anthropological studies in India it is essential that the Universities should make adequate provisions for the teaching of and research in that subject That in order to promote such work the Central Government be requested to give an independent status to Anthropology as a department of research"

The resolution was supported by Prof Frhr von Eickstedt and carried unanimously

The discussion on a programme of archæological excavations in India was opened by Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit Director General of Archæology Mr N G Majumdar, Profs H J Fleure and Peake participated in the discussion Prof F W Thomas suggested that

for the proper research in Archæology it is necessary to have a Central Institute of Archæology and Anthropology in India on the line of such institutions of Europe and America as problems of prehistoric Archæology and Anthropology are largely interdependent and common and should be studied together

The Presidential Address of Dr B S Guha was on 'The Racial Composition of the Hindukush Tribes, among whom he carried on Anthropological investigations as a member of the Scientific Expedition sent by the Government of India in 1929

The Racial Composition of the Hindukush Tribes

(Presidential Address of Dr B S Guha)

"The region south of the Hindukush and Karakorum mountains occupied a strategic position in the racial geography of India, for in these difficult high mountainous valleys were still sheltered some of the remnants of the northern steppe folks who invaded India in the second millennium B C

Linguistically the tribes living in this area could be classified under two heads, namely, Dardic and Burushaski, with Kaffiri occupying an intermediate position between Iranian and Indian Burushaski was unrelated to any known language, but Morgenstierne's investigations had shown the essentially Indian character of the Dardic and even the Kaffiri languages

The earliest investigations on the somatic characters of these interesting tribes were those of Ujfalvy, followed by Stein, Dainelli and the author himself, who, as a member of the scientific expedition sent by the Government of India visited Kaffiristan and Chitral in 1929

From a careful consideration of physical characters, it appeared that the basic racial type in the entire region was a short, dark dolichocephalic strain with prominent long nose, often aquiline, which might be regarded as a variant of Eugen Fischer's Oriental race and the most characteristic type of the region

Besides this principal type they had the southern extension of a broad-headed race closely allied to what was known as the Dinaric Race of Eastern Europe In its strongest form it was found among the Khos of the Chitral valley and the Burushos of Hunza Nagir, though it occurred throughout the Dardic tribes in varying degrees

The skin colour in this race was prevailingly of a rosy white tint but the eyes were more often hazel and green, and the colour of the hair was brown

The third main racial strain was a tall dolichocephalic type with long and straight nose It formed a very important layer among the Kaffir and the upper stratum of the Burusho and the Dadric tribes The distribution of the cephalic index in this type followed the same trend as found by Ariens Kappers in the races of the Aral-Caspian regions and very similar to that which formed the dominant element in the North European population, with whom its chief distinction lay in the integumentary colours

Whereas in Sweden the blond type represented 49 per cent of the population, among the Kaffirs it did not exceed 15 per cent Blondness, as was well known was due to a deficiency mutation which suppressed the appearance of pigment It is certain that this deficiency mutation had occurred in this and at least in another, namely, the East-Baltic race at some time or other It was probable that the mutations for skin, eye and hair colours had taken place separately In the Baltic tribes the high rate of the deficiency mutation might probably account for the larger percentage of the blond as compared to the Hindukush tribes among whom the activators were perhaps dominant over suppression causing the general persistence of the more pigmented people

Lastly an intruding Mongoloid element must also be recognized which appeared to be responsible for the yellowish tint in the skin colour and broad flat nose found among many individuals

The proportions of these strains varied in

different parts The Dinaric and the proto Nordic elements were stronger in the western valleys whereas the basic Oriental and the Mongoloid elements were more conspicuous in the eastern valleys of the Upper Indus '

The session concluded with a formal resolution moved by Prof H J Fleure F R S on behalf of the British Association thanking Dr B S Guha for the great work done by him in Indian Anthropology and for the very successful meeting of the Section

Geology Section

The Geology Section proceedings began under the presidency of Professor D N Wadia with a discussion of some of the results obtained by the geologists of the Burmah Oil Company an instance of the way in which important scientific information may be obtained in the course of researches directed towards an economic end Other papers followed covering almost every branch of geology but perhaps the most interesting to the layman were those of several members of the Geological Survey of India which dealt with the structure and building of the Himalayas and showed how very youthful is this greatest of mountain ranges D N Wadia W D West and H M Lahiri brought forward evidence of the gradual creep of the older rocks of the mountain range over the newer rocks of the sub Himalayan zone and showed that the southward march of the mountains still continues A L Coulson told the section of the evidence for the last ice age in the Punjab and Kashmir

Dr Krishnan's account of the geological structure of Peninsular India called forth most interesting comments from the overseas geologists and led to an emphasis on the comparative instability of even the apparently most stable parts of the Peninsula

B L Rao and L R Rao from Mysore contributed papers on the ancient crystalline complex of the Deccan and C Mahadevan gave an interesting account of the salt concentrates in the Archaean terrain of Hyderabad Prof Frederick Morris of Cambridge Mass spoke on the Gobi Desert aided by a magnificent collection of coloured lantern slides Perhaps the most arresting photograph was the one showing a clutch of Dinosaur eggs laid in the sands of a hundred million years ago buried by the wind borne detritus and uncovered by the pick of the geologist

The Geology Section has taken part in several joint discussions with Botany, Agriculture and Physics Discussion dealing with questions of the interpretation of faults in the Himalayan region and in this the evidence from the recent researches of the Geological Survey of India was discussed with the overseas geologists now visiting India

Throughout the meetings the geologists of India had been fortunate in receiving the most valuable suggestions and assistance from the visitors particularly from Profs Boswell and Gordon of London Prof Fearnsides of Sheffield Prof Read of Liverpool Prof Morris and Dr du Toit of Johannesburg and from Sir Lewis Fermor the former Director of the Geological Survey of India whom the section were glad to welcome back to the Science Congress and to Calcutta

The Presidential Address by D N Wadia dealt with the Structure of the Himalaya and of the North Indian Foreland' Geological work carried out during the last few years has thrown much light on the structure of Northern India a region of extraordinary geotectonic interest as much on account of the magnitude and intensity of the crustal deformations involving the upwarp of the Himalayan chain and the formation at its foot of the deep parallel Indo Gangetic depressions as on account of the extreme youth of these world transforming events The region of Northern India resolves itself structurally into two broad belts the folded chain of the Himalayas and the edge of the Indian peninsular mainland that has acted as the resistant block and in the process sagged under the strain of the folding of the northern ranges The structure of this foreland is revealed in four principal units (1) The Rajputana plateau (2) The Potwar trough (3) The Gangetic trough 1200 miles long and 200 miles wide mostly filled up by late Pleistocene alluviation (4) The Assam plateau

In Kashmir the Himalayan system of earth folds undergoes a deep loop-like bend round a pivotal point—a narrow promontory of the Punjab foreland hidden under the late Tertiary deposits Four overthrusts have been noted in the Simla mountains representing flat recumbent folds In the Garhwal area recent mapping has proved two superposed sheet-folds composed of the older rock formations overriding the newer rocks of the Outer Himalayas

Evidence of the extreme youth of Himalayan orogeny has multiplied in recent years investigations in the Pleistocene glacial and fluviatile deposits of the Kashmir valley suggest that between 5000-8000 ft of uplift has taken place since the end of the Pliocene A part of the address deals with the recently discovered

gravity anomalies, both positive and negative, in the Himalayan region, which cannot be explained on the hypothesis of isostasy On the whole compensation is in excess in the Central Himalayan ranges, while the outer Himalaya is an area of overload and under compensation

The arcuate form of the Himalayas, presenting to the south three prominent festoons, is best explained as the result of three crustal pegs arresting the free movement of the plastic folds pressing against the Indian horst under pressures from the north The Great Himalayan range, built mostly of granite or pre Cambrian sediments from the Brahmaputra gorge to Nanga Parbat on the Indus, thus denotes the Himalayan protaxis the axis of original upwarp of the Tethyan geosyncline At both its ends it has undergone sharp southward deflections to accommodate itself to the shape of the foreland.

Zoology Section

The Zoology Section was presided over by Professor G Matthai, Sc D (Cantab), of Lahore, who in his Presidential Address, delivered on the 7th January 1938, dealt with "Zoology and its Advancement in India" The greater part of the address was devoted to coral formation and oceanography, subjects in which Dr Matthai has been himself interested for a number of years, but in the latter part of the address attention was directed to the various centres of Zoological research in India and the work accomplished at each centre

The Sectional Meetings were well attended and practically all the leading Indian Zoologists from all over the country were present From among the foreign delegates who attended the Sectional Meetings were Professor L F de Beaufort of Amsterdam (Holland), Mrs de Beaufort, Lt Col R B Seymour Sewell, F R S, the late Director, Zoological Survey of India and the leader of the John Murray Expedition Cambridge, Professor W M Tattersal of Cardiff (Wales), Mrs Tattersal, Professor F A E Crew of Edinburgh (Scotland), Professor G D Hale Carpenter of Oxford, Professor P A Buxton of London, and others Students and young workers were also present in appreciable numbers and presumably derived considerable benefit from the papers that were read and the discussions that were held on some very important subjects

Of the fifty two papers put down for reading there was sufficient time only for a few of them to be properly presented to the meeting while the rest, irrespective of their merit had to be guillotined Though a great majority of the papers were of the usual type containing descriptions of new species or detailed account of some morphological features of an animal, there were a few exceptions that lent themselves to be discussed, but for want of time the discussions had to be greatly restricted, which, in a great measure, vitiated the very object of such meetings Special mention may here be made of the cinematograph picture of the Mud-Skippers shown by Professor B K Das of Hyderabad-Deccan, in which the well-known mode of life of these air-breathing fishes was faithfully depicted and the whole film was very instructive for the students and foreign delegates Dr S L Hora's thought-provoking paper regarding the probable mode of origin of aerial vision in fishes raised a storm of questions, but unfortunately no discussion could be held for lack of time Special time had to be found to discuss Professor L F de Beaufort's views on the geographical distribution of the fresh water fishes of South eastern Asia, which proved to be most instructive though the other foreign delegates took part in discussions, they did not present any paper to the Section

Much greater importance was rightly attached to the discussions either held in the section itself or jointly with other sections On the very first day, when the section met for the reading of papers, two hours were devoted to a consideration of "Animal Ecology in Relation to India", but the programme was so packed that the articles accepted for reading could only be dealt with and the discussion, which proved more fruitful, had to be deferred to the next day It was fully realised by every one present that the study of animal ecology is of the greatest importance, both for pure and applied Zoology The most significant feature of the discussion was the compliments paid by all the foreign delegates to the work hitherto done in India on animal ecology Another discussion to which the section devoted a couple of hours was on "The Place of Systematics and Morphology in the Study of the Living Animal." and here again the great value of the study of the living animals was brought to the forefront A very fruitful afternoon was spent when this section jointly with the sections of Medical Research, Veterinary Research, Entomology and Agriculture discussed the "Relation of Zoology to Medicine, Veterinary Science and Agriculture" Speaker after speaker stressed the great need of strengthening Zoological research in India, so as to check effectively the spread of animal-borne diseases and to increase the protien supply of the masses by increasing animal food, such as fish, poultry, etc Sections of Zoology

and Entomology had a discu sion on The Position of Entomology in the Indian Univer sities Although there seemed to be a concensus of opinion regarding the desirability of including Entomology and such other subjects of allied biology in the curricula there wa practically no support for the proposition that a special department of Entomology with separate staff should be started by the Indian Universities Zoologists also took part in discussions on the other subjects such as Genetics and River Physics

Among matters of general interest discussed by the Section mention may be made of the development of fishery in India and the advisability of continuing Entomology as a separate section The present deplorable condi tion of Indian fishery was keenly felt by all members of the Section and Prof W M Tattersal s resolution requesting the Science Congress As ociation to approach the Govern ment of India for the establishment of a Central Bureau of Fishery Research was carried unani mously Further a Committee of Indian Foreign delegates was formed to draw up concrete proposals for the consideration of the Govern ment of India As regards the second subject it was felt that as a first step towards separa tion in the future meetings of the Congress the Zoology Section should give a day or two for the consideration of Entomology papers but tl at the time had not yet come to separate Entomology which after all was a branch of Zoology

Some of the delegates paid a visit to an estuarine area near Uttarbhag on the Piali Nadi while some others saw the well kept aviaries of Dr Satya Churn Law

The Sectional Committee unanimously nominated Professor C R Narayan Rao of Bangalore as the President of the Zoology Section for 1939 and Professor S G M Ramanujam of Madras as the Recorder of the Section

The general impression which the meetings have left on one's mind is the utter futility of doing too much within a short time The programme of meetings and discussions coupled with the afternoon parties and the night enter tainments provided by the Local Reception Committee hardly left any time for private discussions by persons interested in the same type of investigations and from this point of view this mammoth gathering of Indian Zoolo gists should be regarded as a complete failure It is hoped that the lesson learnt this year will bear fruits in the future years when efforts should be directed to make the fullest use of such meetings from a broadly scientific point of view

Section of Psychology

The Section of Psychology which met under the presidency of Dr G Bose head of the department of Psychology of the Calcutta University was a great success Besides a large body of psychologists from every part of India several eminent psychologists from abroad attended the section and read papers before it The well known author of the *Factor Theory* Prof C Spearman of London in his illuminating paper on the *Examination of Intelligence* discussed the importance of the General Factor (G Factor) which enters according to him into all abilities and is the principal and most stable constituent of what is conceived as *intelligence* Prof Spearman analysed the personality into several factors and observed that though the list did not exhaust the whole personality the factors mentioned by him would go a long way toward making up our conception of intelligence He further remarked that the intelligence of different races might be compared by subjecting these factors to measurement and defended the reliability and validity of such procedure Dr C S Myers Principal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in England read a very interesting paper on *Affective Influences in Mental Fatigue* in which he showed that the observed effects of prolonged mental activity are not so much due to fatigue as to the protective actions of affective mental processes Prolonged attention on any mental work replaces the feeling of interest by boredom and weariness which exercise an inhibitory function on attention This on the one hand protects against true fatigue and on the other hand lower conscious resistance to various conflicting complex thereby arousing feeling of irritation and anxiety and leading to dis orderly mental and physical behaviour Prof C G Jung who had travelled all the way from Zurich unfortunately became ill on his arrival in Calcutta and could not attend the sectional meeting till the last day of the Congress On that day he delivered an illustrated lecture on the *Concept of Collective Unconscious* before the section of psychology Tl e learned professor in course of his lecture defined his concept of the collective unconscious discussed what such a concept meant for psychology and explained his method of proof by examples and illustra tions He said that the collective unconscious was a part of the psyche which could be di tin guished from a personal subconscious by the

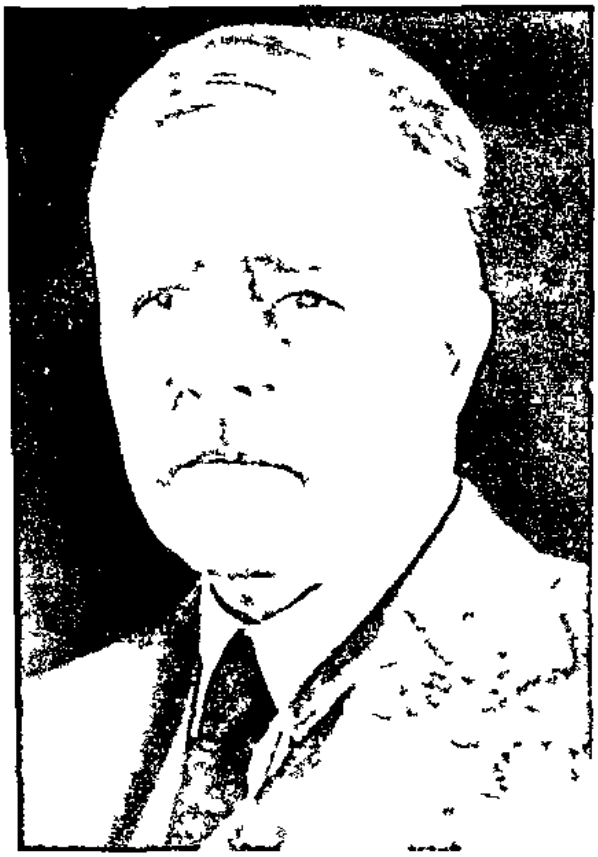
fact that it did not owe its existence to personal experience and consequently was not a personal acquisition The contents of this unconscious owe its existence according to Prof Jung, exclusively to heredity Referring to the charge that his concept of the unconscious is of speculative character and savours of mysticism he said that there was no more mysticism in his concept of the unconscious than what might be discovered in the theory of instinct He asserted that our fantasy perception and thinking were influenced by inborn and universally present principles of *form* and demonstrated some of these forms in support of his contention Other oversea delegates who attended the section of psychology were Dr E Mapother the famous psychiatrist of Maudsley Hospital England Dr W Jones of Leeds University and Baron von Velthein from Germany They did not read any paper Dr Mapother took part in the discussion following Dr G Bose s reading of a paper on *The Paranoid Ego* at a meeting of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society to which the delegates were invited

The subject for symposium of the section was Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology Dr S C Mitra of Calcutta opened the discussion and aroused considerable interest amongst all present Dr Mitra remarked that psychoanalysis was the most comprehensive of all the prevailing schools of abnormal psychology and narrated the contributions made by psychoanalysis to psychology He said that psychoanalysis had given us not only a better and more thorough explanation of each of the psychological phenomena traditionally treated in the text books but also of other normal psychical experiences usually neglected in them In addition it had supplied the psychologists with a method by following which they would be able to reach the innermost core of a person s psyche Giving general outlines of the contributions of psychoanalysis to normal psychology Dr Mitra observed in conclusion

> "The virtues of perfection and completeness for psychoanalys s are not claimed But it can safely be said that psychoanalys s has not only enriched both in q al ty and in quant y every top c of normal psychology but enlivened the wl ole science itself so that the latter pulsates now with the new vigour and boldly attacks the problems of life that only the other day it made it a po nt to evade"

Dr Ernest Jones President of the International Psychoanalytical Association had sent an article as his contribution to the symposium and it was read out in his absence by Lt -Col Berkeley-Hill In the discussion that ollowed various points were brought out by Prof N N Sengupta, Lt -Col Berkeley-Hill, Dr T Purusottam, Prof H D Bhattacharyya, Lt -Col Dhunjibhoy, Mr N S N Sastry, Dr Indra Sen, Mr H P Maiti, Mr S P Aranya, Mr U S Gheba, Mr M N Banerji and Mr Jugal Singh After Dr Mitra had replied the president, Dr G Bose, summed up the discussion Dr Bose informed that he had sent the original article of Dr Mitra to Prof Freud for his views In his reply to Dr Bose Prof Freud wrote that he had very much appreciated the article of Dr Mitra and that it was not possible for him (Freud) to add anything to what had been so clearly and with such definiteness put forward by Dr Mitra

Some of the papers contributed by Indian scientists to the section of psychology this year were of high merit As it should be, preference was given to the outsiders by the president and so many of the papers of the Calcutta laboratory reporting results of original experiments could not be read for want of time Of the papers read and discussed mention may be made of the following Mr G Pal who had performed a series of experiments on weight lifting with a specially devised apparatus reported that in the determination of *Differential Limen* for lifted weight increasing continuously, he had found that values varied according as the rate of change in the standard weight differed He offered an explanation for this in terms of attention and muscular adjustment Mr N S N Sastry reported that he had carried out investigations on judgment of emotional expressions and emphasised the importance of situation element in the case of emotional expression Dr I Latif traced the ætiological factors in the onset of stammering from his clinical studies and pointed out that the cause varied from individual to individual Miss R Ghosh discussed the importance of handwriting as a school subject and referred to certain factors that would affect the writing ability of children Prof N N Sengupta classified the conditions of psychic disorder in mystic life and said that the symptoms of disorder seemed to serve a certain definite purpose in the economy of mystic life as they broke up the old habit pattern and contact with the objects of the environment Mr M N Banerji discussed the principles of Hindu physiological psychology as given in the ancient Indian literature Mr H P Maiti dealt with the question of normality and abnormality and after reviewing the three current concepts of the normal—social naturalistic and statistical—suggested a *dynamic* criterion Mr R. Haldar attempted to prove the presence of Oedipus wish in Hindu Icons.



Sir James Jeans General President



Dr G Bose President Psychology Section



Dr M N Saha



Dr B S Guha, President Anthropology Sec



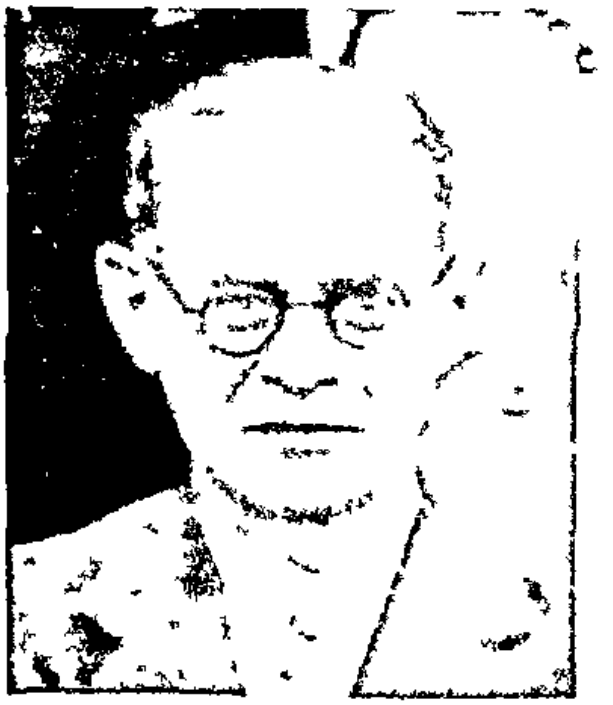
Prof R A F sher General Pre den
Ind an Stat t cal Conference



Prof P C Mahalanob s
Fo nder-Secretary In s st cal In t t te
ng



Prof S S Bhatnagar Pres dent Chem s ry Sect n



S r L. L. Ferm r

His researches, he said, offered important corroborative materials in support of Dr G Bose's theory of the genesis and adjustment of the Oedipus wish Mr S C Laha presented a new theory of the time sense He showed that the sense of time depended on the capacity of the libido to attach itself to external objects Mr D Ganguli read a joint paper (by G Bose, Sailendra Krishna Law and D Ganguli) on the *Psychological Study of Language*, reporting a series of interesting findings regarding the acquiring of abstract ideas by human minds, the syntax of language as reflecting racial character and the peculiar behaviour of the ego in projecting its experiences into the outer world

Dr G Bose delivered his presidential address on *Ambivalence* before a large gathering of distinguished people including many medical men The subject of his address was technical but Dr Bose's lucid manner of presentation helped the audience to grasp his main ideas and kept up their interest to the last

Dr Bose's conception of ambivalence is original Negativism in various spheres of action (*i.e*, doing exactly the opposite of what is demanded) by normal people and mental patients is explained by Bleuler by suggesting that ambivalence is a fundamental mental trait of human beings From his observation in various fields and analysis of numerous case-records Dr Bose has come to the conclusion that ambivalence is not a fundamental trait of mental life but a derivative of some other psychical process He points out that opposite types of behaviour under different situations or at different times are quite common among normal people and have never been sought to be explained by the theory of ambivalence It is only when opposite tendencies are observed working simultaneously and affecting behaviour that some explanation like that of ambivalence becomes necessary In true ambivalence, says Dr Bose, opposite tendencies are supposed to be present but one of the contending elements at any particular moment must necessarily be unconscious Dr Bose therefore defines ambivalence "as a simultaneous working of opposite tendencies, one of which remains unconscious"

Proving that opposition is not in action nor in emotion but in wish Dr Bose argues that the genesis of ambivalence is to be looked for in the mechanism of opposition of wishes and the process by which one of the contending pair becomes unconscious From his analysis Dr Bose has discovered that pairs of opposite wishes (active and passive) exist within the psyche and they are the most fundamental traits of human minds According to his theory,

"these contradictory wishes inhibit each other and a state of equilibrium is maintained. Under certain conditions one of the pair becomes prominent and appears as a conscious wish with reference to a special object As soon as this conscious element of the pair finds satisfaction its inhibiting force is removed and its opposite counterpart springs to consciousness as an urge for a reciprocal or retaliatory act directed against the object."

All the important papers contributed to the Section of Psychology together with the presidential address will be published in a special issue of the *Indian Journal of Psychology*

Section of Mathematics and Physics

The Section of Mathematics and Physics met on the 4th January under the presidency of Dr C W B Normand, Director of Meteorological department to the Government of India The president most enthusiastically welcomed the delegates and especially our oversea friends for the trouble and sacrifice they made to attend the Silver Jubilee Session of the Congress In view of the variety of subject in the papers to be read before the section, the president submitted a programme including titles and approximate times of lecture or of reading papers by oversea delegates It was divided into different subjects and the papers should be read in the following order

(1) Atomic Physics, (2) Astrophysics, (3) Relativity and Geophysics, (4) Mathematics and Statistics, (5) The Structure of Matter, Spectroscopy and Molecular Physics, (6) Ionosphere, (7) General Physics

The first speaker was Dr Aston, who spoke on "Isotopic Weights by the Doublet Method" In his lecture he explained that for the most reliable comparison of masses by mass spectra, the particles concerned should be nearly equal when the lines they produced were resolved by a mass-spectrograph of sufficient power, form a natural doublet A typical example was the oxygen-methane doublet Other examples were also dealt with and in conclusion Dr Aston showed that about 20 isotopic weights had already been determined by this doublet method with an accuracy approaching 1 part in 100 000

Robinson spoke on the values of Atomic Constants *i.e*, the values of the electron charge (E) and the velocity of light (C), the Planck's constant (H) He points out that though the values of E and H were first measured by Millikan about a quarter of a century ago, recently investigators have begun to suspect the

accuracy of the accepted values of the atomic constants, especially that of E They have remeasured the value of E and have pointed out the mistakes of the previous works Since then the measurement of the atomic constants were seriously taken by other investigators and to our great surprise, none of them agreed with each other Robinson humorously pointed out that in order that the physicists might be more respectable in the eyes of others the values of the atomic constants should be remeasured and we should begin where we were about 25 years ago

Taylor spoke of the radioactivity of Samarium He gave an account of the experiments which he and his collaborators had done in this connection using the direct method of direct registration of tracks in a photographic emulsion He took about 5000 expansion-chamber photographs and found about 50 tracks which were due to the particles omitted by Samarium

Sir Arthur Eddington spoke on subatomic energy in the stars This paper was of a sort of speculative nature in which he was interested for a long time

Dr F J M Stratton of Cambridge, first stated the normal course of development of the series of spectra shown by a Nova in the course of its bright outburst He illustrated his lecture by showing some beautiful slides which he had taken at Cambridge He found At first the spectrum changes form an earlier (or hotter) to a later (or cooler type) and the absorption lines show a diminishing displacement while the bright bands narrow Then a succession of absorption spectra generally with a larger displacement and successively of earlier type emerge and in turn fade away, two such spectra are commonly present together and occasionally three such spectra can be identified as simultaneously present As many as eight or nine such spectra can be traced before the fading away of the continuous spectrum of star leaves behind a spectrum of isolated bright bands These pass from the A and B type corresponding to the white and blue stars to the P type corresponding to the planetary nebulæ and later to the O type corresponding to the Wolf Rayet stars the hottest known stars Dr Stratton then discussed various theories in connection with the nature of spectra

Sir Arthur Eddington opened a discussion on the theory of scattering of protons by protons and though the paper was extremely technical he deduced from scattering experiments that at very close encounters the force between the protons became attractive instead of repulsive so that there was a "well" of negative potential immediately surrounding a proton It was also found that the existence of the "potential well" was a necessary consequence of the theory and formulæ for its extent and intensity obtained

In the corresponding problem of the encounter of two electrons one of the constant (A) is smaller in the ratio $\frac{1}{137}$ so that the "potential well" is much less important in comparison with the Coulomb potential He further showed that this problem had a special interest as furnishing a connecting link between extra nuclear and nuclear physics

Von Kate Sachar dealt with on the measurement of the ratio of the magnetic moments of Iridium isotopes from the hyperfine structure He showed Iridium consists of two odd isotopes of mass number 191 and 193, the latter being twice as abundant as the former. From the hyperfine level separations of the isotopes, the author concludes that the ratio of the nuclear magnetic moments of Iridium 191 and 193 is —0 92

Kothari explained his recent theoretical investigation on the pressure-ionisation in white dwarf stars and planets His results are quite interesting and he predicts that the stellar material in the interior of the white dwarf stars should be almost fully ionised He also predicts the existence of a maximum radius for a cold body which is of about the same size as the planet Jupiter There can not be a cold body (planet or white dwarf) bigger (from the point of size) than Jupiter His theory shows that Jupiter and Saturn have cores composed of metallic hydrogen The terrestrial planets have cores of much heavier metal, possibly iron

Sulaiman ably but humbly submitted his new theory of the law of gravitation and the dual character of light His paper is extremely mathematical but Sulaiman has ably put his theory and predicts a larger deflection of light particle from a star past the Sun than Einstein's and he also gives a formula for the spectral shift of light from any part of the Sun Though recent experiments during total eclipse have shown a larger deflection than Einstein's theory predicts still according to Stratton the result cannot be taken seriously as different observers has obtained different results We are asked to wait for some years as accurate value can only be obtained when we have collected a larger number of observations from various parts of the globe

At this stage the only lady-delegate Mrs Biva Mazumder wanted to read her paper

on the theory of absorption in ionised gas where she showed a rather interesting method for calculating the opacity coefficient in the interior of the stars, and for estimating the absorption coefficient of liquid metals which were perhaps akin in some sense to dwarf stars But the president could not afford time to accommodate her in the programme

Prof Stratton then delivered a lengthy address on the "Recent Eclipse Results" He at first stresses the necessity of international co-operation in the study of the physical nature and conditions of those outer layers of the Sun's atmosphere which are accessible to instrumental observation at short periods of an occasional Solar eclipse The programmes and the eclipse camps of different expeditions are chosen so as to avoid undue overlapping of common observations at near-by stations and so as to secure where possible the repetition of the more important observations at stations far apart from each other The problem for the observers are rich in variety such as structure of the corona, exact measurements of the total luminosity of the corona, polarisation of the continuous spectrum of the corona, continuous spectrum of the corona, rotation of the corona, relative intensity and width of the lines in the corona, the transition from the absorption to the emission spectrum of the chromo sphere, and so on But the most important observations made with the deflection of a ray of light with its confirmation of Einstein's "Generalised Theory of Relativity" has been observed by British American and German astronomers It is only probable that there is a small deflection in excess of that predicted by Einstein and if so, the cause of this excess has not yet been clearly understood Though it may be mentioned here that Sulaiman's theory predicts this excess

Darwin gave a summary of the work done on the dielectric constants of solid bodies He points out how the older theory fails miserably when we come down to low temperatures Darwin in his new theory based on wave-mechanics, shows that though we can understand the observed values in a general way, we cannot as yet explain fully the behaviour of matter at very low temperature Perhaps we have neglected some factors which are quite negligible at ordinary temperature, but comes into play prominently at very low temperature

Normand showed a film on the formation of clouds and bursting of storms Evidently the film was taken by German meteorologists, and there should have been some one to explain the parts of the films That was the great defect for the show The film showed clearly the formation of thunderstorms, the gathering of clouds, the bursting of rains, etc

The mathematical papers were of extremely technical character and the following gentlemen read their papers C W Levi of Calcutta, M R Siddiqui of Hyderabad, A N Rao of Annamalinagar, R N Sen of Calcutta, N Chaterjee and P N Das Gupta of Calcutta, S Mitra and D N Sen of Patna, S C Dhar of Nagpur, A N Singh of Lucknow, C Racine of Trichinopoly, A A K Ayyangar of Mysore and others

These papers dealt with some solutions of problems of pure mathematics and from the sense of the delegates who were mostly physicists, it was clearly evident that they did not appreciate the beauty of solutions and integrations ! The small number of mathematicians did not feel quite happy in this section which was physicist in character The mathematicians had to finish all the papers in less than two hours It is high time that the Science Congress Association should seriously consider whether a separate section in Mathematics would be more profitable to the mathematicians

S Dutta described his recent experiments on the intensity fluctuations in the continuous absorption spectra of some gaseous molecules The nature of binding of hydrogen halides was studied at various pressures and from the nature of the shift and intensity fluctuations on the long wave length limit of the continuous absorption spectra, some light was thrown on the subject

Ghosh read two very interesting and important papers on the band spectra of aluminium oxide and antimony oxide The experiments were rather tedious and difficult and he thoroughly examined the vibrational analysis of aluminium oxide and he also reported of a new band system in the ultra-violet region for antimony oxide

Das and Ray read a very interesting paper on the allotropes of sulphur Das showed that the similarity and difference between the various modifications of sulphur, such as roll-sulphur, flower of sulphur, milk of sulphur, colloidal sulphur, plastic and hardened sulphur and white sulphur Their investigations were carried out at temperatures ranging between -183 c to -130 c Some peculiarly new phenomena were also reported Sarkar read a paper on "Raman Effect" at low temperatures on solid toluene and solid ethylene dichloride His experiments threw some light on the intermolecular oscillations in polymerised groups in the substance

A discussion on Ionosphere was opened by Prof S K Mitra, where he gave a short account of the layers in the upper atmosphere

His own contribution towards the subject is well known and he has recently calculated the *distribution of gases in the upper atmosphere* The upper limit is calculated after Epstin for two atmospheres one consisting of nitrogen and oxygen molecules and other of nitrogen molecule and oxygen atoms taking into consideration the disturbing effect due to heating and cooling The mixing of two gases extend up to heights of 500 k m and 350 k m respectively Calculations are also made of the pressures and masses of the two constituents existing above different levels in the upper atmosphere The values of both of these are higher than those obtained by previous workers

Saha read a very interesting paper on Pannekock's theory of the upper atmospheric ionization After dealing with the various theories on the subject he suggested that a complete solution of the problem could not be obtained unless the spectra of Nitrogen and Oxygen molecules were thoroughly investigated in the far Schuman region He, however proposed a new theory on the subject but the difficulty in the solution of the mathematical expression was not yet overcome However making certain plausible assumptions, he drew a vivid picture in the ionisation phenomena in the F1 F2 and E layers in the upper atmosphere

Prof R V Southwell delivered a general discourse on the relaxation of constraints, and *dealt with a general method of attack in the* problems of mathematical physics He explained by charts and maps, the problem confronting an engineer in the construction of *sky-scrapers, and calculated in a typical case,* the forces acting on the different parts of the building His method was quite original and the limit of application of this method was also discussed in the modern engineering works

Henderson gave a very short discourse on "Units" He appealed to the members to adopt one single system for all theoretical and practical purposes He humourously pointed out that the engineers all over the world adopted one system while the physicists another, and when they talked together, they could hardly follow each other even when they were dealing with the same problem

N Ahmed gave an account of the works done in Bombay with his collaborators (a) on the variation in fibre strength and fibre weight per inch with the group length of fibres in cotton, (b) on the effect of twist on the strength and length of cotton fibre (c) on the clinging power of cotton in relation to its other physical properties and so on

A large number of papers (over 70 in number) were taken as read for want of time.

Presidential Address

"The Sources of Energy of Storms" formed *the subject-matter of the presidential address* by Dr C W B Normand He first of all gave a short summary of works done before, to investigate the cause of storms The data were meagre but according to the president, the collection of data of the upper air introduced a gradual revolution in the study and practice of meteorology in India and also over the rest of the world After dealing with the various causes of instability of energy in the atmosphere which caused the storms of all kinds such as cyclones, thunderstorms, dust-storms, etc, the president dealt at length on the contribution towards the problem by himself and his collaborators in the department Naturally *they followed Margules who was the pioneer in* the field and whose works were regarded as a standard in this direction But the well known examples of Margules involved very lengthy computations The Indian meteorological department showed that approximate results sufficient for our practical purposes in forecasting the storm and its centre could be obtained by simple means of the adiabatic diagram, *i e*, on a temperature entropy diagram. This method could be easily extended, according to the speaker, to examples of a much more general type than those worked out by Margules Examples, in which condensation of water vapour took place, could be computed graphically and it showed how great a factor the latent instability of water vapour might be in the development of kinetic energy

Section of Agriculture

The scientific work of the section in the shape of reading of original papers and holding discussions on them was transacted in the following subsections for the purpose of dealing separately with different groups of papers submitted to the section "General, Plant Breeding and Genetics", "Study of Crops and Crop Products", "Statistics and Plot Technique"; "Crop Enemies", "Soils", "Manures and Fertilisers" Altogether fifty six papers were accepted for reading at the different subsections of which thirty were actually read The British Association Delegates who took active part in the discussions were Dr Salaman, Dr Crowther,

Professor Comber and Dr Ogg Dr Salaman read a very interesting paper on "Plant Genetics" with special reference to Potato Breeding He emphasised the need of a careful selection of varieties for use as parents in plant breeding work as also for marketing purposes

The section held discussions on the following topics jointly with other section and societies "The Application of Statistics in Agriculture", "Biological Control of Insects", "The Species Concept in the Light of Cytology and Genetics", "River Physics in India", "Colloids in Biology", "Medicine and Agriculture", "Relation of Zoology to Medicine, Veterinary Science and Agriculture"

In his address as president of the section Rao Bahadur T S Venkatraman deals with the various aspects of the scientific work that has been carried out during the past quarter of a century at Coimbatore which has been responsible for converting India from a major sugar importing country to the present position where she is looking out for possible export markets In India, conditions for sugar-cane growth are extremely unfavourable The growth period is very short and secondly, during its life cycle the crop has to pass through extreme variations of climatic conditions from very high temperatures and severe drought in summer to comparatively low temperatures including frost, towards harvest These difficult conditions have been overcome at Coimbatore by the successful carrying out of a complicated hybridization programme involving the use of various types of sugar canes including certain wild species At Coimbatore it has been possible also to cross a sugar-cane with other genera like Sorghum and even with an altogether different subfamily of grass, *viz*, the bamboo

The office-bearers of the section were *President* Rao Bahadur T S Venkatraman, CIE, BA, IAS, FNI, Imperial Sugarcane Expert, Coimbatore, *Recorder* Dr A N Puri, PhD, DSc, AIC, MA, Punjab Irrigation Research Institute, Lahore, *Sectional correspondent* Professor S P Agharkar, MA, PhD, FNI, Ghosh Professor of Botany, University of Calcutta, *Local Sectional Secretary* Mr R P Mitra, MSc, Research Assistant, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India

The following members of the British Association took active interest in the scientific deliberations of the section Professor N M Comber, DSc, ARCS, FIC, Professor of Agricultural Chemistry and Head of the Department of Agriculture in the University of Leeds, Dr E M Crowther, DSc, Head of the Department of Chemistry, Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden, Professor J Hendrick, BSc, Strathcona-Fondyce Professor of Agriculture, University of Aberdeen and Director of Studies and Research, North of Scotland College of Agriculture, Dr W G Ogg, PhD, Director, Macaulay Institute of Soil Research, Aberdeen, Dr R N Salaman, MD, FRS, Director Potato Virus Research Station, School of Agriculture, Cambridge, Dr J A Venn, Litt D President of Queen's College and Lecturer in the History and Economics of Agriculture in the University of Cambridge

Section of Chemistry

The Section of Chemistry was enlivened this year by the presence of some distinguished foreign scientists, notably Sir Henry Tizard, Dr F W Aston, Prof J Lennard-Jones, Prof J L Simonsen and Prof E C C Baly Recent trend in the Indian Science Congress has been more in the line of having symposia, in which many investigators can take part in the discussion of a common problem, than in reading individual papers, different from one another Considerably more time was, therefore devoted this year to discussions, some of which were held in co-operation with other Sections of the Science Congress and with the Indian Chemical Society

Prof S S Bhatnagar of Lahore was the President of the Chemistry Section and Mr H Sassan, Dr B C Guha and Dr A C Sircar were the Recorder, Sectional Correspondent and Local Sectional Secretary respectively Prof Bhatnagar delivered his presidential address on "A Survey of Recent Advances in Magnetism Relating to Chemistry" which was a brilliant, comprehensive and critical presentation of a subject that may be called magneto-chemistry, to which Prof Bhatnagar's own school along with some other Indian investigators have made very notable contributions This up to date survey is bound to be of great benefit to all workers throughout the world, who are interested in this highly interesting field of investigation

A discussion on "Recent Advances in our Knowledge of the Structure of Alkaloids" was opened by Prof J N Ray of Lahore who discussed recent methods for determining the chemical constitution of alkaloids with special reference to vasicine on which he and his collaborators have worked extensively Dr S Siddiqui of Delhi referred to his work on conessine, ajamaline and related alkaloids

Prof J L Simonsen delivered an address

dealing mainly with his researches on sesquiterpene ketones, which was followed by a discussion in which Dr P C Mitter, Dr U Basu and others took part

A very illuminating address was delivered by Prof J Lennard Jones Professor of Theoretical Chemistry at Cambridge University, on resonance in relation to molecular structure and on the application of wave mechanics to the problem of valency—a line of work on which hardly any work is now being carried out in India

Prof E C C Baly of Liverpool University spoke on his prolonged researches on the photochemical synthesis of sugar *in vitro* in the presence of inorganic catalysts mainly nickel salts Dr P Niyogi took part in the discussion, which followed

A symposium on Colloids in Biology Medicine and Agriculture was opened by Prof J N Mukherjee who stressed the importance of research in colloids in relation to Agriculture and Biology and referred to the researches on soil colloids proceeding at the University of Calcutta and the application of the theory of double layer to this problem Dr V Subrahmanyan of Bangalore and others joined in the discussion

A symposium on Chemistry in Relation to Industrial Development in India' was held with Sir Henry Tizard Rector of the Imperial Institute of Technology London in the chair Dr T S Wheeler of Bombay referred to the role that Chemistry plays in the development of national resources Dr B C Guha said that in this country the requisite contact between scientists on the one hand and industrialists on the other has been lacking He suggested that organizations should be set up which would represent University Science Departments the Industries Departments of the Central and Provincial Governments and the industrial interests like the Chambers of Commerce Establishment of such contacts would help to infuse a greater sense of reality into the work of the University Science Departments and make them more responsive to industrial needs Industrialists would at the same time realize what help science is capable of rendering to industry Dr Guha also referred to the researches on the low temperature carbonization of coal going on in the Department of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University The possibility of the production of things like motor spirit from even second and third grade coals which are practically wasted in India was a problem of supreme national importance, particularly in India where natural petroleum resources are very limited Dr Guha also referred to the fermentative production of citric acid from molasses which also had industrial possibilities Dr H K Sen stressed the need of the development of machine sense in students and the importance of researches on the utilization of coal and jute Dr R B Forster, Dr K Venkataraman Dr K G Naik, Dr Dunnicliff and others joined the discussion Sir Henry Tizard, in summing up said that it was desirable that the Science Congress itself should set up organizations to go into the questions raised in the symposium in greater detail, so that such organizations may have authoritative opinion to give and may formulate the steps to be taken by the Governments concerned He said that the present Fuel Research Board of Great Britain was formed as a result of the findings of a Committee set up by the British Association He observed that the present discussion served as a pointer and could be taken as a basis for further development

A joint symposium on "Recent Advances in our Knowledge of Molecular Structure from the Physico chemical Standpoint" was held in cooperation with the Sections of Physics Chemistry and Mathematics with Prof J Lennard-Jones in the chair Dr Rao, Dr D M Bose, Dr K S Krishnan and others joined the discussion

A number of papers dealing with practically all branches of Chemistry were also read, some of them of very considerable importance

A social feature was a luncheon organized by the Indian Chemical Society to meet some of the distinguished foreign delegates at which Dr F W Aston was the chief guest They were received by Prof J C Ghosh President and Prof B C Guha Secretary of the Society Prof J C Ghosh made a speech welcoming the guests and Dr Aston made a suitable reply referring to India as a 'land of contrasts", where primitive as well as highly scientific methods exist side by side

On the whole the Chemistry Section was a success affording as it did opportunities both for intellectual and social contact among the Indian and foreign chemists

We publish an account of the proceedings of some of the sections of the Indian Science Congress held in January 1938 and hope to publish further accounts in the next issue—Ed *M R*

THE FIRST INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

By AN ONLOOKER

While the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta was drawing much attention of the general public, an important event, *viz*, the First Session of the Indian Statistical Conference took place in this city Another brilliant feather to the cap of Calcutta was thus added

In its old sense Statistics is an ancient subject The counting of the people and the collection of information regarding the resources of the country had been in existence from the earliest times The ancient Egyptians the Babylonians and the Romans prepared and preserved records of the resources of the State

In India we have clear evidence that administrative statistics had reached a high stage of organization even before 300 B C In the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya it is enjoined that villages shall be brought under one or another of the following heads

Villages which are exempted from taxation those that supply soldiers, those that pay their taxes in the form of grain cattle, gold or raw material and those that supply free labour and dairy produce in lieu of taxes

Among the duties of the Gopa—the village accountant, it is distinctly mentioned that

"by setting up boundaries to villages by numbering plots of ground as cultivated uncultivated, plains wet lands gardens vegetable gardens, fences, forests, altars temples of gods irrigation works cremation grounds feeding houses, places where water is freely supplied to travellers, places of pilgrimage pasture grounds and roads and thereby fixing the boundaries of various villages, of fields of forests, and of roads he shall register gifts sales charities, and remission of taxes regarding fields."

"Also having numbered the houses as tax paying or non paying, he shall not only register the total number of inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also keep an account of the exact number of cultivators cowherds merchants, artizans labourers slaves and biped and quadruped animals, fixing at the same time the amount of gold free labour, toll and fines that can be collected from it (each house) "

The curious reader is referred to the translation by R. Shamasastry of *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, Ch XXXV, for such and further details

In the classic period of Sanskrit culture there are numerous references to detailed statistics of various kinds in inscriptions as well as in technical treatises

In more recent times under the Muhammadan rulers of India, we find descriptive statistics occupying a very important place The best known compilation of this period is the *Ain-i-Akbari* the great administrative and statistical survey of India under Emperor Akbar which was completed by his friend and minister Abul Fazl in 1596-97 A D It contains a wealth of information regarding the Moghul Empire

"faithfully and minutely recorded in their smallest detail, with such an array of facts illustrative of its extent, resources condition population industry and wealth as the abundant material from official sources could furnish."

It is no wonder that speaking of Abul Fazl, his translator H S Jarret remarks that,

"regarded as a statistician no details from the revenues of a province to the cost of a pineapple from the organization of an army and the grades and duties of nobility to the shape of a candlestick and the price of currycomb are beyond his microscopic and patient investigation"

In Europe statistics had vague beginnings in the Middle Ages, but it became a serious subject of study with the growth and rise of the modern States in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries The growth of Economics gave it added importance, in fact, until recently, statistics continued to be almost exclusively associated with economic studies Slowly statistics came to be regarded as the eyes and ears of the Government It could tell the Prince how many able-bodied men might be mobilized and how many would be needed for the essentials of civil life, how numerous or how wealthy are the house-owners whom he may tax to provide for his well-trained and well-equipped armies, and so on This aspect of statistical information seems to have been long neglected in England as well as in India We should have to look to Italy for a centralized statistical service capable of informing and enlightening Mussolini with the latest and most accurate information and tendencies to which they are subject, so that Il Duce is the best informed potentate in Europe

In India the official statistics are often inaccurate and misleading, and as one speaker at the Conference pointed out, for example, that

According to the Government Resolution reviewing the working of the municipalities in Bengal for 1930-31 there were ten Chairmen for the Panihati Municipality in a

single year of whom 3 were nominated and 7 elected, etc. etc that accord ng to the Bengal Census of 1931 there was not a s ngle literate in English in the Kishoreganj Municipality although Kishoreganj is a Sub D visional town with its S D O and Deputy and Sub Deputy Mag strates Pleaders Mukhtears Head masters Cha rman Vice Chairman and including the Charge Super intendent who wrote out the report for the town that according to the Diagram printed in the Bengal Publ c Health Report there were no small pox deaths in Decem ber January as if King Yama had taken a Christmas Hol day

The Calcutta Corporation Statistics are equally full of similar errors

But in recent years important developments in the theory and application of statistical methods have taken place which have far transcended its old objects In fact the statistical studies have at the present time, bifurcated into two almost distinct branches, one chiefly descriptive and enumerative (gene rally connected with administration and economics) and the other primarily analytical, which is as much a branch of positive science as applied mathematics or physics

In descriptive statistics we are usually satisfied with the total or average number or quantity of any particular entity for the group as a whole Such knowledge of the total or average is adequate for many purposes of commerce and trade and for administrative purposes But for other purposes the average may not be adequate Insurance offers a classical example Fifty persons of age 35 and fifty persons of age 45 will have an average age of 40 Fifty persons of age 20 and fifty persons of age 60 will also have the same average age of 40 But the insurance propositions are however entirely different No insurance company will insure the latter group for the same premium as the former group It is the distribution of age within the group which is important in this connection

In analytical statistics the emphasis is on the study of variation The fundamental importance of the study of variation arises however from the fact that complete enumera tion is almost always impossible in practice and statistical estimates have to be based on samples The information obtained from such samples is bound to be incomplete and uncertain to the extent of its smallness, and it is the object of statistical analysis to give us reliable estimates for the whole together with the probable margin of error associated with such estimates Given the range of variation of a particular estimate we can obviously decide upon our actual procedure with much greater confidence and less chance of failure in the long run than without it It is this practical aspect which has made the modern statistical method indispensable for the analysis of data in the mass, and has given it its immense importance in agricultural, biological, educational, industrial, medical and meteorological investigations of all kinds How far the percentage of success in past experience can be made the basis of fore-casting future expectation is the fundamental problem of statistics It is by the use of just these methods that the development of long range forecasting of the monsoon has become possible in India

Nature and Nurture, which is the stronger? The question is much more easily asked than answered Experiments with seedlings and guinea pigs have provided an answer,—rather a qualified answer Does the same answer hold good for Man? The science of statistics has furnished the answer It has shown that the correlation between the parents and offspring is about +0 5 for a large number of both physical and mental characters i e, of the two heredity (nature) is the more important factor It has been observed that as a matter of fact there is a close relation between mental defectiveness in children and extreme alcoholism in adults Whom to segregate the adult alcoholists or the mentally defective children? Statistical analysis has furnished the answer—the mentally defec tive tended to become extreme alcoholists, and so the remedy is the segregation of the mentally defective Modern statistical analysis can be used for a variety of purposes, from calculating the average duration of the reign of sovereigns and average length of a generation in recon structing historical or Puranic chronology, from the duration of pregnancy in calculating the size of litters in bitches from the variation in the wear and tear of coins in calculating their age, to how fast a species can spread in an unoccu-pied area to how far special defects are inherited in Man, to the chances of death at various ages

In its mathematical aspect statistics can be and has been usefully employed in organising research and conducting agricultural experi-ments Prof R A Fisher the President of the Conference, has revolutionised agricultural research in England by his statistical methods and obtained quick and reliable results from the Rothamstead Experimental Station

Here in India the importance of statistics and statistical research are realised by few Sir Brojendra Nath Seal did some work in connection with the analysis of marks obtained by students at the various examinations of the Calcutta University in 1914 1916 but he left the field early The reorganization of Agricul-

tural Re earch following the recommendations of the Roy al Commi sion on Agriculture (1926-1928) gave a great impetus to the study of analytical statistics A statistical department was created at the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute The statistical method is being increasingly used in meteorological work in India, and a statistical section has been recently opened at Poona The Forest Re earch Institute at Dehra Dun the Hydrological Laboratory in the Punjab, the Cotton Technological Labora tory at Matunga (Bombay), the Tocklai Experimental Station in As am under th auspices of the Indian Tea As ociation are all u ing statistical analysis for their respective purposes

It was left to Prof P C Mahalanobis of the Presidency College, Calcutta himself a Phy ics man to conduct and organize statistical research at Calcutta After the di astrou floods in Northern Bengal in 1922 the Govern ment of Bengal asked him to find out the cau es and he prepared a comprehen ive Report on Rainfall and Floods in North Bengal during the period 1872 1922 In 1928 the Bihar and Ori a Government entrusted him with a similar task in connection with the Orissa floods In course of these inve tigations 3 or 4 computers became trained in Stati tical work Books and Journals calculating machines and other equipments worth about Rs 25 000 had al o been purchased by him at his *own* expense and in this way the nucleus of a statistical Laboratory was gradually built up Stati tical work was done by individual workers in other parts of India To name only a few, Prof Madhava of the Mysore University Professors D G Karve and V G Kale at Poona and Dr Ghurye were carrying on statistical researches independently To organize statistical research and bring together workers in different fields of statistic the establishment of a Central Institute was felt necessary The Stati tical Laboratory naturally became the centre for all such workers The Laboratory was fortunate in attracting from the very beginning a number of devoted and often brilliant workers The work of the Labora tory developed rapidly, and on its initiative the Indian Statistical Institute was founded in December 1931 and registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860 To promote research, *Sankhya* the Indian Journal of Statis tics was started in 1933 and it is on the exchange list of *all* the important statistical societies and journals in the world In welcoming its foundation *Annales d Histoire Economique et Sociale* observed that "mere enumeration without proper criticism and interpretation does not complete our knowledge" The number of statistical and other journals received in exchange exceed 300, and the number of books on statistics and books requiring statistical treatment collected at the Laboratory, exceed 4 000 volumes The Indian Statistical In titute under Prof Mahalanobis is re ponsible for (1) Courses of Training in Statistics and granting Certificates and Diplomas and (2) for various Stati tical enquiries entru ted by Governments and Native State

The Laboratory has prepared a new type of apparatus—the Profiloscope—by which a profile photo of the human subject can be taken in a few minutes And from the measurements on the photo anthropometric data can be



collected with sufficient accuracy The writer s profiloscope photograph is given here on a reduced scale and from measurements on it it can be safely asserted to which province or caste he belongs

From the very beginning the In titute was taking a keen interest in the Indian Official Statistics The need for an Advisory Committee for the proper scrutiny of Official Stati tical publications was stressed by Mr Jatindra Mohan Datta in the pages of the *Sankhya*, and as the result of the deliberations of a strong committee con equently appointed there has been considerable improvement in some of the official statistical publications such as the Trade Returns the Stati tical Abstract for British India, etc

The question of organizing an Indian Statistical Conference was in the mind of the statistical workers for some time In September, 1934, Prof Mahalanobis had discussed this question with Dr (afterwards Sir) D B Meek, then Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics who strongly supported the idea The Hon'ble Sir James Grigg Finance Member to the Government of India, supported the idea Dr John Matthai the new Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics suggested that the first Conference might be held in 1936 The Indian Statistical Institute took up the idea and circularised it among the different universities and other learned bodies The general opinion was in favour of organizing a Statistical Conference The volume of statistical work has increased rapidly in recent years in India and in case a Statistical Conference is started it was expected there will be no dearth of papers and the standard will be as high as that of papers presented before the Indian Science Congress or the Indian Economic Conference

The Indian Statistical Conference will not only give opportunities for the presentation and discussion of scientific and technical papers and of methods of standardisation and improvement in the collection of primary statistics, but will also be useful in other ways People from different parts of India different Provinces and States, both official and non official, will be brought together in such a Conference, which will enable personal contacts being established between statistical workers in different parts of the country In the present unorganized condition of statistical studies in India there is scarcely any stimulus to research outside 2 or 3 big centres and Annual or Biennial Conference was expected to give encouragement to workers in isolated centres by bringing them in touch with other workers A Conference will also help in focussing public attention on the scope and importance of statistics, in securing grant from Government Departments and public bodies and also in opening channels for the support of statistical studies and research

The idea was strongly supported by the Calcutta University which agreed to invite the President of the Conference to give a course of lectures Advantage was also taken of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta, and Calcutta was selected as the venue of the First Statistical Conference in India

As Sj Syamaprasad Mookerjee in welcoming the delegates said

> The responsibility of convening the present Conference rests with the Indian Statistical Institute which has its headquarters in this city In spite of its limited resources the Institute has succeeded in establishing a proud record of work during its short period of existence it has given ample evidence of vitality and organization for which thanks are due to the devotion and enthusiasm of the scholars and workers associated with it I cannot help publicly acknowledge the remarkable zeal and earnestness brought to bear upon its affair by its Founder Secretary Prof Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis"

This sentiment was echoed by His Excellency the Chancellor of the University, when he said that the Statistical Laboratory has reached its present stage of development under the able guidance of Prof Mahalanobis, and re echoed by Prof R A Fisher in his Presidential Address that he looks with every confidence that the statistical work will be carried forward with the intellectual integrity that such a task requires by the brilliant school of workers that Prof Mahalanobis has gathered round him in this University

The Conference was a great success It was attended by, besides the delegates to the Statistical Conference, the almost entire Science Congress It was fortunate in having Prof Fisher as its General President The Vice Chancellor observed

> We are fortunate in having as the President of the first session of the Conference a scholar of the eminence of Professor Ronald Fisher the second to adorn the most important chair in Statistics in the whole world, the first occupant having been Karl Pearson himself"

The Mathematical Section was presided over by Prof Fisher himself, the Medical and Public Health Section was presided over by no less a person than Col Russell the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and the Economic Section by the Hon'ble Mr Nalini Ranjan Sarker at present the Finance Member of the Government of Bengal The Conference elicited as many as fourty papers from different parts of India, from Prof Madhava of Mysore University to Mr Srivastava of Cawnpore, from Prof Maclean of Bombay to Mr Guha Thakurta of Delhi, and from subjects as abstruse as the hyper-space geometry of Mr Raj Chandra Bose to the funny mistakes in the official publications by Mr Jatindra Mohan Datta The mere number exceed or nearly equalled the number of papers read in 5 or 6 sections of the Jubilee Session of the Science Congress More than all these it had induced a feeling of brotherhood among the statistical workers in the different fields and has led to exchange of many valuable ideas

Miss E K Janaki Ammal M A D Sc Sugarcane Cytologist Imperial Sugarcane Breeding Station Coimbatore She acted as the Chairman of the Cytology and Genetics section of the Science Congress



Miss E K Janaki Ammal

Dr Miss Maina Paranjpe is the daughter of Prof M R Paranjpe the famous educationist She took the B Sc degree in Physics and mathematics in 1931 and M Sc degree of the University of Bombay in Meteorology in 1933 In the September of 1935 she sailed for England to prosecute her studies further in the subject of *Meteorology* and *joined the* Imperial College of London There under the able guidance of Dr Brunt she finished her thesis within a course of two years and was honoured with Ph D and D I C degrees of the London University

She is at present a Professor of Physics in the Shet Sultandas College Shikarpur (Sind)

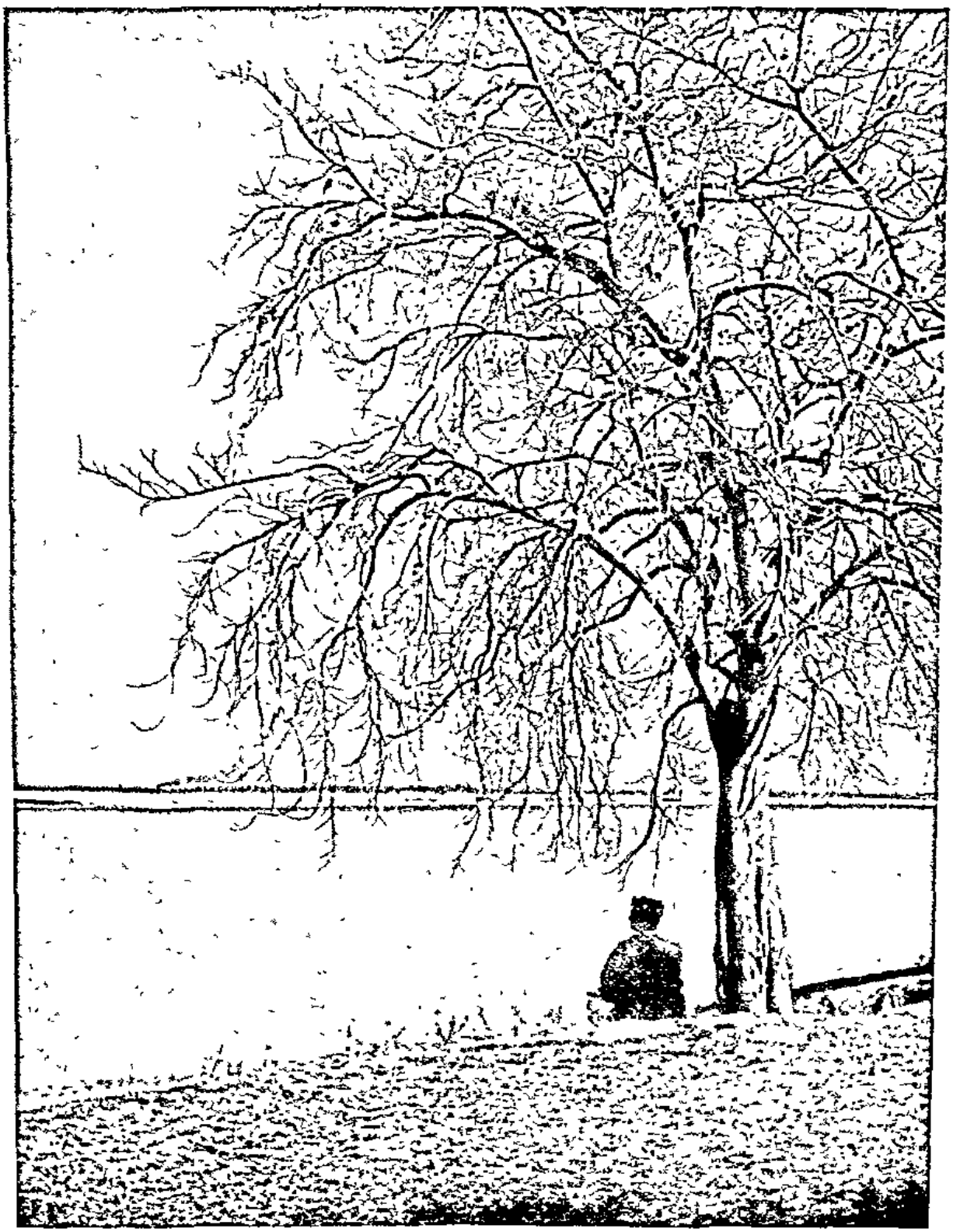


Dr Miss Maina Paranjpe



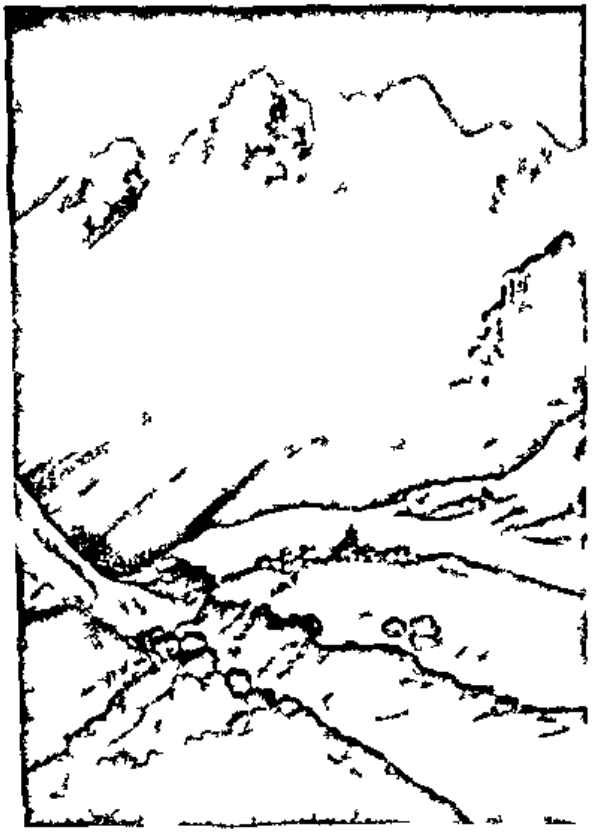
Mrs Maniben Nanubhai Desai

Mrs Mani Desai is the talented editor of the Gujarati Monthly, *Stribodh* Lady writers special number



"Thy branches ne'er remember their green felicity"

[Photo : Parimal Goswami



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The In e or

AN EXHIBITION OF THE PAINTINGS OF MANINDRA BHUSHAN GUPTA

By NIRAD C CHAUDHURI

To those who are alive to the trends of modern Indian art the exhibition of the paintings of Manindra Bhushan Gupta held last month in the rooms of the Indian Society of Oriental Art though not the most showy of the art events in Calcutta during the winter season was perhaps the most interesting Mr Gupta's work is familiar enough to the lovers of the modern Indian school and particularly the



An Old Bridge Dacca
By Manindrabhushan Gupta

readers of *The Modern Review* to render renewed introduction superfluous But the collection of a number of his works at one place afforded a good opportunity for comparison classification and appraisement which is of special value as indicative of certain new developments in modern Indian painting and of an awakening of the painters who belong to this school to certain aspects of their work to which they had been more or less blind

Strange as it may seem this blindness was towards what is universally considered to be the primary condition of the painter's or for that matter any artist's craft—first hand experience It has been said that every painter paints with his blood This is equivalent to saying that style in painting is organically interwoven with the innermost being of the artist and with the environment which is perpetually shaping and reshaping his consciousness Thus there can be no great art based upon imitation and second hand inspiration and it can hardly be denied that these two constitute the fundamental weakness of the modern Indian school

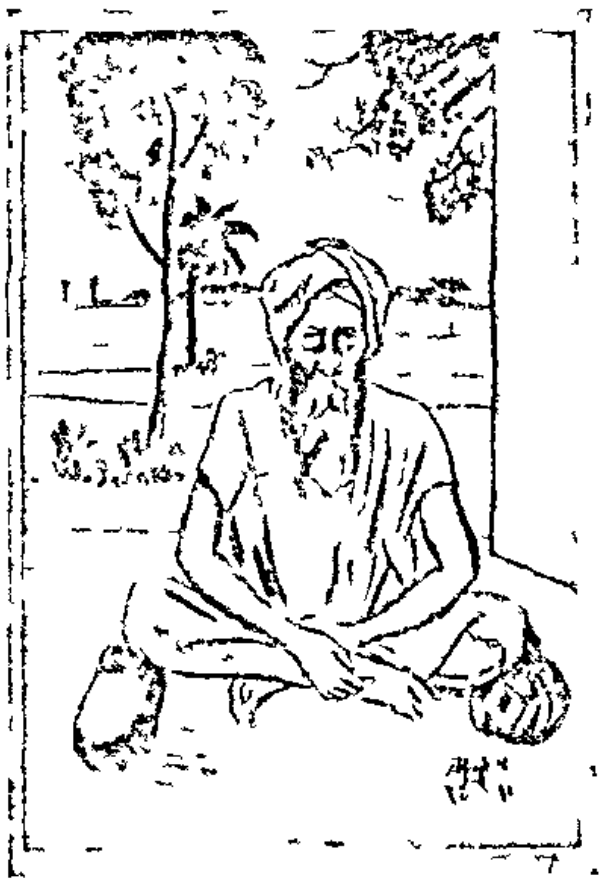
Let us consider in the first instance the subject matter of the works of the modern school—the endless series of Radhas and Krishnas Ramas and Sitas and other legendary and mythical heroes which have already begun to pall on the artist and his patron alike Some people seem to imagine that there is special merit in depicting these incidents and in searching for increasingly recondite and obscure legends that the Indianness of the modern Indian school lies in its choice of these particular themes It does not however require a too profound acquaintance with the history of art to realize that the subject matter of a painting is the least significant part of the artist's work and one which



Santiniketan
By Manindrabhushan Gupta

should least encumber his thoughts. The palæolithic painter drew mammoth and bison and boar and reindeer not out of regard for the palæolithicness of his art but because these animals occupied the foreground of the palæolithic man's vision and imagination The Rajput painter drew Krishnas and Radhas because his patrons were familiar with these stories and wanted visible mementos of them The Mogul painters drew scenes in which people about the court were interested The painters

of the Renaissance turned out madonnas and saints not out of a pre raphaelite weakness for the sentimental and the far off but because the monasteries and churches were always commissioning these subjects from practical considerations The fact of the matter is the painter has to take the subject given him by the world in which he lives He has no choice over it



The Village Musician
Drypoint By Mandralhu han Gupta

But the thing which is his very own is his vision It depends on the painter's genius alone whether his picture will be banal or have the light that never was on land and sea

The technical and formal side of painting may now be considered It has long been a moot question among art critics and historians of art whether one age can paint just like another or to put the question in a concrete form whether Rembrandt could paint like Michelangelo or whether Impressionists could paint like the masters of the Quattrocento And the almost unanimous answer of art critics is that they could not that not everything is possible in every age that every age has its mode of vision and concept of beautiful form which never tallies with the mode of vision and concept of beautiful form of another age The moral sought to be drawn from this principle of art history in the case of the modern Indian school must be obvious to the reader As in the case of inspiration, so in the sphere of execution the modern Indian school has been in the habit of playing the sedulous ape to the style of by gone ages pre-eminently Rajput and Ajanta and at times Japanese and Chinese and Muhammadan with fatal results on its own vitality If as Heinrich Woelfflin says style in painting is primarily expression, expression of the temper of an age and a nation as well as expression of the individual temperament modern India has not yet discovered and evolved a style of its own To leave aside exceptions which prove the rule the paintings which have been turned out in recent years in India embody neither the vision nor the aesthetic individuality of the age in which we live Perhaps in fairness to the new school it should be said that art tradition had sunk too low at the end of the nineteenth century for it to regain the heights expected from great art It has also to be admitted that in art as in life imitation precedes independent creation Still when all has been said and done the fact remains that the modern Indian school is not growing at the pace it should After the first burst of discovery experimentation creation and achievement under the lead of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose a singular sterility seems to have set in The school seems to have settled down to a preconceived notion of Indianness in content and form This prolonged nonage not untinged with a suspicion of unnatural infantilism has certainly been a source of serious misgiving to many lovers of the new Indian school

Pastiche conscious archaism and sentimentality are the three marks of decadence in art If the modern Indian school of painting is to be a robust growth if it is to take root in our life its exponents must be prepared to revise its basic ideology Translated into concrete suggestion this would mean the rejection of a large proportion of the themes now in vogue in the school a recasting of its technique and greater contact with actuality not necessarily in the sense that modern Indian art is to be realistic or purely representational but that it should have greater directness of inspiration

It would not be correct to say that Mr Gupta is the first painter of the modern Indian school to feel the need of this re-orientation Not all the work of the new school is

taken up with mythological subjects and Mr Gupta himself is a fairly assiduous practitioner of the legendary cult But as one surveys the paintings brought together in the exhibition, it becomes clear that there is a more deliberate intention or rather urge and a more sustained purpose in his break away from the accepted tradition He is not like some other painters of the new Indian school who have been moved strongly enough by their direct visual experience to depict scenes of every day life and landscapes but have at the same time been so ashamed of this heterodoxy that they have tried to remove all traces of actuality till their pictures of rural Bengali life became converted into excerpts from folk tales Mr Gupta's approach to the actual is more straightforward When a scene of Bengali life has moved his artistic consciousness he has translated it into a pictorial composition without regard for preconceived canons of execution Take for example his drawing of a Bengali interior (No 57 in the catalogue) This may justly be regarded as a masterly drawing with a strong rhythm of line and faultless distribution of masses But it is likely to shock the conventional admirer of modern Indian painting if indeed so small a work ever receives the attention it deserves as much as Manet's Dejeuner sur l'herbe shocked his contemporaries Perhaps our reactions to artistic events and trends are not strong enough for us to pursue the object of our dislike with the same fury of invective as was showered on Manet's head But if we were alive to the implication of things we should certainly stop before this work and take stock It introduces certainly for the first time a clothes line with hanging *lingerie* into modern Indian art This is not only bold it also achieves the distinction of being successfully brought in successfully from the point of view of aesthetic significance

This little drawing is singled out for special mention on account of its value as evidence of a sensibility towards the painter's raw material untrammelled by preconceptions But there are other paintings in the exhibition which indicate the same yearning for freedom The whole collection of Mr Gupta's exhibited work falls easily into two halves one of which is conventional and the other experimental Mr Gupta seems to be a painter standing on the threshold of a room with period furniture not quite sure about the propriety of leaving its respectable and recognized precincts yet casting a very wistful glance at the open spaces before him But the impact of the real is too strong upon him to be resisted That is why there is an obvious dichotomy in him Mr Gupta might well have shown his paintings in two rooms one bearing the inscription I paint as I please and the other Take what you expect

From the point of view of spontaneity gusto and live quality there is however no doubt as to which group bear the palm It is



A Village in Bengal
Drypoint By Mahendrabhushan Gupta

no accident that Mr Gupta's landscapes sparkle and speak The raw material for these were supplied by three of his most vital and fruitful experiences the environment of his native village in the first instance next westernmost Bengal where he served his apprenticeship as painter and lastly the Kumaon Himalayas an excursion into which was a great inspiration to him It will be found that all his landscape work depicts one or other of those three regions and catches their spirit with a truthfulness rarely achieved in contemporary Indian painting Among these again one is inclined to assign a decided superiority in intuitive perception artistic transformation to the landscapes Bolpur and Dacca These scenes w Mr Gupta's vision must have

in the formative years of youth and early manhood, show his work at its most lyrical and eloquent In actual fact, the outward aspect of neither Birbhum nor Dacca is deeply stirring though both have a quiet beauty that grows on one But in Mr Gupta's drawings they are transfigured not into pretty and far-fetched fancies but into real works of art In art as in literature, the difference between the real and the clever counterfeit is very hard to define in terms of rational exposition But the mind fastens on the one and rejects the other all the same The test here is too subtle for words But it nevertheless has an indubitable existence

The emphasis laid in this short note on only one aspect of Mr Gupta's work has not been dictated by caprice nor by accident The larger works of Mr Gupta shown in the exhibition are in the style now made familiar to all and recognized as *comme il faut* even by the crowd They do not require much interpretation But the case is different with the paintings in which Mr Gupta makes a departure from the established convention They have puzzled many serious and sincere lovers of the new school and led them to wonder whether they would be right in admiring them Just as thirty years ago there was a strong predisposition against the work of the nascent Indian school, today the very success and vogue of the school has created a counter inhibition among Indians claiming to be cultured against artistic creations which do not follow this set pattern Perhaps even Mr Gupta is not quite sure within himself whether this new type of picture which he is turning out is to be included in the corpus of his serious work and whether they are not just freaks or at best the private and intimate wanderings by the way of an artist who is in duty bound to throw himself into quite another attitude when the public gaze is fixed upon him For this reason it is necessary to insist that nothing would be so fatal to the growth of a genuine and vigorous art tradition in modern India than a surrender to convention The pioneers of the new school declared that Indian painting will not find its soul through imitation of the academic work of the West They were right It is time for their disciples to proclaim that nor will it attain salvation through an equally lifeless imitation of Ajanta and the Rajput school And they too would be right

PRESENT-DAY CAMBODGE

Indo China is more or less terra incognita to the average Indian reader We have some knowledge about the contacts of the Hindu civilization with the pre existing Oceanic cultures in that region and the brilliant results thereof But so far as the inhabitants of the country are concerned and their present-day environments we have little or no knowledge

In this issue we give some illustrations which will be no doubt of great interest to those who are interested in such lore It will be seen that there is a great deal in common with us from the point of view of the continuity of cultural trends

We are indebted for these photographs to the Royal Library of Cambodge

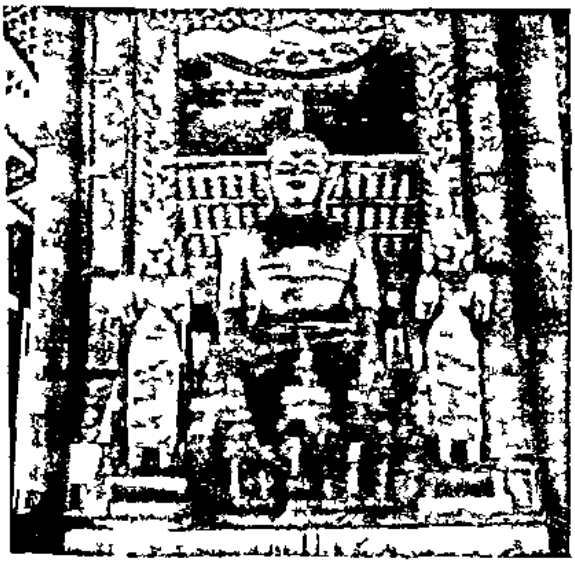




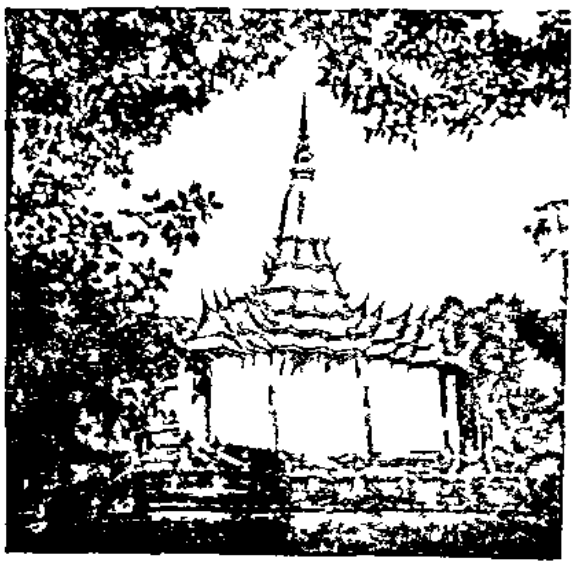
Young Phnong of Cambodian hinterland



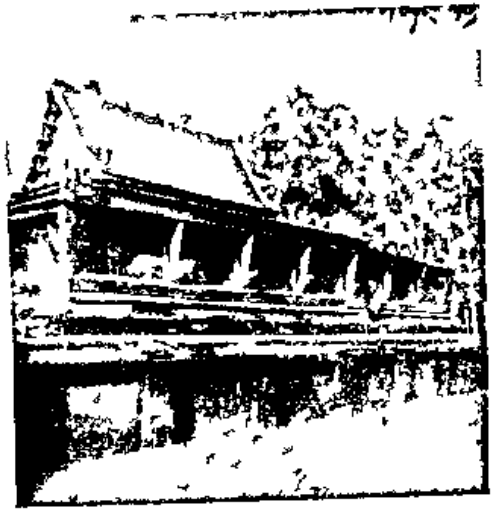
Hairdressing of Cambodian hinterland women



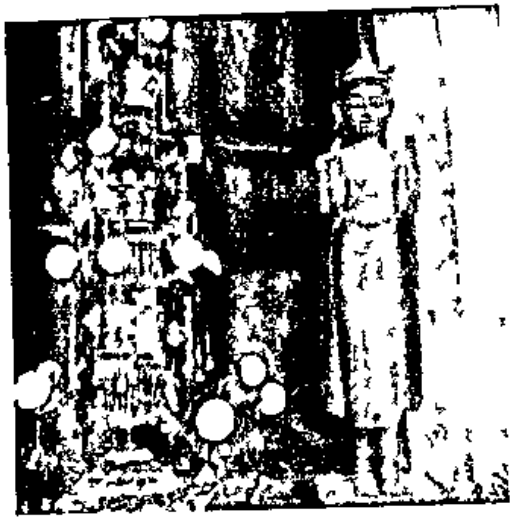
Shrine of a Cambodian temple



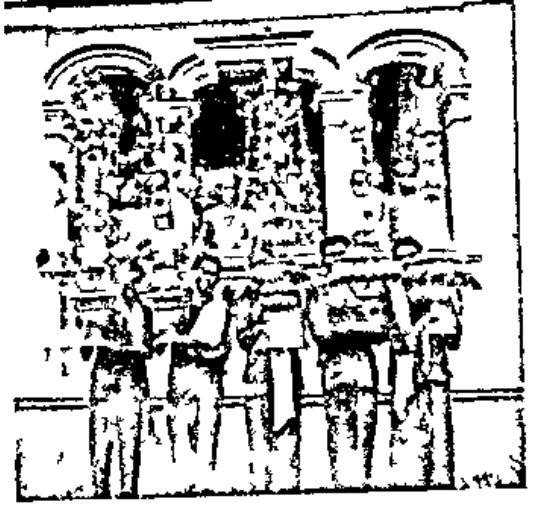
The burning place of a Cambodian pagoda



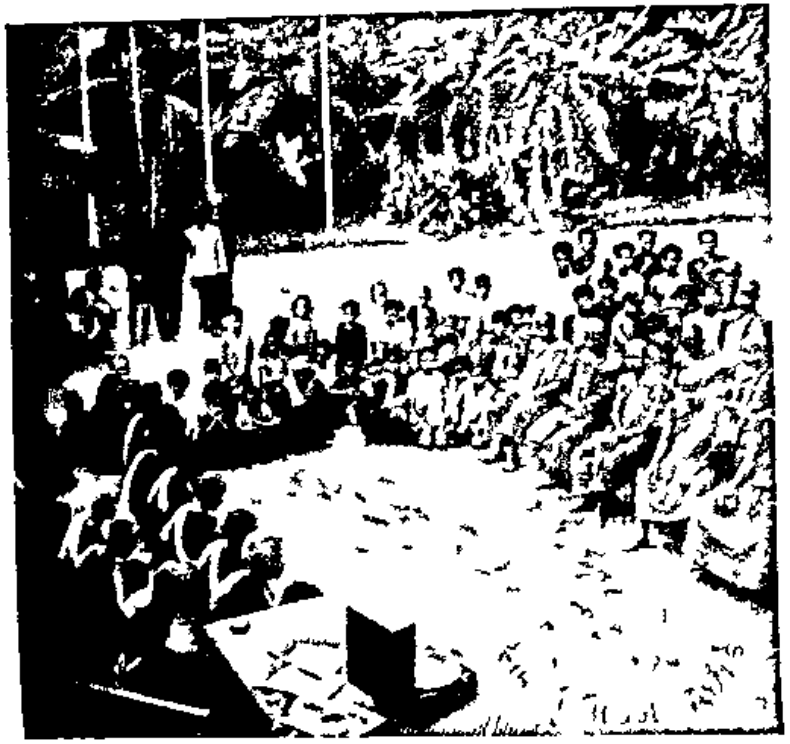
An old sala in a Cambodian Pagoda



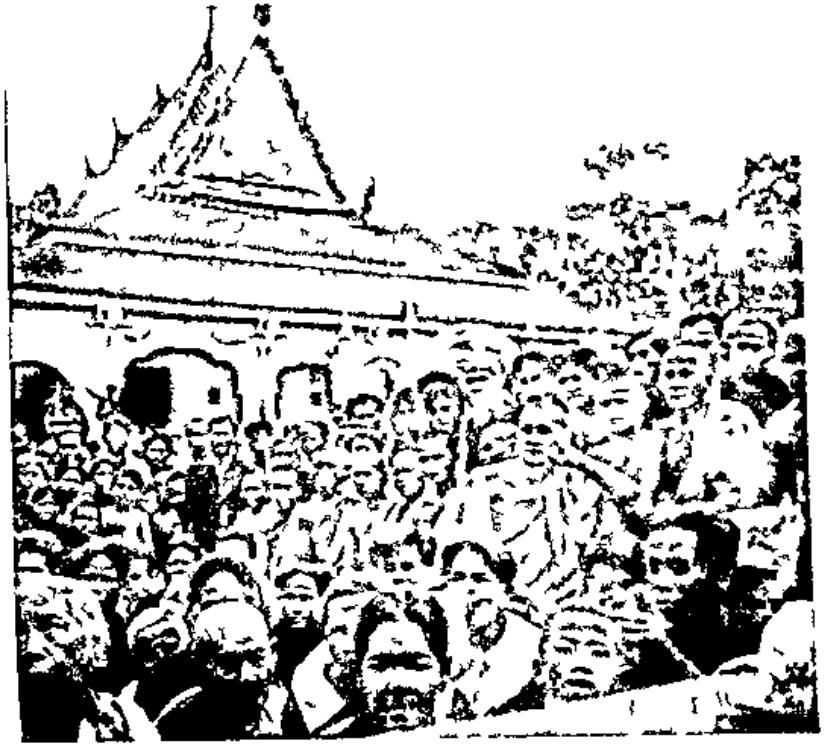
Wooden statue of Buddha



Typical flower offerings in the Cambodian pagodas of Cochinchina



Buddhist Cambodian priests and lay people listening to Cambodian gramophone discs



Cambodians listening to a radio programme

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Soviet Press

The one country where newspaper circulation approximates that of the U S A. is the U S S R (points out Lawrence Martin in the *Current History*) where, from a Tsarist circulation (1913) of 2,700,000, it has grown to forty millions Within this year, the writer expects, the Soviet Union will take first place in the world for number of copies of newspapers consumed The writer concludes

The task of the Soviet newspaperman is unique because Soviet journalism is unique Long ago its purpose was defined by Lenin as being that of the scaffolding on a building in process of construction. It is to help build the new society and the new type of citizen. The Soviets inherited from Tsarist Russia 150 000 000 people, the vast majority "dark" and backward by any civilized standard It had to give these a sense of social responsibility, some kind of vision, and a day by day program of effort It had to make them want to read, want to be clean, to be on time, not to beat the children, not to desert the little ones, not to cheat one another It had to teach them manners we have forgotten must be learned not to tolerate bugs and mud, to change the underwear and brush the teeth, care for the sick, and rely on irrigation and not on holy water when drouth threatens

It has been the job of the press in that exciting country to spur on 180 000 000 people in their trek into a socialist future

In this situation, and with this perspective it can be seen how beside the mark it is to insist that the Soviet press is muzzled that it does not tolerate anti-communist propaganda, and that the Government has its grip on every paragraph of it It is true that the *Peasants Gazette* will not print a debate in the spirit of the *Forum* magazine "Which is superior Soviet or capitalist agriculture?" It may run an article on the fate of the Arkansas share-cropper, but although it will confess that the Iowa farmer produces three times as much to the acre as the Soviet farmer, it will hardly intimate that therefore individual farming may be better than collective When you have settled on a plan, when you have a blue print, when you are building your house it is not the part of common sense or of the building of a state to quit laying bricks and consider whether you oughtn't be putting up a number of tents instead

They may be wrong, but they are working out their destiny along the line they marked down. They have increased the circulation of their newspapers by fifteen times over the best Tsarist year, and it is only a beginning They are fitting the movie, radio and television in with the press into a comprehensive journalism. The results, in the future will be bound to influence other journalisms.

Nobel Prize Novel

Malcolm Cowley, in the course of a review of "Summer of 1914" the novel by Roger Martin du Gard, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature, tells us how the award reacted on the novelist.

Both in his own country and abroad, Roger Martin du Gard was as little known as any writer who ever won the Nobel Prize It was not that his career had been unsuccessful His older books had been kept in print, his newer ones were favorably reviewed and were even sold in fair sized editions. But the author himself had a positive taste and talent for remaining obscure Once he had said, "As for literature, write it if you must but for God's sake don't talk about it" Acting on this principle, he refused to give lectures or statements or get involved in literary quarrels or raise his voice at public meetings, and except for the few weeks that followed the publication of a novel, he managed to efface himself completely from the public mind.

When the good news came over the wire from Sweden, his apartment in Nice was besieged by a small army of journalists and camera men, local, Parisian and foreign There was nobody at home Having been notified about an hour before the newspapers, Martin du Gard had taken a travelling bag and vanished, after telling the concierge that he was leaving for a trip A search began that soon extended over all France. Trains were inspected, hotel registers paged through, the police were on guard, there was a special watch at the frontier In Paris the rumor spread that Martin du Gard had been assassinated—by whom, nobody knew, for he had no enemies

Meanwhile the object of the search had stolen back to his own apartment very late at night, and was sitting there alone with the shutters closed, exactly like John Dillinger in a Chicago hideout. Telegrams, cablegrams, letters of congratulation, publishers' offers, radio contracts, all were piling up unread in the concierge's office For two days the Nobel prizeman lived on ham and eggs, and trembled at every shuffle of feet outside the barred door

The reviewer then gives us some facts about the novelist's earlier career

His first novel, "Devenir!" was published in 1908 It made no great stir in the world, but it led to his becoming acquainted with the group surrounding the Nouvelle Revue Francaise—Gide Riviere, Copeau, Schlumberger and others—serious writers concerned with ethics and esthetics and corresponding roughly to the Bloomsbury group in London, these have remained his closest friends. In 1913 he published a second novel, "Jean Barois," dealing with the Dreyfus case and with an unbelever who returns to the Church. I am told that it exercised a considerable influence on the pre-war generation, among whom questions of religious faith seemed all important.

At this point the novelist's career, like so many others, was interrupted by the War Martin du Gard served in the military transport, commanding a section of thirty six trucks on all the fronts from Alsace to the Somme. When he returned to civilian life it was with the project for a new novel, longer and more ambitious

than anything he had done before. "Les Thibault" was to deal with the fortunes of two Paris families, one Catholic and the other Protestant, during the years before 1914. It was to appear in a whole series of volumes, which the author hoped to publish at intervals of about six months

"Summer of 1914" is the final section (an epilogue, however, is still to be published) of this project It continues the story of the brothers Thibault, their personal story is, however, 'transformed into the story of how Europe drifted into war'

On this subject, Martin du Gard writes impressively With his archæological training, he seems to have studied all the available documents, and he has reduced them to as simple a narrative, as clear a statement, as any honest student could achieve He neglects the munitions trust, but everything else is included and everyone receives his share of blame—in the front rank, the deliberate war makers like Berchtold and Isvolsky, who knew just what they were doing, then the Austrian and German and Russian general staffs, then, on a second plane of guilt the cold legalists like Poincare who did nothing to hold Russia back (indeed they encouraged her to mobilize) and the noble souls like Sir Edward Grey who might have discouraged either side simply by saying frankly what they proposed to do

The Realities in Palestine

Pierre Van Paassen, a non-Jew sympathetic to the Zionist cause, presents the Zionist point of view in an article published in the *Asia*.

The anti Jewish agitation in the Holy Land has been made to appear as a case of the poor Arab rising against the Jewish usurper of the underdog biting back at last The suggestion has even been thrown out that the Arab Higher Committee, which directs the opposition to Jewish immigration, was following in the footsteps of the non cooperationists in India, and the Mufti of Jerusalem has been compared with the holy personality of Gandhi—as if the Mahatma has not always insisted upon non violence as one of the essential provisions of civil disobedience But what has generally escaped attention abroad in the *midst of false slogans and deliberate muddling* of the situation, is that in the course of the disturbances the Arab peasants never for a day interrupted their work on the land and that the so called general strikes in the cities were kept going only by means of a bloody terror not only against the Jews but chiefly against Arabic citizens The mass of the *fellaheen* did not participate in the strikes They harvested and threshed, tended their truck gardens and watered the orange groves as if no Higher Committee existed Every day they brought their *produce to the cities*, and it was there that they were set upon, beaten, robbed and often killed by terrorists and gangsters This is the plain simple truth about that 'phenomenal explosion of Arabic nationalist sentiment" which filled the British press, and part of the American, with amazement The Arab village was subjected to a constant bombardment of anti Jewish propaganda, the local *muftis*, on the model of their spiritual leader in Jerusalem, Friday upon Friday, delivered the most inflammatory harangues in the mosques, and still the fellah refused to budge.

What Zionism envisaged with the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was to create a *haven of refuge for the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe* who live under conditions that can scarcely be described as human There was nothing Utopian in this undertaking, for it answered to the age-old Jewish aspirations for a return to Zion The new Palestine is the product of existing realities in Jewish life This point is generally overlooked by those who are concerned lest the Arabs in Palestine suffer by reason of what is sometimes called the Jewish "invasion" They have no regard for that background of unutterable Jewish woe in Eastern Europe and seldom see the Jewish world problem as one and indivisible What will happen to the Arab, it is asked, if the Jews are permitted to buy up the land? It is, of course, an excellent thing that oppressed Jews should find a breathing space in Palestine, but what of the original inhabitants, where are they to go? It would be distressing if so fine a scheme of relief as Zionism sponsors were to prove an encroachment on the rights of the Arab people to lead their own life and build a *civilization on their own traditions and character*

That the Arab middle classes have been immensely enriched by the Jewish influx and the development of the country, that the standard of living even for the humblest Arab peasants, who were so mercilessly exploited by their own landlords, has gone up constantly so that today they stand shoulder high above the *fellaheen* of neighbouring countries, that for every Jew five Arabs have entered the country, that the Arab population has virtually doubled in the past twenty years, whereas in the course of the preceding century it had remained stationary—these things are left out of consideration

Alien Antipathy in Europe

Tito Frate writes in *La Rassegna Italiana*

The peoples of Europe can be divided into the following groups, (1) Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, part of Belgium and of Switzerland and a few smaller regions, occupied by the neo Latin races, (2) Balkan races (Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Jugo-slavia, Greece, Albania), (3) The Czecho polish races (part of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Lithuania), (4) German races (Germany, Austria, Holland, Lettland, part of Switzerland, of Czechoslovakia, of Belgium and of Poland), (5) Scandinavian races (Sweden, Norway and Denmark), (6) *Finnish-ugrish northern races (Finland, Esthonia)*, (7) British Islands. Now, a parting line runs on the north of the first three groups, dividing the European races into two characteristic halves, each distinguishable from the other, not only ethnologically, but also psychologically and intellectually As between the northern and the southern parts, there exists an antipathy, which is a curious combination of contempt, hatred and lack of understanding The "Nordopathy," as I may call it, makes people, living below 45° lat feel inspired with the mission of 'northernising" those living below 40° lat. In France, which lies in the centre, this phenomenon has been observed long ago and has found expression in the proverb "Chaque pays a son midi (each land has its south) For the Englishman, the black and the yellow races stand on the lowest rung of the social ladder, the Levantines and the Balkan races are almost on the same level, the Latin peoples come somewhat higher up and the Germans and the Scandinavians stand much higher

The Southerner is characteristically hospitable and frank and can speak to a stranger without an introduc-

tion The Northerner is a proud individualist and distrustful It is especially in Holland that they have the cleanest houses in the world, but not so clean streets and public areas, because the latter are "anonymous" He has "the superiority complex," which in fact, is the sign of a sense of inferiority which induces them to make friends more readily with animals The Northerner holds himself fast to whatever is strict and regular because he feels himself secure within the limits of a law of general application and hesitates to take the initiative and give scope to the spirit of independence. The sense of uniformity is predominant especially in the English character This is more or less true of the American the Scandinavian and the Dutch although much less of the German character With Sir W Scott, all rogues and swindlers are Italian This is rather a form of foreign hatred than a case of widespread Chauvinism The Northerners coming to the South are delighted and enchanted with the blue sea and the warm sunshine, but they always nourish a feeling of distrust towards the Southerners, implying that the latter culturally backward as they are, are indeed an agreeable harmless and picturesque but after all a faithless people

The Southerners regard the Latin culture as centrifugal, whereas the northern races conceive the modern culture as centripetal There is race-feeling in the South and race-pride in the North.

[Trs. Dr V V Gokhale]

Manchuria Now

Writing in the *Spectator*, Ralph Morton makes a survey of the condition of Manchuria after six years of Japanese control

The most obvious development is in the increase and improvement of communications and in the new buildings and greatly increased Japanese population of some of the larger towns The railway system has been unified extended and modernized Motor roads, built by forced labor extend all over the country They are built too slightly to last long but will probably soon be macadamized and are primarily for military purposes Air service between the main towns is also well developed The cities are becoming more and more Japanese but though the Japanese on giving up extra territorial rights gained among other benefits the right to own land anywhere not many are to be found in the country places. The currency has also been unified and nickel takes the place of the old small notes

Security of life and property is no better, and the standard of living has not improved Japanese efficiency has dealt, as foreign efficiency is liable anywhere to deal, with the externals of living alone The streets are cleaner there is some attempt at public health and dogs and bicycles must be registered To the people such efficiency is a matter of irritation and of suspicion They give more serious thought to the large tracts of land which are now abandoned For in many parts from fear of bandits, the Japanese have forced the peasants to destroy their houses and to live in towns far from their fields In some of the more settled places their land has been given to Koreans.

The Chinese inhabitant of Manchukuo finds the present dark for himself. He sees the future darker for his children He sees the best jobs going increasingly to Japanese Jobs are few so he keeps his children at school as long as he can, but he finds that the door of the school is not opening any wider There has always been a strong desire for education in Manchuria, and the proportion of illiterates has been fairly low Each village managed to have a school of sorts Now the Japanese have raised the standard of efficiency in the schools, and the effect has been to close a great many schools which were certainly not up to standard but which were doing very useful work in the villages

The Japanese ideal is to make what schools there are efficient in the work of turning out the kind of citizen they want Many primary schools have been closed and secondary education is now restricted to four years Great attention is paid to sport and physical training and to manual work In many schools the pupils do all the cleaning Along this line of physical and manual education the schools show a great improvement

But the authorities would see in physical training the only outlet for the pupils' vitality Intellectual education is carefully standardized and curtailed. Reading is discouraged and discussion forbidden The textbooks are few and inadequate and of course propagandist and the teachers are forbidden to give any instruction outside them More time is always devoted to the study of Japanese than to the study of the pupils' own language English is taught only in boys' secondary schools and there only for two hours a week In opposition to the ideal of sex equality in Chinese education and in line with Japanese practice intellectual education is even more severely curtailed in girls' schools.

Indian Music

Margaret E Cousins author of *The Music of Orient and Occident* observes in the course of an article contributed to *Inner Culture*

Western musicians do not know that India is a musical nation or that it has developed its own musical science and instruments. But what do we actually find? That since the earliest days music has been studied and venerated in India. Musical research proves more and more that if Greek and Egyptian music were not derived from the root stock of Indian music then there must have been some forgotten race which acted as musical parent to all three. The old Greek modes are all found in common use among Indian musicians

Both East and West have twelve divisions of the octave as their common stock of sound material within an octave The Indian system alone however further divides these into the twenty two *shrutis* and uses though not frequently these delightfully fine sub-divisions called quarter tones The sense of hearing of the average musician of the West or of the non musician, simply cannot distinguish these minute variations from its well known sound

The contrast between East and West in the use of the twelve semitones or *swarams* is most remarkable and from a study of it India emerges far and away superior to Europe Every form of permutation and combination of these twelve *swarams* in arrangements of seven has been scientifically classified ages ago and as the seventy two *melakartas* (scales), form what Westerners would call seventy two complete different scales. These again have been selected from to form derived partial scales or *ragams*

What do we find in the West? Only *three* out of the seventy two are used Only to three combinations of the twelve sounds taken seven at a time does the Western ear respond with keen pleasure or understanding, only

to three scale foundations has it become accustomed. The Greeks chose seven out of the possible combinations and used them for some centuries, but since about 1500 A. D., four have fallen entirely into disuse either through Western prejudice or its limited aesthetic psychology

Thus the fact remains that all Western music is formed from *Dhira Sankarabharana*, *Kiravani*, and *Gaurimanohari ragams*, according to South India terminology, in other words from the major scale the harmonic minor scale and the melodic minor scale Nothing of the beauty of *Mayamalavagaula*, the sweetness of *Kalyani* the pensiveness of *Bhavari*, the strength of *Todi*, are known to the Western world

The Western ear is accustomed only to rhythmic divisions of two, three four, six, nine, and twelve units The Indian musician delights in those composed of five, seven, ten, fourteen, and the intermediate numbers right up to twenty nine In addition to the few common in the West It is this Eastern peculiarity of rhythm that often causes the Western listener so much aesthetic discomfort He cannot find his rhythmic bearings and feels entirely at sea He tries to fit Western times into these complicated *talams* and of course it cannot be done. In disgust he exclaims, "There's no method in their madness!" whereas the fault lies in his own ignorance of what is being worked out

There is a final aspect in which the East differs very much from the West in musical matters namely, its sensitiveness to an aesthetic of hour, season mood, with the mode in which the song is sung

We Need a Vision

The following extract from *This Publishing Business* is reproduced here from *The Catholic World*

The Communist who matters is a man who has seen a vision If you want to know the essence of his vision, Our Lady said it two thousand years ago

"He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble
He hath filled the hungry with good things
And the rich he hath sent empty away"

It will go ill with us if we fail to see its splendour For we shall go on meeting the Communist with our solemn arguments showing this fact by statistics and that fact by psychology, confronting this statement of *Marx with that statement of Stalin and both with some* rigmarole from the local Communists' party platform, destroying all his foundations with the ruthlessness of our common sense—and leaving him as firmly grounded as before, but angry with us and more passionately in love with his vision than ever You cannot destroy a vision by nibbling at it or laying violent hands on it or throwing stones at it You cannot meet the vision with arguments at all You can meet a vision only with a vision We scarcely think in terms of vision at all *visions are visionary and we are as sensible as any agnostic* With all the Sun for our birthright we are cold and they are aflame with their small ray . It may be in God's providence, that the mission of the Communist with his flame was to remind us that our own fire is burning low

The Moslem World In Transition

Pauls Simpson McElroy, who spent some time as a teacher in a college in the Near East where he had ample opportunity to observe the effect of the modern thought on Islam, contributes a paper on the Moslem world in transition to *The Moslem World* The following extracts are taken from the abridged version published in *the World Christianity*

Moslems themselves are now asking if the Koran is literally inspired. Such questions challenge the sheikhs embarrassingly

It means that the Koran must undergo higher criticism just as the Bible has done Higher criticism of the Koran can be postponed no longer

Within a very few years the enrolment in the ancient and conservative theological school, El Azhar University is reported to have dropped from about ten thousand to less than five thousand So significant a drop can hardly be attributed to the depression, when tuition is virtually free and when many have chosen government or foreign schools instead Modern Mohammedan youths refuse to attend this orthodox institution, revered as it is, many of whose teachings are now regarded as obsolete



INDIAN PERIODICALS

Problems for Haripura

B Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes in the *Triveni*:

The problem still remains whether the decision to break the Federation or to use the moderate language of the Congress, to 'combat and end' it, would permit the Congress to enter the Federation that is to say to take part in the elections to the Central Legislatures and thus try to fight from within It should be clearly understood that there will be ten Ministers' appointments at the Centre There will be a keen struggle *for the Ministerships amongst the members and as the* Ministers are co-opted by the Chief Minister they are apt to be obsessed by a sense of beholdenness and obligation to their Chief and would not be powerful factors in shaping the political destiny of the country under a scheme of dyarchy It is unnecessary to analyse or appraise the situation in the Provinces on these lines for we know the exact state of things Responsible Government may be a splendid institution for carrying out a settled programme of work in the country But to ensure unity of design as well as of execution in implementing this programme it is requisite that the Ministers should engineer the fight from within Human temperaments vary considerably It serves no purpose to say that we shall go into the house of a dancing girl only to hear music or exchange amenities or appreciate beauty and not to tarnish ourselves or our character by more intimate contacts The dangers are inherent in the very nature of things. The provision of ten Ministerships is a terrible temptation that lies in the way of our politicians *We are not sure that the problem has not been* exercising the minds of Congressmen in odd quarters as to how to capture power in the Centre We shall not take long to discover that we shall not be capturing *power but we shall be captured by power The story* of catching a Tartar is bound to be illustrated in all its grim and gruesome details In the Centre at least, therefore it should be our concern and our decision not to form a Ministry

Art and the Artist

Art is subjective Its objectivity is a weakness inseparable from its practical necessity *to project beyond itself and appeal to a public* status It should be free to express itself Writes F G Bailur in *The Hindustan Review*:

Art must needs be free from arbitrary restraints, taboos and cults calculated to keep it under straight lace and the cultivated disciplines of regional loyalties But art owes it to its freedom to be loyal to its creative impulse and traditions, to surrender itself magnificently *to the conditions of its origin. It is one of the conditions* that it does not wear hoofs and horns for a merely meretricious display of escapades A poem, for instance, is good both by virtue of its inner content and the vehicle through which it is expressed Its beauty and intrinsic worth are related both to the manner and matter of its presentation. To that extent, it shares some of the restraints imposed by syntax meter (in so far as that is allowed[1]) and several other recognised canons of form Within the limits thus set, there is scope for the wildest creative freedom. The fact that it does not give way all at once to the free use of foreign words and expletives of absurd intonations and a hundred other proclivities of cultivated insouciance, cannot by any means detract from its freedom.

Every art is a rebel against its predecessor

If not for some gleam of novelty, some freshness of vision, some variant of accumulated experience, no new art could really be art properly so-called But are human measurements so impeccable that artistic creation can be the subject of passionate creed wars in which both parties assume canons of values so rigidly maintained that one or the other of them must be lunatics or imposters? It is true that in the history of man's collective rise in the scale of evolution there have been ups and downs that art has enjoyed spells of extraordinary exhuberance followed by relapse into grey immobility over long stretches of time It is certainly possible for art not only to cease to be vitally creative but also to become a parasitic strangle-hold upon creative possibilities. In science as well as in art, there exists the dominating sense of restraint from some ultimate frame of reference which cannot be betrayed something which both artists and scientists must needs take for granted as a naive faith, like Causality or, as I showed with reference to poetry, the laws *of literary composition or the characteristic ethos* of particular cultures. The alternative is a paralysing scepticism suitable for philosophic contemplation, but seldom conducive to constructive achievements

Examinations—Values and Dangers

The examination system has to be overhauled and the questions should be based more on the tests of intelligence and grasp of the subjects than on mere memory, D Purushotham arrives at this conclusion by estimating the values of examinations in*The Indian Journal of Education*

The Chinese were the *first to introduce the system* of examinations in 4000 B C. The Emperor Antonius Pias of Athens selected teachers from a competitive examination and the teachers in their turn used this system for their pupils In Greece, people got on for nearly 600 years without any examination England copied this system of examination from China, and we, from them.

of the Hindu Mahasabha, he assures the minorities that "the Hindus are willing to form a common united Indian nation and do not advance any special claims, privileges or rights reserved only for themselves over and above the non Hindu sections of Hindusthan"

If you come with you, if you don't, without you, and if you oppose in spite of you, the Hindus will continue to fight for their national freedom as best as they can" Thus succinctly and truly he lays down the position of Hindu Nationalism in its struggle for independence

The Dance in India

Sreemati Pratima Tagore writes in *The Visva Bharati Quarterly*

Long ago, in India the art of dancing had fully developed and could express the highest reaches of human thought and feeling This can be seen in many ancient paintings and especially in the cave frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh Moreover dancing held a large and important place in the cultural life of India.

We have three kinds of representative Indian dance which still exist the South Indian dance, the Manipuri dance, and the North Indian dance The South Indian dance is very ancient in origin and its influence has spread even to the Far East, it is to be seen in Java, Indo-China, Burma Ceylon and even in China and Japan. In the same way the influence of Indian fresco-painting can be seen in Boro Budur, in Anuradhapura in Sigiria, all of which date from the Buddhist era

The classical dance of the South expresses six kinds of human emotion, in Sanskrit we call them 'Rasa,' a word which is as untranslatable as the German word 'stimmung' The different 'Rasas' in the art of the dance represent the following parental feeling friendship conjugal love, strength, heroism and humour

In our ancient scripture, *Natosastra*, there are numerous descriptions of the various forms of feeling that have a universal aspect We also find therein a list of the qualities an artist should possess if he wants to dedicate his life to the art of dancing The most necessary among them are a good figure, sense of rhythm, grace of expression and of repose This word 'repose' implies that the artist or dancer must not think of the outside world, that he must avoid the temptation to attract his audience, it also means that he must merge himself into his art, into what he is creating for the moment, in order to detach himself entirely from the sense of the outer world

In the South Indian dance the different movements or poses of the hands suggest the inner meaning of the drama and represent in visual form the language of dance The symbolical name given to these movements is 'Mudra' The Southern dance, which is probably the most ancient, takes its themes from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. One can witness this dancing still in the 'Katha Kali' dance in Malabar This art developed certain dramatic qualities, and expressed them in a shape that might be called cubic in conception, in which the movements of the arms and hands are at right angles, and not in the swelling and curving motions of other Indian dances

The writer deals with the other two schools of Indian dancing also—the Manipuri dance and the North Indian dance She then observes

These movements express great strength and offer a fascinating display of rhythm through them movements become as expressive as a spoken language. I have seen a South Indian dancer acting the part of a deer at the same time as he was representing the character of the hunter When taking the part of the deer he had not only transformed his soul into that of a gazelle, but even his ears, his eyes, until every movement of his body, reflected the inner tragedy of the poor creature threatened by the hunter in the forest The impersonation was really marvellous The same thing was true of the Dance of Shiva. It carried the mind away far above the earth, to a supernormal world and made us feel the dynamic force of creation in a way that is impossible to describe.

At our Dance School at Santiniketan we have been trying to revive all the indigenous forms of dancing which were seriously in danger of dying out for want of patronage

From our studies a new art is evolving, a synthesis of all the forms handed down by tradition In other words our artists, musicians and dancers, in giving expression to their own feeling and emotion, are creating new forms on the foundation of the old

At Santiniketan we have made dance a part of our education and an important subject in the art life and training of our pupils Not only are the students trained to adapt the classical rhythms and poses to newer themes and more complex emotions, but participation in the seasonal festivals which are a regular feature of the life in Santiniketan, makes it possible for them to realise the basic relationship of dance to Nature's rhythm

To The Painter

You *maker of pictures a ceaseless traveller*
among men and things,
rounding them up in your net of vision
and bringing them out in lines
far above their social value and market price
Yonder colony of the outcaste
its crowd of rustic roofs,
and an empty field in the background
scorched by the angry April sun
are hurriedly passed by and never missed
till your wayfaring lines spoke out they are there
and we started up and said, indeed they are.

Those nameless tramps fading away every moment
into shadows
were rescued from their nothingness
and compelled us to acknowledge
a greater appeal of the real in them
than is possessed by the rajahs
who lavish money on their portraits of dubious worth
for fools to gape at in wonder

You ignored the mythological stead of paradise
when your eyes were caught by a goat
who is only noticed with our expostulation
when straying on our brinjal plot
You brought out its own majesty of goatliness
in your lines
and our mind woke up into a surprise.
The poor goat seller remains ignorant of the fact
that the picture does not represent
the commonplace beast
that is his own,
but it is a discovery

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

—This poem translated by the Poet from his original Bengali was inspired by certain sketches by the artist Nandalal Bose

Notes

"A Great Indian Scientist"

Under the above caption, the Rev John Haynes Holmes, editor of the Chicago *Unity*, who many years ago hailed Mahatma Gandhi as "the greatest man in the world," writes as follows editorially in his paper

The death last month of India's foremost scientist, Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, reminds us anew of the amazing genius of the people of India who, according to standard English doctrine, are incapable of self government. Dr Bose was one of the supreme scientific thinkers and researchers of the contemporary world His studies of plant life, as poetically beautiful as they were scientifically accurate and profound, caught the attention of mankind, and made his name as famous in the West as in the East. In any list of the ten or twelve most distinguished scientists of the last generation, Jagadis Bose's name would not only be included but ranked high. Nor was Bose the only Indian who enjoyed this unique kind of eminence among the world's great men To him must be added Mahatma Gandhi, whom we still believe to be what we hailed him many years ago—"the greatest man in the world" Then, as a third in a trinity of famous men, stands Rabindranath Tagore, poet, educator, sage and seer Many would expand this group of three to include a fourth—Jawaharlal Nehru, surely one of the outstanding political leaders of modern times, a statesman as well as an heroic advocate of the people's rights Where today can be found a nation to match India in four such men as these? Must not such towering peaks leap from an Himalayan range of intellectual and spiritual attainment which covers the length and breadth of this continental land? And note the variety in these men—Gandhi a saint, Tagore a poet Bose a scientist, Nehru a statesman! But their qualities are shared as well as distributed, for Gandhi is a statesman as well as a saint, Nehru a martyr and saint as well as a statesman, Tagore an educator and philosopher as well as a poet, and Bose used much of his scientific lore to reaffirm and glorify religion The Indian genius is as varied as it is intense, and as lofty as it is pure That the race which can produce such men, and has always produced them in its history, should lie in bondage to a military and commercial empire is an irony supremely characteristic of a world founded on materialistic ideas and violent methods

It is not generally known in India that Mr Holmes is not an ordinary journalist and minister of religion He is one of the most eminent scholars in the United States of America

Calcutta Public Meeting Against "Jinnah Rajendraprasad Pact"

On the 25th January last a public meeting of Hindu citizens was held in Calcutta to protest against the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in relation to it This was in addition to similar meetings in the mofussil There were Congressmen among its conveners and speakers In spite of other public engagements it was a crowded meeting Babu Ramananda Chatterjee presided over it The following resolution was passed unanimously

This meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta records its considered opinion that the solution of the communal problem on the lines proposed in what is called Jinnah Rajendraprasad Agreement is against the best interests of the country and is entirely unacceptable to us in that,

(*i*) it retains the existing proportion of seats between the two communities in the Legislatures and denies to the Hindu minority in Bengal even the minimum number of seats to which it is entitled according to the population ratio,

(*ii*) it proposes different franchise qualifications for the two communities and deliberately reduces the proportion of Hindu voters with a view to place the majority community in Bengal in a position of special advantage, and

(*iii*) generally it ignores the just and legitimate rights of the Hindu minority in Bengal and seeks to perpetuate the rule of an inflexile communal majority by an artificial system of reservations

This meting, therefore dissociates itself from the proposed agreement and strongly protests against the attempt to impose it on Bengal, as it will permanently cripple the political life of the people of this province and records its firm resolve not to accept any such agreement in case the Congress should ultimately decide to confirm the same"

There has never been a diplomatic document of British origin which has dealt a more deadly blow to the causes of Indian national solidarity and freedom than the so-called Communal Award It has been correctly described by Congressmen and others as anti-national and anti democratic That anybody should expect any Hindu-Moslem unity on the

basis of acceptance of this Communal Decision is very surprising Is the Congress president, are other Congressmen, not aware that this Decision was intended and manufactured by British imperialists to make Hindu-Moslem unity and the winning of independence by means of such unity impossible?

The Congress at first neither accepted nor rejected it Later it grew bolder and through its president, rejected it It even allowed Bengal Congressmen to agitate against it on national grounds But now the Congress president says

'In regard to certain political rights the Communal Award stands for the present and we have stated repeatedly that we seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned We have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which was arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad, acting as Congress President and Mr Jinnah

The Communal Award may stand not only "for the present' but permanently as a monument of British imperialistic statecraft and Indian National Congress unwisdom, weakness and lack of statesmanship but Bengal Hindus will not accept it or be reconciled to it

Mr Nehru says, "We seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned" But he can declare that the Decision "stands for the *present*" *without obtaining the concur* rence of or even consulting the Bengal Hindus, who *are* among those concerned!

As regards "the provisional agreement" referred to, many Bengal Congressmen objected to it when negotiations were going on about it in Delhi and subsequently also It is unnecessary to repeat what Mr Jinnah has said about it He has said in effect that he had nothing to do with its drafting

In relation to Panditji's declaration in his statement "that we seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned," he and other Congressmen may find the following passages *from Sir N N Sircar's Speeches and Pamphlets,* pp 260-262 and pp 263-264, interesting

The [Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald's] warning *referred to a provisional temporary arrangement.* When one turns to the decision if he is unwary, he will believe that nothing more has been done—because the decision purports to be for ten years only'

The decision however, provided that "modification might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities concerned'

Mr Nehru's assurance that no change will be sought except with the concurrence of those *concerned,* is in other words, MacDonald's proviso that "modifications might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities concerned"

With regard to the latter the following occurs in Sir N N Sircar's pamphlet, named by him "A 'Temporary' Permanent Arrangement"

I put a question to the Secretary of State (Q 7,223, p 818 of the Reports of the Proceedings of the *Committee)*

Q "I was going to ask the Secretary of State, if he will permit me As the communal decision stands it means this Assuming for the sake of argument one party has got more than it ought to have, it must assent to that being given away *before there can be any change at any time You have got to get the assent of somebody who has got more than he ought to have*

Ans If Sir N Sircar makes that hypothesis, it is so

After quoting this question and answer in his pamphlet Sir N N Sircar observes in his pamphlet

In Bengal the Muslims will have an immovable majority—a majority sent in by votes of a particular community They have got more than what can be justified on any logic,—and unless they are guilty of unexpected generosity in giving up their undeserved advantage, there cannot be any change at any time"

Purporting to make a decision, which holds good for ten years only, the authors have shown remarkable ingenuity in making it in effect, and in fact, good for all times

Sir N N Sircar concludes his pamphlet thus

If I were told that I was giving a temporary lease I would object to the expression if it was a condition that the lease could not be terminated at any time unless the tenant agreed

But then I am merely a lawyer and not a statesman having the destiny of 22 millions in my hands

Some British statesmen have succeeded in drafting a lease of Bengal for ten years to a community insisting on special electorates—and after ten years the lease cannot be terminated without magnanimous renunciation on their part

Who can say that this is not a remarkable achievement?

The whole pamphlet deserves to be read by Mr Nehru and other Congressmen

The so called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact gives to Moslems greater advantages than even the British made Communal Decision and in *addition to those given by it But even this is* not considered satisfactory Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru adds in his statement

What remains? If there is anything of importance left over, let us have it out by all means and consider it

Here there is not the faintest or remotest suggestion that in considering it Hindus, Bengal Hindus, are to be consulted or given a hearing

The Congress is a non communal body If it represents Hindus it represents Moslems also If it has more Hindu members than the Hindu Mahasabha the Varnasram Swarajya Sangha and other Hindu bodies, it has also more

Moslem members than the Moslem League If in spite of the latter fact, it feels it necessary to negotiate with the Moslem League, then in spite of the former fact, it ought to feel it necessary to consult the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu bodies also By proposing to negotiate with the Moslem League on a matter concerning the Hindus as well, it exposes itself to the Moslem accusation that it is a Hindu communal body, which it is not

On Mr Jinnah's reply to Mr Nehru's statement, it is not necessary for us to say much We will make only two comments

Mr Jinnah does not say what he wants, nor does he say why he is silent on the point So his reasons can only be guessed Perhaps he does not wish to lose the bargaining advantage If he stated his terms and Congress accepted them no further and additional demands could be made But if as he wants Congress made certain offers to him these could be made the starting point and basis for further demands Moreover, the Congress offer could be carried to the Government which could be told "Here are the concessions which Congress is ready to make, what more can *you* give? Out with it please Quick"

In the course of his rejoinder, dated Bombay January 10, Mr Jinnah says

"As for the oft repeated slogan that the Congress has declared and given full assurance with regard to religion culture and language I have made it clear that *we cannot rely upon such declarations and assurances* I want Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to realise that neither he nor the Congress is yet in the position of a sovereign power to make declarations and give assurances We want definite and effective safeguards and effective weapons by means of which we can protect not only our religion culture and language but our political rights and maintain our place and position in the government and the administration of the country

It is not our business to state how far Mr Jinnah is correct and how far incorrect in the passage quoted above It is the business of Mr Nehru and other Congressmen What we cannot understand is, if Mr Jinnah cannot rely upon such [Congress] declarations and assurances why he does not say that he will have nothing to do with the Congress Nor can we understand why the Congress or any Congress leader should be anxious to negotiate with and placate Mr Jinnah The 'definite and effective safeguards and effective weapons by means of which" Moslems ' can protect not only [their] religion culture and language, but [their] political rights and maintain [their] place and position in the government and the administration of the country," cannot be given by the Congress as he himself has said nor by any other non governmental representative body They can be given only by the British Government which enjoys the sovereign power now

The Congress is the most powerful popular representative organization As Mr Jinnah does not care for its assurances and declarations, it follows he would not care for assurances and declarations proceeding from other, less powerful, popular bodies He wants such safeguards and effective weapons, of course, from the Government, as would enable Moslems to do what they thought necessary in their interests without the co operation, sympathy, friendliness etc, of other communities This practically means that he wants for his community the majority of seats in the central legislature and in the provincial legislatures This conjecture may sound startling But let Mr Jinnah say what he wants if he does not want what we have mentioned

The following paragraphs in Mr Jinnah's statement in reply to Mr Nehru's show perhaps that the Pandit and other Congressmen have got to deal with a rather slippery customer

"I must, first of all, correct the statement which coming from a responsible person like the President of the Congress constitutes a serious misrepresentation of my position when he says, 'we have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which has been arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr Jinnah' I have repeatedly said that there was no agreement arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and myself and that I had no authority to enter into any agreement, but I was willing to place the formula of Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends before the sessions of the League provided it received the solid support of the Hindus and the Sikhs. Now it is proved and admitted that it was opposed even by a very influential body of Congress leaders at the time and the Mahasabha and Sikh leaders in a body rejected it, and hence the matter was dropped.

"Next when he says, 'We have further declared that we shall stand by' (meaning Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula) what does he mean by "we" Of course I am aware he is speaking with authority of the President *of the Congress*"

Mr C F Andrews on Keshub Chunder Sen

An account of the life and work of the great Bengali religious and social reformer Keshub Chunder Sen, was broadcast by Mr C F Andrews from the Calcutta broadcasting station Keshub Chunder Sen was born on November 19, 1838 and this year marks the centenary of his birth

Mr Andrews said

'Keshub started a society for religious conversion called the Sangat Sabha. The members met frequently, and with fiery zeal for self reformation laid bare their whole hearts freely and frankly discussed their own faults, *coveted mutual aid and criticism, and under Keshub's* guidance made most genuine progress in spiritual and moral life. Hunger and fatigue seemed to have no power

over them They sat up the whole night in Keshub's room, comparing experiences practising penitence making resolutions offering prayers In them Keshub found congenial spirits and together they formed a nucleus out of which the best materials of Keshub's subsequent movements were supplied

Out of this religious fervour two practical results followed First, a deep sense of the reality of sin as shutting the human soul out from communion with God Purity and chastity in domestic life became paramount and a high standard of moral idealism was established among them This high standard came at a very critical *time in the life of modern Bengal and produced* characters both in public and private life of which the whole of Bengal has been rightly proud Such saintly lives as that of Krishna Kumar Mitra and others too numerous to mention came directly out of this religious revival In the second place Keshub realized the supreme necessity of philanthropic and social service in the cause of the poor During the famine of 1860-61 Keshub was able to organize relief on behalf of the sufferers in a way that had not been done before Here again he set up a high standard of social service which left its deep impression on future generations of students and awakened an echo in other provinces also

"The Crisis in Culture"

On the 5th January last Professor Radha Kamal Mukherji of Lucknow University delivered a lecture on the crisis in culture He observed that in Europe and America a profound crisis in moral and social life has been brought by the supremacy of the State and the class and the invasion of the community by relatively impersonal and mechanical modes of behaviour and relationships in every field Continuing he said

> The great society created by steam and electricity is no community it is however aspiring to be a community through the regional and functional idea which is based neither on the power of the State nor on the ideology of the class but on a planned participation of all social groups and individuals in the fair fruits of culture The aspiration of modern industrial planning whether in Soviet Russia or in the U S A., is the breaking up of big business into small governing workshops co-operatives corporations and guilds with powers of self government giving opportunities for active citizenship for art and culture"

As regards the East the speaker observed

> In the East on the other hand, wherever the ancient social frame-work—caste, rural community or joint family, —has thwarted individual initiative and efficiency grave cultural crisis is averted by importing the ideal of individualistic justice from the West That ideal derived as it is from the contractual rational aspects of social life, has shown its abuses in the West, but is now bringing about a vital orientation in the East"

In his opinion

> "Such cultural interpenetration is not a matter of mere ideology discernible only in our thought and faith It is a social process and experience which *India has* to achieve and develop by bridging the present gulf between the academy and the masses That is the essential goal of the mass-contact stressed by the Congress today in India"

The relations between the propertied classes and the masses require to be revised and re-adjusted

> "Wherever the peasant stoops under an excessive burden of debt the tenant is denied permanence and heritability or the farm hand workers as a bond slave without the wherewithal of a bare subsistence the relations between the landlords tenants and agricultural labourers and between creditors and debtors cry for a revision in terms of the new scale of individualistic justice Where in our factories and workshops industrial labour is exploited and in the squalid chawls and bustees of our industrial cities manhood is brutalised womanhood dishonoured and childhood poisoned at its source a new conception of economic rights the rights of all workers to a minimum wage, to a decent standard of housing education and the amenities of life must aid us in securing social justice'

Similarly individualism must come to the rescue of India's womanhood

> "Where again, the overawing authority of an institutional religion or a male code of ethics has perpetuated the ignorance incapacity and subservience of Indian womanhood there is need of stressing the new individualistic ideal for obtaining a fair treatment to one-half of India's humanity"

The speaker then proceeded to point out the part which the universities should play in bringing about the coming changes

> "In economic legislation in land readjustment in the labour movement in social reform and in political reconstruction the universities of India must now supply the leadership"

In conclusion Prof Mukherji appealed to the youths to prepare themselves for this great task of leadership, which would be "an apprenticeship for service to science, to the nation and to humanity It is the assiduous thinking realism and courage of convictions of the youth of India which alone can renovate the social and economic life of the masses in the best interests of social harmony and justice and tide over the cultural crisis through which India is passing today"

Violent Fighting in Abyssinia

London Jan 26

> The Ethiopian Legation has made a statement claiming that according to direct reports from Abyssinia, violent fighting is continuing in several provinces in the north and north west
>
> Attempts by flying and motorised Italian columns to recapture lost positions have met at the most only with temporary success. The positions occupied often proved grave the next day
>
> The statement alleges that three battalions of Eritreans have deserted and claims that in the past two months Italian losses total 20 officers and 5993 Italians and Askaris. The Abyssinian losses are equally large
>
> *The Abyssinians captured 43 lorries, many rifles,* machine-guns, artillery and ammunition.
>
> The statement alleges that following the non-observance of certain conditions by the Italians 18 officers were massacred at Debra Markos, the capital of the

Gojan province and for reprisal 30 to 40 aeroplanes leave Addis Ababa daily and bombard the towns in the province

The statement concludes that the Abyssinians are masters of the situation in many districts—*Reuter*

ROME JAN 26

The statement of the Ethiopian legation in London is most strongly denied in official quarters It is stated Italy is in full control of every part of Ethiopia. It is suggested the Ethiopian statement is designed to prevent any step by the League members in favour of future recognition of Italy's Ethiopian empire—(*Reuter*)

LONDON JAN 27

In view of the Ethiopian story and its denial it is interesting to note that the official newspaper Armed Forces" published in Rome admits that there was severe fighting in North Abyssinia last September in the course of which 400 Italians were surrounded by rebels in the neighbourhood of Lalibela and a relieving force of 200 were similarly surrounded at Bilbala and Gorgis

The beleaguered Italians were only saved from destruction by the tireless efforts of the air force from Diremawa 200 miles away which dropped food money and munitions to the invested troops and bombed and machinegunned the rebels No information is afforded regarding the rescue of those surrounded—(*Reuter*)

U P Government Misters and Esquires All Provincial Officers

Allahabad Jan. 26

The Government have prohibited the use of Lala Babu Munshi Maulvi etc in addressing the provincial service officers in U P

The action has been taken in pursuance of objections raised by some provincial service associations In future all officers of provincial services except the doctors will be addressed in official communications as Esquire" and the prefix Mr" will be used with their names in all official orders, correspondence, etc The Government point out in a circular letter that they do not consider there is anything derogatory in the use of these traditional appellations according to Indian social usage, but in view of the feeling among some provincial officers and to secure uniformity they have issued these orders It appears that representation had been made by some provincial service associations

It has been often observed that those persons who mister and esquire themselves and insist upon being mistered and esquired by others consider themselves superior to babus, lalas, munshis, maulvis etc They are snobbish Those lalas, babus, munshis, maulvis, etc, who have a sneaking preference for being mistered and esquired are also snobbish

The Hindu Mahasabha on the Sino Japanese Situation

New Delhi Jan 26

Apropos the controversy about the alleged support of the Hindu Mahasabha to Japan's aggression in China, the Hindu Mahasabha Head Office has issued a statement to the Press in the course of which it says that no resolution was moved in the Subjects Committee or passed in the open session at Ahmedabad as it was considered unwise to make any declaration of support to either side at the present moment The subject was never considered officially by the Mahasabha either before or after the session—U P

The controversy would never have arisen if Seth Padmaraj Jain who is general secretary to the Hindu Mahasabha and one of whose letters to the Japanese consul-general has given rise to the controversy had either not written to the consul general the letter in question or made it quite clear in the letter that he was giving expression only to his personal opinion

We did not know or suspect ere this that any Indian had pro-Japanese and anti Chinese sympathies so far as the present Sino-Japanese relations were concerned Perhaps we ought to have been able to imagine that Indians who profited by business relations with the Japanese might probably sympathise with them

As regards sympathy with Japan on religious grounds if Japanese Buddhists could be said to be Indian Hindus' fellow-believers why could not Chinese Buddhists also be considered Indian Hindus' fellow believers?

Some years ago the editor of this *Review* was connected with the Hindu Mahasabha One of the reasons though not the only reason why he severed his connection with it, was the practice of some important honorary office-bearers of that body of making statements on behalf of it which were not authorized by it officially and formally

The Bible Held Not Infallible By Anglican Commission

London Jan 14.

The report of the Commission appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922 to consider the Christian doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of agreement within the Anglican Church and investigating how far the differences can be removed or diminished has now been published

It challenges the traditional beliefs at several points and rejects the infallibility of the Bible saying that its authority must not prejudge investigation in any field

The report regards the historical evidence for virgin birth as inconclusive and declares that the literalistic belief in the physical resurrection of the dead must be rejected

On the other hand it declares that the resurrection of Christ was an event as real and concrete as the Crucifixion

The Commission is divided with regard to whether miracles occur but it is agreed that God can work miracles if He pleases

The report says there is no objection to the Theory of Evolution which can be drawn from creation narratives in the Genesis Christians agree that these are of mythological origin and their value for us is symbolic rather than historical—*Reuter*

Shahidganj Appeal Dismissed

Lahore Jan 26

A Full Bench of the Lahore High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Justice Bhide and Din Mohammad pronounced orders today in the Shahidganj

sanitation He is one of the foremost Bengali writers on sanitary and hygienic topics He is an ardent Congressman and has been noted throughout his long career for independence of spirit He is fervent in his piety and is a distinguished singer of Kirtans The following passage is taken from a character sketch of the doctor in the *Hindusthan Standard*

But the greatest inspiration of his political work came from Shivanath Sastri one of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj In 1876 under the latter's leadership was organised a society the members of which took vows for securing freedom, social religious and political Bipin Chandra Pal in his "Memories of My Life and Times" thus refers to this episode

"The original copy of the pledge which we signed was lost many years ago how we never found out It was a remarkable document drawn up by Pandit Shiva Nath The first article pledged the members to put up a strenuous and uncompromising fight against current image-worship and caste-domination in the Hindu Society

The next article of this pledge was distinctly political It started with the declaration that "self government is the only form of political government ordained by God " They added a significant rider to this political declaration to the effect that while obeying the laws and institutions of the present foreign government in the country they would not even if faced with extreme poverty and economic destitution and all the miseries consequent upon it, take service under this Government The exact Bengali words were "never to agree to accept the slavery of this foreign Government"

The next article in this pledge discussed ways and means for advancing the country to this goal of self government Education came here first the removal of the disabilities under which the Hindu widows labour , and the breaking down of the "purdah" system The national physique must be simultaneously cultivated and improved along with the national intellect The signatories, therefore pledged themselves lastly to learn to ride and shoot and preach the duties of acquiring this military training and aptitudes to their fellow countrymen There was as yet no Arms Act. "

Rector Laurin Zilliacus on Santiniketan

The International Delegation of the New Education Fellowship visited Santiniketan on the last day of 1937 and the first day of 1938 Interviewed by the *United Press of India*, its leader Rector Laurin Zilliacus, said, in part

"I have unfortunately not been able to see the school or college at work but I have met its teachers, seen some of the healthy and happy children and explored its remarkably equipped libraries and other departments Above all I have the privilege of sitting once more at the feet of the Poet and I can understand that Santiniketan is a place of pilgrimage for all those interested in education and devoted to the great traditions of the human spirit."

Regarding village work of Sreeniketan Rector Zilliacus said

"It is the kind of thing we have been dreaming about in New Education This work of Visva Bharati is directed to an active recognition of material basis of life It happily aims at fulfilling the first need in educational reconstruction by developing better economic and sanitary conditions and such economic organisations as are indispensable to that end But the work of Sreeniketan also realises that a great deal more is required. Man does not live by bread alone Due attention is therefore paid to the spiritual side of reconstruction hence they have art, music and traditional festivals and ceremonies—all woven into the texture of the life of the institution Education must move on all fronts and improve all sides of life India is fortunate in having the Poet as its great leader of educational reconstruction in the widest sense of the term"

Kenya Highlands to be European Monopoly

With reference to the proposed issue by the Government of Kenya of an Order in Council reserving the ownership of land in the Kenya Highlands for Europeans, Mr C F Andrews has called attention to the subject in the course of a press statement Therein he says inter alia

"The issue was one of the gravest importance because if an Order in Council is passed reserving 16 000 square miles in the Kenya Highlands in perpetuity for Europeans, permanent injustice would be done not only to the Indian community but also to indigenous Africans who will thus be shut out for ever from the most healthy and fertile part of Kenya"

Mr Andrews adds

"Ever since the Kenya conversations in 1920, nearly 10 000 square miles had been reserved for Europeans under the Governor's veto but that was quite different from an Order in Council Under the Morris Carter Commission of 1934-35 it had been proposed to add 6,000 more square miles of fertile territory to the ten thousand already reserved for Europeans Now it seemed an effort would be made to reserve 16 000 square miles in all not merely under the Governor's veto but also by an Order in Council which will make the whole matter final"

A Tennis Expert on the Bratachari Movement

Harijan states that Mr L Brooke Edwards, Secretary of the All India Lawn Tennis Association, studied the Bratachari movement and said that when viewed from the all important point of view of the development of national health, there was not much to be said for the game (tennis) Mr Brooke Edwards was reported to have added that the game was expensive to play and in India there were many millions of people who would never be able to buy a really good racket and if they were to try to do anything toward bettering their health, they must endeavour to find some form of exercise that could be enjoyed with practically no financial outlay Mr Brooke Edwards, continues *Harijan* is firmly convinced that Mr G S Dutt has found such a form of exercise in his Bratachari movement

The "Bhavans" of Visva bharati

The objects sought to be promoted by the foundation of the Hindi Bhavan will be found stated in detail in Mr C F Andrews' article on the subject Other "Bhavans" may be opened in course of time at Santiniketan for the promotion of the culture enshrined in some of the other provincial languages and literatures of India Those students of Visva-bharati whose mother-tongue is not Bengali—and even the Bengali students themselves, who want to derive all the possible advantage from study and residence at Visva-bharati will naturally understand that just as non-British students in British Universities, non-German students in German Universities, non-French students in French Universities, and so on, have to know English, German, French, etc, in order to derive the greatest possible advantage from their study and residence in those universities, so the Bengali language and literature—particularly the Bengali works of Rabindranath Tagore—require to be studied by them if their object is to be gained Visva-bharati does not make the study of the Bengali language and literature compulsory for every college student or student of the research department, so far as we know But we take it for granted that those who go to Visva bharati for study, do so to receive what Bengal and Rabindranath Tagore can give In addition to providing facilities for the imbibing of the spirit of the cultural movement for which Rabindranath Tagore stands, he has been gradually providing facilities for the study of Chinese culture and different Indian provincial cultures Buddhist studies, Zoroastrian studies, Islamic studies, for which Visva-bharati gives facilities, give proof of the broad outlook of Visva-bharati There is no overt or covert religious, linguistic or cultural imperialism there

This is what we understand to be the spirit of Visva-bharati

Mr M N. Roy's Advice "Join the Congress"

After an absence of about a quarter of a century from Bengal, where he was born and had his upbringing, Mr M N Roy came back to his native province last month The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee presented him with an address of welcome In the course of his reply to it, Mr Roy said

"I shall say only a few words in connection with one of the points raised in the address It is mentioned there that during my long sojourn abroad I had had opportunity of coming in contact with revolutionary movements in other countries and consequently have had some experience thereof My country expects to be benefited by my experience I may tell you at the outset that I have returned to India with that purpose I have returned to India for the purpose of placing at the disposal of the political workers of our country the little experience I have acquired in consequence of my participation in the revolutionary movements of other countries Now how to do that? That is the first question that has confronted me"

The answer followed

Having considered the question from all points of view in the jail, I came to the conclusion that anybody who wants to participate effectively in the struggle for the political and social liberation of our country, must join the Indian National Congress. Twenty five years ago the Indian National Congress was entirely something different Today the Indian National Congress represents a mighty revolutionary movement It derives its strength from the politically awakened masses of our people It is no longer an organization of some middle-class amateur politicians who meet once a year, pass some resolutions and ultimately forget all about them. The Congress is a mass organization, a living organization It represents the revolutionary urge of our population Therefore, it provides a platform to all who are interested in the social and economic liberation of our country On the other hand it being a broad common platform, it cannot go up to the expectations of every body There are politically minded people in our country who regard the Congress as an extremely revolutionary and dangerous organization On the other hand, radical and revolutionary element in our country looks upon the Congress as a conservative, impotent, weak, vacillating and counter revolutionary organization The truth is on neither side The truth is in the middle Congress is the organization of the oppressed and the exploited masses of the Indian people. It does not represent the interest of any particular section. Therefore, those who join the Congress must do so not as representing any particular section, but as representing the common interests of the oppressed and the exploited majority of our population That is not an ordinary majority, but that majority includes more than ninety per cent of our population.

Swaruprani Nehru

Srimati Swaruprani Nehru's life will for ever remain an example for India's women to follow and a source of inspiration to them, whatever their position and work in society may be Wife of a great and heroic leader in India's fight for freedom and mother of heroic children who have taken part unflinchingly in the same patriotic struggle, she was herself a heroine in the best sense of the word Not many are the patriotic families in the country of which all the members—father and mother, son and daughter-in-law, daughters and a son-in-law, have made sacrifices and courted and undergone imprisonment in furtherance of the country's cause Nurtured in the lap of luxury, Srimati Swaruprani Nehru bravely endured the hardships of jail life, bore on her person without flinching lathi charges of the police, and dauntlessly faced separation from her nearest and dearest

sanitation He is one of the foremost Bengali writers on sanitary and hygienic topics He is an ardent Congressman and has been noted throughout his long career for independence of spirit He is fervent in his piety and is a distinguished singer of *Kirtans* The following passage is taken from a character sketch of the doctor in the *Hindusthan Standard*

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"I have unfortunately not been able to see the school or college at work but I have met its teachers seen some of the healthy and happy children and explored its remarkably equipped *libraries* and other departments. Above all, I have the privilege of sitting once more at the feet of the Poet and I can understand that Santiniketan is a place of pilgrimage for all those interested in education and devoted to the great *traditions of the* human spirit."

Regarding village work of Sreeniketan Rector Zilliacus said

"It is the kind of thing we have been dreaming about in New Education. This work of Visva Bharati is directed to an active recognition of *material basis of* life It happily aims at fulfilling the first need in educational reconstruction by developing better economic and *sanitary conditions and such economic organisations as* are indispensable to that end But the work of Sreeniketan also realises that a great deal more is required Man does not live by bread alone Due attention is therefore paid to the spiritual side of reconstruction hence they have art, music and traditional festivals and ceremonies—all woven into the texture of the life of *the institution Education must move on all fronts and* improve all sides of life India is fortunate in having the Poet as its great leader of educational reconstruction in the widest sense of the term"

Kenya Highlands to be European Monopoly

With reference to the proposed issue by the Government of Kenya of an Order in Council reserving the ownership of land in the Kenya Highlands for Europeans, Mr C F Andrews has called attention to the subject in the course of a press statement Therein he says inter alia

"The issue was one of the gravest importance because if an Order in Council is passed reserving 16 000 square miles in the Kenya Highlands in perpetuity for Europeans, permanent injustice would be done not only to the Indian community but also to indigenous Africans who will thus be shut out for ever from the most healthy and fertile part of Kenya"

Mr Andrews adds

"Ever since the Kenya conversations in 1920 nearly 10 000 square miles had been reserved for Europeans under the Governor's veto *but* that was quite *different* from an Order in Council Under the Morris Carter Commission of 1934-35 it had been proposed to add 6 000 more square miles of fertile territory to the ten thousand already reserved for Europeans Now it seemed an effort would be made to reserve 16 000 square miles in all not merely under the Governor's veto but also by an Order in Council which will *make* the whole matter final"

A Tennis Expert on the Bratachari Movement

Harijan states that Mr L Brooke Edwards, Secretary of the All India Lawn Tennis Association, studied the Bratachari movement and said that when viewed from the all important point of view of the development of national health, there was not much to be said for the game (tennis) Mr Brooke Edwards was reported to have added that the game was expensive to play and in India there were many millions of people who would never be able to buy a really good racket and if they were to try to do anything toward bettering their health they must endeavour to find some form of exercise that could be enjoyed with practically no financial outlay Mr Brooke Edwards, continues *Harijan* is firmly convinced that Mr G S Dutt has found such a form of exercise in his Bratachari movement.

"Professor" Ramamurti

The death of "Professor" Ramamurti removes from India a man who perhaps more than any other Indian strong men demonstrated to the world India's ability to produce men who could compete on equal terms with the world's strongest men and perhaps surpass them in some respects He was a distinguished physical culturist

Mr Butler on 40 Hour Week

When on the 4th January last the president of the Ahmedabad Mill-Owners' Association welcomed Mr Butler, Director of the International Labour Office Geneva, and made a suitable speech,

Mr Butler, replying said he was glad that industrial peace had been maintained here for many years through the machinery of arbitration initiated by M Gandhi The labour problems in India were not difficult of solution He particularly agreed that a 40 hour week was not suitable to India.

He concluded 'You are not a backward country *Your Labour problem is not the same as that of the West* and a separate treatment would be more practical and would produce more concrete results The conditions in this city are better than in any other industrial centre in India. With such an organization as yours there is a *great future for the Indian textile industry*"—*United Press*

What We Told Mr. Butler in 1926

Mr Butler's visit to India reminds us of the conversation which we had with him at Geneva in September, 1926 He was then *Deputy Director of the International Labour* Office What we told him then as recorded in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, pp 588—589, may be of some interest even now Here is part of it

"I observed that so far as India's desire and efforts for political emancipation were concerned the League of Nations would be of as much help to her as a college debating society He did not say either yes or no I went on *to add that on the other hand, the International* Labour Office might be able to do some good to the labouring population of India if it did its work properly As there were in India many women among factory labourers, I suggested that there should be an educated *Indian lady* to represent these women at the International Labour Conferences held under the auspices of the International Labour *Office For men are not always able or* eager or willing to represent women's grievances I said that an Indian woman like Mrs *Sarojini Naidu would be* able to speak up as eloquently and courageously and with as much information for women workers as any male *representative* of male workers has hitherto spoken or may hereafter speak for both male and female labour But, I added, that it was not likely that the Government of India would nominate a woman like Mrs Naidu Thereupon Mr Butler interposed *the remark that the* International Labour Office could independently and directly invite a woman delegate But I see that this year (1927) at any rate no Indian lady has been invited. Whether any such person would be invited in any future year is more than I can say And Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is not the only woman whose name could be suggested

"Our conversation drifted to the topic of the effi*ciency of labour in India I suggested illiteracy* and ignorance as among the principal causes of the comparative inefficiency of labour in India. I added that, far from the Government of India doing anything in the direction of free and compulsory education, it adopted a *worse attitude than that of mere indifference* to the late Mr Gokhale's primary education bill, which was thrown out Other bills of a similar nature, dealing piecemeal with rural and urban areas in some province or other, have some times been passed, but Government has not *yet evinced any particularly unusual enthusiasm* in this direction I also said that during the last great World War, if not earlier, it has been proved that the more educated the privates of an army are, the more efficient is the army That being the case it goes without saying that in industrial pursuits, *the more educated* the workers are, the greater would be their efficiency and the better the quality of the manufactures Mr Butler spoke *little* But on this topic he put the question, 'Is there a demand for universal free and compulsory education in India?' I replied Yes there is."

"I did not say anything more on this subject. But *the question has not ceased to haunt my mind I have* often asked myself 'Must there always be a demand for a good thing on the part of the people before it *is* supplied? Take the case of Japan When the Emperor Mutsuhito proclaimed that it was his desire that there should be no village in Japan without a school and no family with an illiterate member, did he do so in response to any popular demand? *No* When *elementary education* was made free and compulsory in Japan in 1871, was that again due to any popular demand? No Or take the case of England herself When after the passing of a Reform Act the numbers of voters greatly increased, *and in consequence Robert Lowe Viscount* Sherbrooke, said words to the effect 'We must educate our masters' and subsequently the first steps were taken *towards* providing national education in England was that done because of any universal demand?

Dr Gosuami Discovers Method of Preparing Plastics

A discovery of far reaching industrial importance has been made by Dr M N Goswami of the Applied Chemistry Department of the University College of Science and Technology Calcutta He has been successful in *preparing* Plastics of all *kinds such as grease*, wax, resin and bakelite like products from common vegetable oils

After laborious research work extending over years in this line he accidentally got his first product which was soft like vaseline

Surprised but encouraged at the same time he examined minutely the conditions of his experiment as on the surface they appeared to be the same as in the previous cases of failures He found that this time through *mistake he had used an apparatus which was hopelessly* defective and the chemical added was very impure

He therefore, proceeded at once to *scrutinise the* defects and analysed the impurities present in the chemical which seemed apparent

Under the same defective conditions he repeated his experiments numerous times, getting the same result in each case He then began to study the process thoroughly from the point of view of temperature pressure and other *conditions by altering the later factors and successively*

got semi solid waxy and finally beautiful resinous substances

Realizing now full well that he was face to face with products of extreme industrial importance Dr Goswami then devoted nights and days to standardizing the conditions in which each of the substances could be exclusively obtained on a large scale with minimum cost of production and his labours have now been crowned with success

He has prepared in semi large scale superfatting material for soaps lubricating grease for machineries, hard shining waxes for polishes and hard resins for varnishes insulating materials and gramophone records The cost of production varies from three annas to six annas according as cheaper or costly oils are taken

India imports on the head of resins and waxes alone, goods worth about half a crore of rupees The success of Dr Goswami s process utilizing a raw material in which India will never be wanting appears to have brilliant future as his results are fraught with enormous industrial possibilities.

His laboratory is now full of plastics (technical name of the products mentioned) of different kinds and he is busily engaged in studying the characteristics of his products in all their bearings

Dr Goswami s process is very simple he heats the oil with a small amount of a chemical (which is very cheap and found in abundant quantities in India) and the entire mass of oil becomes solid of desired state with an a short period The sight of the shining waxes and resins and the circular boxes and other products prepared therefrom appears to be quite interesting considering their origin—a simple common vegetable oil

Persons in Bengal Under Detention

During question time in the Bengal Legislative Council on Friday the following questions among others were asked and answered —

PERSONS UNDER DETENTION

Mr Shrish Chandra Chakravarti asked —Will the Hon ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the total number of detenus who have been detained without trial

(*b*) when they are expected to be released

(*c*) the total number of political prisoners who have been sentenced after trial

(*d*) where they are imprisoned whether within Bengal or outside Bengal but in India

(*e*) whether all the prisoners who were at the Andamans, have been brought back to Bengal

(*f*) if not, how many are *still there and when they* are likely to be brought back and

(*g*) whether any of the said prisoners are suffering from the effects of hunger strike and if any person or persons have died as a result thereof?

The Hon ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin replied —The hon ble member s question is of such a comprehens ve character that the statistical information required for the answers does not exist and cannot be collected without an amount of labour which I regret Government are not prepared to undertake

Prompt Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners Demanded

Public opinion has been insistently demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners Generally speaking tho e persons have been detained without trial whom Government suspected of plotting to make attempts to subvert the government Their object was to win self-government for the country Political prisoners are those who, in the opinion of Government, have been found guilty after trial of some political offence Their object was also to win self rule Now, in the opinion of Government, self-government has been given to India by the Government of India Act of 1935 The attainment of self government by countries not previously self governing is generally followed by the release of political prisoners That is one reason why India's political prisoners should be released There is stronger reason for the release of detenus for their guilt was never proved or even attempted to be proved

The persons who are now ministers in the different provinces—particularly those of the Congress party were elected members of legislatures partly because of the promise contained in their election manifestoes that they would release political prisoners if they were elected They should, therefore, now keep their promise

It has never been proved that the detenus were terrorists, and all political prisoners were not terrorists Those among either group who believed in the cult of terrorism have solemnly declared that they no longer believe in terrorism They all want to follow non violent methods in their future political activities if they engage in any There is therefore, no reason why they should be kept deprived of liberty any longer That they would, if released, work for winning independence for the country is no argument against setting them free Are not the Congress ministries all working openly for independence? We know definitely that some editors were warned because their journals contained allegations that the British Government in India was an exploiting government or an oppressive government, or a government which had destroyed the culture and spirituality of India, and some similar allegation Some have been actually tried and punished on those grounds But on the Independence Day, exactly identical declarations have been made all over India

So, it seems once a man is dubbed a political criminal or a political suspect, he must continue to suffer whilst other men never or not now behind prison walls, may be doing or saying things for which those unfortunate persons lost their liberty !

The non release of political prisoners is greatly exercising the mind of Mahatma Gandhi delaying his restoration to normal health The release of political prisoners will greatly expedite his recovery and the prolongation of his life His life is an asset not merely to his countrymen but to Government al o He is standing between

Government and the forces of a possibly violent revolution Government can never expect a more considerate opponent one more devoted to non violence So, if our British rulers were wise, they would do everything in their power to prolong his life and increase his influence Unwise rulers may thoughtlessly rely on their power to crush violent attempts at revolution But, assuming they possess such power, would not even abortive attempts at revolution by violent methods cost men and money and encourage enemies of the British people in the West and the East to work against them?

Whatever Government may think we want all our young men and women to enjoy liberty so that their intellect their heart affluence and their energy may be utilized to the full for their own good and the good of India and the world

Japan's Apologies

Japan has been insulting various Western powers in many ways and apologizing to them thereafter If any comparatively weak country had insulted these big powers they would have let loose the dogs of war Not that we want them to fight Japan What we cannot but think is that those who bully the weak are exactly those who kotow to the strong

It need not be concealed that though we hate and condemn Japanese imperialism there is in India a sneaking admiration for Japan's spanking Western bullies

Independence Day Celebrations in India

'Independence Day' was celebrated all over India on the 26th January last. Foreigners should not make the mistake of thinking that that day was the anniversary of the date of India's winning independence No It was merely the day when India repeated her resolve to win independence—a far different thing

Independence Day Celebrated in Britain

The Amrita Bazar Patrika's own correspondent in London has telegraphed to it that

The Independence Day was observed in London in a well attended enthusiastic meeting tonight when Indians pledged themselves to complete Independence Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called that there cannot be any solution of the Indian problem without complete independence.

Sir Stafford Cripps in a message says that such complete independence as will enable Indians to develop their own lives and culture unfettered by Imperialist shackles is the only goal that can satisfy those who really believe in freedom and democracy

Prof Laski said that British rule in India was as autocratic and high handed as Hitler's in Germany and Mussolini's in Italy

When we protest against bombing of Madrid, Canton and Abyssinia we forget that our hands are not absolutely clean We forget that British imperialism is bombing defenceless people in the North West Frontier Province We forget that thousands of Indians are detained without trial and put in concentration camps" ,

Prof Laski hoped that Indians are fighting not only the British Imperialism but also for the emancipation of the Indian masses

"No Voluntary Gift"

Mr Strauss declared that the Government of India Act of 1935 was not a voluntary gift of British Imperialism The British governing class realised the strength of the Indian people under the leadership of Congress and was forced to make a concession though small and insignificant

In asking the British working class to support the Indian demand, Mr Strauss declared that liberty freedom and democracy are not national creeds, they are international creeds for which the British labour movement whole heartedly stands

Similar Independence Day meetings were held tonight at Manchester Edinburgh Oxford, Cambridge, Reading and Glasgow

Reclamation of Barren Soil by Molasses

In the course of a lecture on the reclamation of barren soil by the use of molasses delivered at Cawnpore by Professor Dr N R Dhar of the Allahabad University, it was said

Dr Dhar found that "usar" lands in India have many defects chief among them being high alkalinity deficiency of Calcium deficiency of Nitrogen deficiency of organic matter and deficiency in bacterial activity but these defects according to him could be removed by the use of molasses in alkaline soils As an example he cited the case of Mysore Government where 1250 pounds of rice were obtained in an acre for two consecutive years without further treatment by molasses. The Mysore Government was highly satisfied with the results and are now making large scale experiments He suggested that the best way for using surplus molasses is to use it for reclamation of alkaline lands

The Blank Cheque That Mr Roy Would Have Given

Adressing a crowded meeting at the Muslim Institute Calcutta on the 27th January last, Mr M N Roy said

"If I had any hand in shaping the Congress policy, I should be prepared to give my Muslim brethren any guarantee any protection in any form they want"

Such a blank cheque could have been given only by robbing Peter to pay Paul

Whatever that may be Mahatma Gandhi, who since 1920 has shaped Congress policy more than any other person did give such a blank cheque to the Indian Muhammadans But they did not accept it. And why? Because a condition was attached to the cheque The condition was that Indian Muslims were to have that blank cheque if they made common cause with the Hindus in India's struggle for freedom Now, Indian Muslims are wise realists, not

foolish idealists They know that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush So they consider it better to curry favour with the British rulers of India who wield sovereign power and get from them *now* what they want than accept the Congress blank cheque which can be cashed only in the future on the advent of Swaraj which may never come

Nevertheless they do not object to carry on negotiations with the Congress through some persons belonging to their own community Such negotiations have this advantage that what Congress may propose or offer in the course of them may be used for getting some more concessions from the Government For example when at the Unity Conference at Allahabad it was agreed that Moslems were to have 32 per cent of the seats in the Central Legislature it came about by some mysterious process that a day or two after the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons that the British Government had decided that the Muhammadans were to have 33⅓ per cent of the seats in the Central Legislature!

Mr M N Roy s blank cheque will be acceptable to all Moslems provided he can convince them that what is mentioned in the cheque can be drawn now immediately on presentation not in the future Swaraj days and provided also that he does not lay down the condition that Hindus and Moslems should unite in a common struggle for freedom

Our observations do not apply to those nationalist Mussalmans who have joined *unconditionally* with non Muslim nationalists in the common struggle for freedom

About Sir J C Bose

All facts relating to the life and researches of Sir J C Bose are valuable Such is the following letter which has been recently found among his papers

SOCIETAS SCIENTIARUM FENNICA

Helsingfors
November 23 1929

Sir Jagadis Ch Bose
Emeritus Professor
Calcutta
Dear Sir

I have the great pleasure of sending you the diploma as Honorary Member of our Society

Since many years I am especially occupied with the study of the misunderstood structure of Lichens but in earlier years I was pursuing physiology I was a scholar of Sache at the same time as Francis Darwin and I was the first one to prove that in transpiration the water is moving in the interior of the vessels not in their wall I considered that this propulsion of sap could be mechanically explained but your experiments have completely converted me

Your views of the fundamental unity of life reactions in plants and animals and also of the agreement between the Living and Non Living will certainly have an immense influence on the evolution of Biology I am glad to have lived to see the commencement of this new era and hope that you will give us more sublime thoughts and marvellous apparatus

Yours sincerely
(Sd) Fredr Elfving

Dr Fred Elfving the writer of the letter printed above is Emeritus professor at Helsingfors Finland and plant physiologist and lichenologist The experiments which he refers to in the second paragraph of his letter relate to the ascent of sap in trees

Romain Rolland on Sir J C Bose

The following sentence occurs in Letters from the Editor published in *The Modern Review* for May 1927 page 591

> When we were led to speak of Sir J C. Bose s work M Rolland observed that the Indian scientist had also the imagination of a poet"

The Indian Science Congress Jubilee

The silver jubilee of the Indian Science Congress celebrated in Calcutta last month was a great event not only for Calcutta and Bengal but for the whole of India Besides distinguished British and other foreign scientists many Indian scientists including some lady scientists assembled here on the occasion Those who were in charge of the arrangements are to be congratulated upon the smoothness with which everything passed off For days together Calcutta had a surfeit of scientific lectures The foreign ladies some of them scientists themselves and others the wives of scientists were helped by some Indian ladies in sight seeing seeing educational and other institutions and in making purchases of specimens of Indian arts and crafts

India's Backwardness in Science

The number of Indian scientists who came to Calcutta last month and the distinction of some of them must not be allowed to blind us to the very backward condition of India in the matter of scientific education and scientific research A country of which barely 10 per

say" remarked Mr Laidlaw, "that the Bengalee is unsuitable physically for military training is, to my mind, nonsense."

The second body to voice the demand was the Calcutta Corporation.

Following a lively debate the Calcutta Corporation on Friday adopted a resolution recommending to the British Government that for the protection of the civil population of cities like Calcutta from enemy's attack the *citizens and ratepayers of Calcutta between the ages of* 21 and 40 be given full military training for three months at least every year with full military equipment.

"In the opinion of the Corporation of Calcutta," the resolution added, "half hearted or makeshift measures will *not solve the problem of defence of such cities* as at present the world seems to be rapidly drifting towards war"

The Europeans did not participate in the voting

Crowded Public Meeting Demands Release of Political Prisoners

At a crowded public meeting held in Shraddhananda Park Calcutta on the 22nd January last which was presided over by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee and attended among others by Mr C F Andrews the following resolution was passed unanimously

The citizens of Calcutta assembled in the meeting clearly express their opinion that it was the first duty of the Ministers elected by the people to set all political prisoners under the previous Governments at liberty *There could be no substantial reason behind this undue* delay in discharging the responsibility Specially when all the political prisoners had abjured terrorism that delay could by no means be supported This meeting therefore demands the immediate release of political prisoners of *all provinces specially of Bengal*

Moreover alarmed at the recent hunger strike resorted to by political prisoners in different jails this meeting from the viewpoint of civic rights as well as humanity place the demand before the Ministers and urges upon *them to release* the political prisoners immediately thus putting an end to the possibility of an unwelcome reaction that might result from the delay in effecting the release (Translation)

The proceedings were conducted in Bengali A large number of ladies attended *the meeting* Among the speakers was Principal Miss Mira Datta-Gupta M.A, a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly

Heramba Chandra Maitra

The venerable teacher Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra passed from this world last month in the *eightieth* year of his age

More than half a century ago it was my good fortune and privilege to be one of those who sat at his feet We not only derived from him intellectual illumination but also felt that his words and personality had a spiritually uplifting power He taught both by precept and example A man of noble and spotless character—guileless, sincere and earnest in all that he said and did, he could not but influence the character and conduct of those who came into close personal contact with him

His refined and noble presence was impressive

Stern he was on occasion, but how true and tender and affectionate!

He was rigidly puritanic Saintly he was But *no sour-faced, morose saint* was he He could laugh and make others laugh

He was delicately sensitive to beauty in man and nature And he adored spiritual beauty

Meditation communion and prayer gave him the sustenance which his soul needed

In the M A examination of the Calcutta *University he occupied the first place in the first* division among those who passed in English in his year He had an extensive, scholarly and profound knowledge of the English language and literature He could have secured a *professorship* of English in the Bengal education department but he chose to accept the office of professor of English in the City College Calcutta on a lower salary And except for a few years spent in Dacca as principal of Jagannath College the fifty-four years of his educational career were devoted to the service of the City College, first as professor of English and afterwards as principal As a student I have attended the lectures of many professors of English European and Indian, in three Calcutta colleges Without injustice to any of them I can say that Professor Maitra enabled me to grasp the profound thoughts of some English authors and to appreciate the literary beauty of some English poems to a greater extent than any other professor at whose feet I sat in college I have borne this testimony to the quality of Professor Maitra's teaching of English many a time in the past and I do so again now He had a passion for accuracy And hence even in class when in doubt he would consult big dictionaries to find out the exact shade of meaning of a particular word in a particular *sentence*

As a writer of English he was noted for the beauty poetic quality, accuracy and simplicity of what he wrote His language would occasionally rise to the heights of sublimity and eloquence His thought was profound and his observations true

When his essay on Emerson obtained for him the Griffith Memorial Prize the examiners not knowing the name of the writer which was within a sealed envelope thought that it might have been copied from some great writer And so, the story goes the best works on Emerson

were procured from abroad to ascertain whether that was the case But when it was found that the essay was an original production its writer was awarded the prize Heramba Chandra Maitra was considered by those who knew him as among the highest authorities on Emerson's works Carlyle and Wordsworth were among his other favourite authors He wrote many excellent essays and many more newspaper and magazine articles of high quality But it is greatly to be regretted that he has left them unpublished in book form Like many others who have a passion for perfection he was never satisfied with his work and always thought that lure of the most excellent has kept us up till now deprived of what is really excellent in his world in a collected form

Heramba Chandra Maitra could write good Bengali essays also When the *Sanjibani* of which he was one of the founders was started he wrote some articles for it It is to be regretted that after some time he ceased to write anything except personal letters in Bengali But the divine service which he conducted in Bengali and his Bengali sermons gave to fellow worshippers an idea of his fine Bengali style and his rich vocabulary He was a minister of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and performed divine service in English also



Heramba Chandra Maitra

He was an eloquent speaker in English His speeches were remarkable for depth of thought and were garnished with quotations from his favourite authors

It has been stated above that he was one of the founders of the *Sanjibani* which under its lifelong editor Krishna Kumar Mitra rendered signal service to the country by fearlessly agitating against indentured labour in Assam against the opium evil against the partition of Bengal for promoting the Swadeshi movement against child marriage and other social evils against the abduction and ravishment of women Though Heramba Chandra Maitra's main work was done as a teacher he was noted also for his political and social reform work He was for decades prominently connected with the Indian Association and the Indian National Congress Before non-co- his speeches on the education ress

sessions were looked forward to as a special treat He felt deeply for all political sufferers—specially for those who were deprived of their liberty without trial He was an earnest seeker and lover of freedom

He was honorary editor of *The Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, for decades As one of his honorary assistants, I served my apprenticeship in journalism under him for years and learned much from him But the art of telling the truth about men and things even the naked truth, with dignity and without bitterness of which he was a master, is not easily learned

He was a Fellow and Member of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University for years, as also its University Professor of English Long after it was over-due the University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa He also served abroad as the Calcutta University delegate to a British Empire Universities Congress

He visited Europe and America to speak on the principles of the Brahmo Samaj And wherever he spoke his lectures and sermons were appreciated

He was very affectionate to the members of his family and his friends Affectionate too he was to his pupils And they reciprocated this sentiment and revered him Truth compels me to record an exception Some years ago communal frenzy fanned by political leaders led many of his students to carry on a violent agitation against his college and to insult and try even to assault him and his colleagues This agitation all but ruined his college This was one of the greatest afflictions of his life But he bore it with dignity, courage and calm fortitude

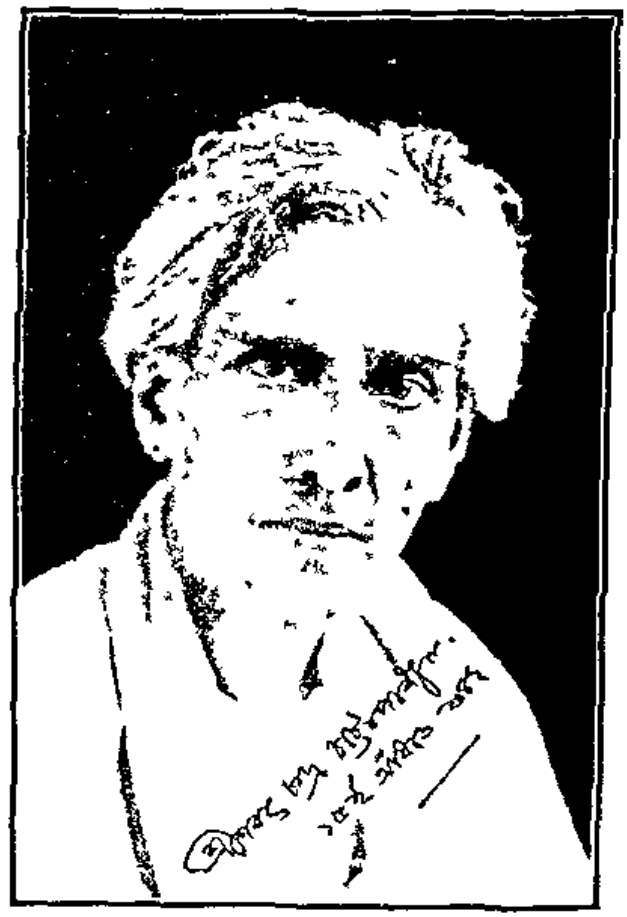
He treated me more like a younger brother than like a mere student unrelated to him

It has been said above that he could laugh and make others laugh But at heart he was a man of sorrows His personal bereavements were many But in addition to these afflictions he made the sorrows of others whom he knew his own Nobody can say how many he remembered in his prayers and how often

His and his family's hospitality reminded all who enjoyed it of the good old spacious days that are no more

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

Death has removed from our midst Dr Sarat Chandra Chatterjee the distinguished novelist and story-writer who in the opinion of so great an authority and so eminent a litterateur as Rabindranath Tagore, was Bengal's most beloved author His great popularity is evidenced by the numerous meetings, held in the towns and villages of Bengal and by Bengalis outside Bengal all over India, to mourn his death Those who do not know Bengali will be able to form an estimate of his powers as a literary artist from the English translation



Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

of *Srikanta*, published some years ago And old readers of *The Modern Review* will remember that some years ago we published serially a translation of another work of his, viz, *Bindur Chhele* or 'Bindu's Son"

As regards translations of some work or other of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee into foreign languages other than English, the following extract from No VIII of our "Letters from the Editor,' published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, will perhaps bear reproduction

'We learnt that M Rolland had read Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* in an Italian translation made from the English translation of that novel The great French author (M Romain Rolland) remarked that

Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order and enquired how many other novels he had written I told him the names of some of them"

It was the publication by us of this opinion of M Romain Rolland in *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* that first enabled our countrymen to know that Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's fame as a novelist had reached the continent of Europe

About the time that Dacca University conferred on Sarat Chandra the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature he said that up till then all his novels and stories had related principally to Hindu Bengali Society and its underworld but that afterwards he would write novels and stories relating to Mussalman society also It is to be regretted that he has not lived to carry out his intention Faithful pictures of Bengali Moslem society by him would certainly have enriched Bengali literature But one cannot be equally sure that they would have been as highly appreciated by Bengali Mussalmans as those stories and novels of Sarat Chandra which depict Bengali Hindu society have been appreciated by Hindu Bengalis

Subhas Chandra Bose Elected Congress President

The unanimous election of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose to the Congress presidential chair is to be taken as an indication of the confidence which Congressmen in general have in him all over India and as a tribute to his ability and sacrifices in the country's cause It is also a gesture of British India (that odious name!) outside Bengal indicating that the provinces other than Bengal, as well as Bengal agree that Bengal is again to have some effective voice in all India Congress politics and that the political situation in Bengal is to be placed before the public prominently by a Bengali

Bengal—Hindu Bengal in any case, is greatly exercised over the distressful plight of the released detenus and uncertainty as to when the other detenus and the political prisoners are to be released Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in relation to the so called Jinnah Rajendraprasad pact has also been agitating the mind of the Hindu public in Bengal It will not be at all difficult for Mr Bose to devote some passages of his address to the question of the political prisoners and the released and unreleased detenus if necessary and if he be so minded But it cannot be guessed beforehand whether he will voice Bengal Hindu feeling on the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact at all, and, if he does, whether he will be in a position to do so quite correctly and adequately But there is no question that Bengal Hindus,



Subhas Chandra Bose
Photo by A K Chettiar

including many if not all Bengali Hindu Congressmen feel that Mr Bose should correctly and adequately give utterance to what they think and feel on the matter

Bamrauli Railway Disaster

Acharya Kripalani General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in a statement says

> The news of the Bamrauli Railway disaster has come as a shock and great grief to me and my sympathy goes out to the victims The reports describe it as a disaster greater than the one that occurred at Bihta some months ago Three bogies which normally carry between 250 and 300 passengers, have been reduced to pulp and the severity of the impact has caused even the death of the guard at the tail end of the train Still only seven *deaths are reported. To say the least this appears to* be improbable Ugly rumours are in the air, and they add to our anxiety and grief
>
> "A sifting enquiry should at once be instituted I offer once again my sincerest condolences to the families of those who have died, and my sympathy for the injured. I would also request all those who have any information relating to the people that boarded this train between Calcutta and Allahabad for a destination beyond Allahabad to write to our office regarding them. How many of them are safe?"

There is wide-spread and deep sympathy for



Railway bogies reduced to pulp

Photo by Hari Swarup

the injured and the relatives of those who have died There is also a public demand for a sifting enquiry

We have received details of the rumours and the reasons why they are not considered improbable They do not seem to us entirely baseless But we refrain from giving publicity to the rumours as we are not in a position to prove them

Bengal Provincial Conference

The last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Bishnupur in the Bankura district is over Some other conferences, such as the Youth Conference, the Women's Conference were also held there during the last week of January These conferences brought to the place Mr Jatindramohan Ray president of the provincial conference Srimati Labanya Lata Chanda president of the Women's Conference, and Prof S N Goswami, president of the Student and Youths' Conference Besides them leaders like Mr Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr M N Roy were present there So the people of Bishnupur and visitors from outside had opportunities of listening to a good many eloquent speeches There were also the timely speeches delivered by the chairmen of the reception committees and those delivered by the movers seconders supporters, amenders and opposers of resolutions It would be good if the hearers did not feel overwhelmed by torrents of words and if adequate action followed plenty of speaking

The resolutions passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference are given below

The resolution on the Constituent Assembly ran thus —

"Ignoring absolutely the public opinion the British Government have set up so-called Provincial Autonomy This Conference protests against the efforts that are being made to impose over and above it the proposed reactionary Federal Constitution and requests all Congress organizations public and legislatures to work so that the scheme cannot be carried into effect

Indians are best fitted to frame their own constitution This Conference requests our countrymen to frame the future constitution of India on the basis of adult franchise"

Prof Rajkumar Chakravorty moved the resolution condemning the reactionary activities of the Bengal and Assam Ministers regarding the problem of political prisoners, workers, education and communal affairs and amendment of tenancy laws The resolution was carried unanimously

A resolution was moved by Sj Narendra Das M L A., welcoming the released detenus and requesting them to join Congress and carry on the work effectively It was passed without a dissentient

CONGRESS DIFFERENCES

A resolution was moved by Dr Suresh Banerjee which pointed out the existence of disagreement among Bengal Congressmen and authorised Sj Subhas Bose to form an executive of the B P C C next year in consultation with leaders and groups

RESOLUTION ON CHINA

The resolution on China moved by Sj Hemanta Bose said that political consciousness had dawned in India which however was powerless to help China but they could express their sympathy in their hour of ordeal Congress had begun to fight against Imperialism and should extend its sympathy wherever such a fight would occur

FRONTIER POLICY CONDEMNED

Dr Prafulla Ghose next moved the following resolution "This Conference strongly condemns the action of the India Government in throwing bombs on villagers in the N W F Provinces and protests against the Forward policy of the Government which the Conference regards as responsible for the unrest in the Province

The resolution on Zanzibar was moved by Sj Gunada Majumder who said that Indians had no remedy against the grievance of Zanzibar Indians but they could stop the trade between Zanzibar and India which would to some extent remedy the grievance Indians there were fighting for rights and privileges which must have our sympathy Zanzibar cloves must be boycotted and labourers be requested not to unload cloves

Sj Shibnath Banerjee M L A moving the next resolution on the capture of local bodies by Congress observed that Congress should extend its activities to local bodies not being content with legislatures Those institutions are exploited by reactionaries

Sj Kamini Kanta Ganguly put an amendment suggesting that Congress workers should be helped by leaders in this work which was unanimously accepted The resolution as amended was passed unanimously Sj Amulya Chandra moved a resolution on the assessment of Chowkidari tax which ran thus "There is reason to believe that throughout Bengal Chowkidari tax is not assessed on real income and at some places the tax is assessed on imaginary incomes

This Conference draws the attention of the authorities of the district and primary Congress Committees to act and requests them to try to assess true income of every class of people in their respective localities after deducting expenditure on trade and agriculture and remedy through legitimate means any injustice committed in assessing Chowkidari tax The Conference condemns realization of village police tax by Government"

The resolution was passed

Sj Cunendra Mukherjee's resolution on the Damodar Canal expressed sympathy with the people of area carrying on agitation against the imposition of tax and opined that provisional acceptance by the Bengal Government of the tax of Rs 3 per acre was unsatisfactory The resolution was passed

CORPORATION AFFAIRS

The resolution on the Calcutta Corporation, put by Dr Prafulla Ghosh evoked some opposition While pointing the mismanagement in the Corporation the resolution authorised Sj Subhas Bose to reorganise the Congress Municipal Association in accordance with ideal with power if necessary to dissolve the Association

The resolution was passed

The resolution of Sj Mahim Das for the removal of the ban on Midnapore and other organizations was accepted without dissent

The introduction of an amendment by Sj Niharendu Datta Majumder M.L.A., to the resolution on mass contact was accepted after a great deal of controversy The amendment provided that Congress should work in co-operation with Kishan Sabhas believing in Congress principles

Two resolutions recommending fixation of jute price and revival of local cottage industries moved from the chair were accepted

The resolution condoling the death of Harendra Munshi in Dacca Jail was accepted all standing in silence

Death of A Hungerstriking Prisoner

The news of the death of Harendranath Munshi one of the hungerstriking political prisoners in the Dacca Central Jail today cast a gloom over delegates and visitors assembled in the Conference pandal Mr Subhas Bose made the following statement to the United Press in this connection —

I am too overwhelmed with grief at the sad news from Dacca Jail to be able to say anything My thoughts go back to the year 1929 when I got the stunning news of the death of Jatindranath Das at Lahore I only wonder when the heart of the Government will be moved in spite of such tragic incidents Those who depart from this life leave us for good but those of us who are left behind have a duty towards the cause they represented in their lifetime Let us solemnly resolve to carry on with unabated vigour the fight for securing unconditional release of all detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means

Exhibition at Bishnupur

The industrial agricultural and health exhibition at Bishnupur was opened last month by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee In his speech he showed that in times past India was as great an industrial country as an agricultural one and manufactured practically everything she needed. She got plenty of gold and silver by exporting her manufactures " the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms' (*The History of British India* by H H Wilson vol 1, p 385) As the ruin of Indian trade and industries was brought about by the abuse of political power, so our trade and industries can be fully revived only by a right use of political power We want that political power that is Purna Swaraj The speaker showed in detail that we are fit for Purna Swaraj

Excellent silk goods, locally woven and the products of women's handicrafts were some of the noteworthy exhibits displayed in the stalls.

Silk Weaving Machinery Manufactured in Bishnupur

Looms similar to the Jacquard loom and doing exactly the same kind of fine work weaving borders of exquisite design and many colours were exhibited in the Bishnupur exhibi

tion They are manufactured locally by the Mallabhum Iron Factory, Bishnupur, and sold at very moderate prices

Officials and Elections

With reference to elections to legislatures there is a sound and well established rule according to which Government officers are precluded from taking any active part in favour of or against the election of any candidate In connection with the last general elections allegations were made at the outset that there were indications that this necessary rule was being observed more in the breach than otherwise The authorities considered it proper to assure the public that there was no desire on the part of Government to depart from the practice that they had hitherto followed in this important matter The trend of events in Bengal did not however show any anxiety on the part of the authorities to maintain in this regard that attitude of aloofness and neutrality that is enjoined upon them

On the eve of the last general elections we had occasion to invite the attention of the authorities to these matters especially regarding the officers of the Industries and Co-operative Departments, in the columns of *Prabasi* Though the Government ignored our warning the recent judgment by the Edgley Tribunal over the election of Nawab Sir M Faroqui has more than justified our apprehensions The revelations cast a great slur on the Provincial Government and we are awaiting the decision of the Government on the officers of these two departments Mr S K Lahiri also makes the following revelation

> 'Regarding election propaganda the recent judgment in the election petition against Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Faroqui mentions the names of certain officers of the Co operative Department who took part in the last election I am constrained to state in this connection that the Registrar without asking me secured the presence of an officer of the Society in Calcutta and its neighbourhood in the sub-division of Diamond Harbour for the purposes of election He sent the officer to Mr Nirendra Nath Bose of the Co-operative Department for instructions The officer subsequently came to me for orders and this was followed by his disappearance from the scene of operations in Diamond Harbour This was however not the only instance of intervention in the matter of election

In this connection certain observations made by Mr Jamshed N Mehta as President of the All India Provincial Banks' Conference held at Bangalore in July last would appear to have special significance with reference to the situation in Bengal He said

> 'So far as the Provincial Banks are concerned I am distinctly of the opinion that they should be entirely of Government control except for audit purposes of the Government My reason is this The Provincial Co-operative Banks have huge financial resources and we should be very careful to see that these resources do not become instruments in the hands of Ministers or any political group or party to be used through Co-operative Department which has widespread wings of influence and power distributed extensively specially in the mofussil in all parts however remote The influence of Co-operative Movement should be retained entirely for the welfare of the people and should not be utilized for the purpose of any party group or political ends If Provincial Banks are not free from such control, lakhs of members in the Co operative Societies and crores of rupees that are invested in the Movement and all the power behind it could be very easily utilized for party and political purposes If this happens the Movement will be ere long dead and I am doubtful if it can survive such shocks We have experience of England and Ireland before us where the Co-operative Movement is scrupulously kept away from political influences. I therefore submit that the Provincial Co-operative Banks of the country should be governed by an All India Provincial Co operative Banks Act which may be so designed as to make these Banks absolutely free from control of any political party group or such influences Until such an All India Act is enacted it is of vital importance that the nature and extent of the Government control over the Co operative Movement should be clearly and well defined

Official Interference with Co operative Society

Matters which have been published in the local Press relating to a glaring instance of improper official *zid* under a so-called regime of provincial autonomy, should receive serious attention of the Ministry and members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Council

Mr S K Lahiri, for more than a decade honorary Secretary of the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society, in the course of a statement to the press points out that the Bengal Co operative Organization Society was started as a federation of co-operative societies in Bengal with the object of promoting the co operative movement by propaganda and by other means It received official recognition as an autonomous non official body set up for the purpose of guiding the movement, and although Government gave grants to the Society for specific services to be rendered by it for the furtherance of the movement, definite assurance of non intervention in the conduct of the affairs of the Society was given to it In a letter written in 1918 by Lord Ronaldshay, the then Governor of Bengal (now Secretary of State for India) said

> "The Bengal Co-operative Organization Society is a live organization which is going to make its activities felt far and wide It is most essential that such a concern should possess the means of making its views widely known and the new journal (the Bengal Co operative Journal) will enable it to do so I do not underestimate the good work which has been done by the journal while it has been conducted under official guidance and control

but at the same time I think there are advantages in its divesting itself of official tutelage and proclaiming itself to the world as the independent mouthpiece of the co operative movement As such it will be of the utmost value to officials and non-officials alike and should prove to be a potent instrument for furthering the success of *the co-operative principle Perhaps, I may add that while* Government desire to exercise no control of any kind over the publication, they do desire to assist towards its success, and with this object in view propose for the present to contribute a sum sufficient to cover the cost of its production"

The policy underlying these words received the seal of further official approval in 1925-26 when in con onance with the aim of the co operative movement it was decided that hence forth the Society will be controlled by the co-operative societies in the province Mr Lahiri then adds

Since the middle of 1935 however insidious but *persistent efforts have been made to tighten the control* of the Co-operative Department over the Bengal Co operative Organization Society This has been attempted by repeated suggestions to have the Registrar elected as President of the Society against the terms and spirit of the bye laws and to secure a preponderatingly large nominated element in the Working Committee of the Society (to be vested with all the powers of the Central Board) which is a wholly elected body There has further been an attempt to interfere with free expression of opinion in the journals of the Society and at meetings of the Society Efforts have also been made to use the Society for party purposes for election propaganda on behalf of one of the (former) Ministers and by attempt ing to secure control over the organs of the Society All this has been done notwithstanding repeated assur ances given by Government ever since Lord Ronaldshay s time and the declared policy of the Society as expressly accepted by Government These attempts at obtaining control have been against the provisions of the bye-laws of the Society and in complete contravention of the spirit of the co-operative movement"

"The fact is that the Minister in charge of the Co-operative Department called an informal conference at which as a basis of a solution of the present difficulty a suggestion which emanated from an official was made to the effect that out of the eleven members of the Working Committee five or six should be nominated The Minister and the Regis rar supported the proposal and said that if I accepted it the present difficulty would be solved I said that they could never think of my giving support to this reactionary proposal As this required an amend ment of bye laws they could formally bring forward their proposal before the Society This they have not so far dared to do

"A *very responsible* official of the Department first suggested to me that the Registrar should be made President of the Society This was of course opposed by me But the proposal was off and on revived and talked about at the instance of officials and their supporters In fact on the morning of the 12th September 1937 the day *on which the last Annual General meeting* was held I received a telephonic message from the residence of the Registrar from an officer who was then a member of the Central Board that the Registrar was quite willing to withdraw his circular excluding twelve members of the Central Board from re-election if I agreed to have the Registrar as *President in place of Mr J N Basu*

"I am in possession of an official communication from a very high departmental authority which supports my statement about interference with free expression of opinion by the Society Such interference has further been accentuated by spoken words and by action by departmental authority It cannot be argued that this was not known to the Society, for a resolution adopted at *the Annual General Meeting of 1935* not only contains a reference to the matter but supports the comments in the journals of the Society to which objection have been taken

"The Society not having shown any inclination to yield certain high placed officials of the department with the help of several pliant members of the Board of Direc tors of the Bengal Provincial Co operative Bank and by the use of such improper methods as stoppage of cash credit by the Bank indirect encouragement in the matter of non payment of subscription and overdues by member societies disregard of all attempts at settlement by mutual agreement misrepresentation in the Assembly and else where etc., have made it almost impossible for the Society to carry on its normal functions It is true that the Provincial Bank and the department have got an oppor tunity of interfering with the internal management of the *Socie y on account of the fact that the Society has certain* overdues But the amount of overdues was mainly due to excessive expenditure incurred at the instance of the Regis rar President when the Registrar was President of the Society and the present *impasse* is due to the present attitude of the department assumed in utter disregard of the policy consistently pursued by it heretofore in the matter of realizations and the grant of cash credit by the Provincial Bank. In letters addressed to the Registrar and the Provincial Bank the Society had shown that it was possible by mutual arrangement to come to a settle ment which would enable the Society to fulfil its obliga tions out of the resources that are or may in future be available to it But all such representations have so far rtmained unheeded"

"Dr Pramathanath Banerjea M.A., D.Sc., Barrister at Law M L A (Central) who was President of the Society till the middle of 1937 made every possible endeavour to bring about a settlement, but his attempts were completely frustrated and the department took the extra-ordinary step of exclud ng him from the election to the Central Board."

In concluding the budget-debate on the grant under the head 'Co operative Department,' the Chief Minister promised an enquiry, if a *prima facie* case was established, into the affairs of the Department May we suggest that an *impartial non-official enquiry into the allega*tions is certainly called for, without delay, in view of recent disclo ures?

Protest Against Secondary Education Bill

At a public meeting held at the Ashutosh Memorial Hall on the 29th January last and presided over by Mr Narendra Kumar Basu, leading advocate, the provi ions of the draft Bengal secondary education bill were strongly condemned by all the speakers

As has been shown by many speakers at previous protest meetings also, the bill has nothing to do with the improvement and exten sion of education It wants to control educa

tion with a view to stifling it And it is an anti-Hindu bill meant to keep down the Hindus by depriving them of their position as leaders in education, which they have acquired by their intelligence, enterprise and self-sacrifice

Mr Narendra Kumar Basu, the president, rightly observed in the course of his outspoken and telling speech

The only compact body among the non Mahomedan members of the Bengal Legislature was the Congress Party but he regretted that though the draft Bill had been before the public for the last two months and had been the cause of public agitation, not a single Congress leader had come forward to protest against the Bill or to take part in any meeting held for condemning this reactionary measure

The meeting passed the following resolution

While recognizing the urgent need for reforming and revitalizing secondary education in Bengal this meeting is of opinion that the provisions of the draft Secondary Education Bill are of an extremely reactionary restrictive and unsatisfactory character and are calculated to stifle the growth of education in Bengal

'This meeting therefore urges the Government of Bengal to abandon the proposed Bill"

It was moved by Prof Jay Gopal Banerji known for his work as University professor of English

Security Forfeiture Order Against "Basumati" Set Aside

The Chief Justice Mr Justice Jack and Mr Justice Henderson delivered judgment in the application made by Satish Chandra Mukherjee Keeper and Sashi Bhusan Dutta Publisher of Dainik Basumati against an order of the Local Government forfeiting a total sum of Rs 5 000 out of the security deposited by the petitioners in connexion with the publication of an article in the paper entitled "What is the Duty" on June 29 1937 The article dealt with the communal situation then prevailing in the district of Pabna and in the opinion of the Local Government the article had a tendency to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between Hindus and Mussalmans as contemplated under Section 4(*1*) of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act

The Chief Justice and Mr Justice Henderson were of the opinion that the order of forfeiture of the Local Government should be set aside while Mr Justice Jack took the contrary view and remarked that in his opinion the forfeiture order should not be set aside

By majority the Court directed that the order of forfeiture should be set aside

The order of forfeiture has been justly set aside Mr Justice Jack differing, said

"These [the offending references to events which took place about 30 years ago] appeared to have been written with the intention of inspiring the Hindus with fear of a recurrence of the outrages which occurred 30 years ago in order to induce them to take steps to protect their temples from defilement by force or show of force

His lordship's judgment contains other similar observations These leave us in doubt as to whether, in his lordship's opinion, the Hindu community has any right of self defence

The Right of Self defence

The following sentences are extracted from a judgment delivered by Sir Douglas Young Chief Justice and Mr Justice Abdur Rashid of the Panjab High Court

The facts disclosed give to Kiroo the most perfect reason for relying upon self defence that we have ever seen The accused was being mercilessly tortured and beaten and this was being carried on for a length of time horrible to contemplate In most cases wretched suspects subjected to treatment of this illegal and despicable character are helpless and hopeless, they have merely to suffer until nature does not permit them further to resist and a confession or discovery of stolen property false or true is made Cases are not unknown and are within our own knowledge where persons have died under this type of investigation' The accused was, in our opinion justified even to the extent of killing in endeavouring to stop the grave and dangerous ill treatment to which he was being subjected"

An Indian Elected Mayor of Port Louis

The Hon G M D Atchia has been elected mayor of Port Louis the capital of Mauritius It is the first time that such an honour has been



The Hon G M D Atchia

conferred on an Indian Mr Atchia becomes mayor at 44 after sixteen years of hard toil and social service to the people of Port Louis The municipal council of the town is to be congratulated on their choice

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ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN BENGAL

BY DR PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.SC., M.L.A.

M BERNIER, the famous traveller, visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and made an extensive tour of the whole country Referring to the fertility, wealth and beauty of Bengal he observed as follows

"Egypt has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even our modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature but the knowledge I have acquired of Bengal, during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengal The latter country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states Bengal abounds also in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of Golkonda and Karnatic, where very little is grown, Arabia and Mesopotamia, through the towns of Moka and Bassora, and even Persia, by way of Bunder Abbasi Bengal likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats What is cultivated in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the country and for the making of excellent and cheap sea biscuits. The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter, form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single rupee twenty or more good fowls may be bought Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt is in the same profusion. In a word, Bengal abounds with every necessary of life "

Bernier says further

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of merchandise not of Hindusthan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe I have been some times amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent The same may be said of the silk and silk-stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengal for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Kabul, and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent"

He also mentions various kinds of fruits and articles like saltpetre, lac, opium and butter (घृत) which were produced in Bengal in plenty and exported to other countries Bernier finally observes

'The rich exuberance of the country has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure"

Such was the position of Bengal 250 years ago But what is her position now? Bengal's production of food grains at the present day is not sufficient for her own consumption Her production of sugar, including both the refined and unrefined sorts, falls far short of her own requirements As the result of the levy of a protective duty on imported sugar, a phenomenal development has taken place in the sugar industry of India during the last six years But, unfortunately, Bengal's share in this development has been almost negligible Five sugar mills, it is true, have been started within the borders of this province, but none of them are purely Bengali concerns Bengal grows practically no cotton, and although there are a few cotton mills and a large number of handlooms working in the province, Bengal has to import every year considerable quantities of cotton goods from England and Japan as well as from the other provinces of India The silk industry of Bengal is in a decadent condition, and immense quantities of fabrics made of silk and artificial silk, are annually imported from foreign countries Fruits and vegetables are still available, but they are becoming less plentiful than before Fish is less abundant than it used to be, while milk and butter are daily becoming more and more difficult to obtain No salt is produced within the province

If the present situation in Bengal is bad in regard to agriculture, it is infinitely worse with reference to industry Bengal's industries were in a flourishing condition till the end of the eighteenth century It is unnecessary here to trace the sad history of the decline and fall of Bengal's industry and trade for it is well known that it was the selfish and iniquitous policy of the British Government which dealt the death blow to the industrial life of the province The industrial revolution and changes in fashion were merely contributory causes which could have been counteracted by suitable measures if India had remained free to adopt them Antipathy and apathy continued to guide the policy of the British Government and their agents in India until the last European War revealed the fact that such a policy was as harmful to the interests of Britain as to those of India Since then a somewhat more enlightened sense of self interest has governed the economic policy of India but unfortunately owing to various causes Bengal has not been able to derive any benefit from this change in the angle of vision

It is not however the Government alone that should be blamed in this matter The people of the province are equally responsible for their present degraded position They made little effort to recover from the effects of the paralysis which the British Government's blow had created They lost all confidence in themselves and remained devoid of energy and enterprise in the economic field Bengal was in the forefront in India's struggle for political freedom she also led the movement for the economic regeneration of the country but her people were extremely slow in trying to meet the fruits of their own labours The *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal in the first decade of the present century gave a great impetus to the revival of industrial and commercial activity but the actual share of the province itself in the gains which accrued from the movement was exceedingly small At the present moment Bengal lags far behind some of the other provinces in the struggle for economic regeneration But we need not despair There is no lack of talent or capacity in the province If we can shake off our indolence and apathy develop a keen sense of realities and make up our minds to apply our ability and energy to the work of our economic uplift it will not be long before we shall be able to place ourselves on the road to success What is needed first and foremost is the determination to do our best to improve our economic condition and when this comes other things will follow in due course

It is clear from what I have said that increased production is urgently necessary in Bengal To achieve this object a bold and well thought out policy will have to be adopted by the Government and a comprehensive programme prepared Such a programme will include the improvement of agriculture the rehabilitation of handicrafts and small organized industries and the establishment of large-scale industries

So far as agriculture is concerned the impediments which at present hamper its progress will have to be removed The rivers of the province will have to be properly trained But care must be taken to ensure a proper handling of this difficult operation A glaring example of thoughtless waste was witnessed when a few years ago the Government of India spent more than a crore of rupees for protecting the Hardinge Bridge If this sum had been utilized for restoring the old channels and cutting new ones from the Padma the destructive force of the river would have been converted into a beneficent agency for the good of both western and eastern Bengal If the fertilising waters of the Padma the Bhagirathi and the Damodar are made available to the cultivator his dependence on rainfall will diminish the soil will become richer and it will be possible to bring large areas of fresh land under cultivation But false steps must be avoided In the name of development additional tax burdens must not be placed on the shoulders of the people No instance of bungling can be more glaring than the way in which highly oppressive rates have been levied in the Damodar canal area The Bengal ministry will do well to take a lesson from the attitude of the enlightened ruler of Mysore who said a few weeks ago

"There was a time when we hesitated to undertake a work unless it promised a return on the capital of 6 per cent But times have changed and we now look for our interest not only in the return to the treasury but also in the wealth and happiness of the rayat and if we can assure ourselves that a work of this nature is going to bring property to the countryside that fact in itself affords a generous return"

The other problems of agricultural improvement can be solved in three different ways The first is the capitalistic system of farming This method while it is likely to increase production by the application of science to agricultural operations is sure to bring in its train many fresh troubles Therefore, except in cases where large areas of land belonging to a single individual or corporation can be brought under the plough this experiment should not be tried The second method is that of socialism It is doubtful whether the agriculturists of Bengal brought up on traditions of present proprietorship will readily accept the new creed

Besides, a revolutionary change of this nature will give rise to difficulties which will take the life-time of several generations to solve. The third method namely, co-operation, combines the good features of both individualism and socialism. Co-operative effort has rendered great service to the cultivators in many European countries. But, unfortunately, the experience so far gained of the movement in this country does not inspire us with much hope. *In Bengal the co-operative movement is in a* much worse condition than in the other provinces. But this failure of co-operation has been due to causes which are not irremovable. Most of the officers who are in charge of this department are either incompetent or devoid of any enthusiasm for their work. Besides no serious attempt has been made to educate the people in the fundamental principles of co-operation. If these defects are remedied and if the co-operative system is reconstructed, revitalised and expanded *in such a way as to meet the* needs of the present situation it may still prove of immense benefit to agriculture and the agriculturist.

For improving agriculture the Agricultural Department of the Government will have to be reorganized. It should be manned by only such officers as possess enthusiasm for their work in the fullest measure and are perfectly conversant with the needs and difficulties of the agricultural system of the country. They should maintain a constant *touch with the peasantry and be* always ready to help them in every possible way. For instance they must teach them the use and abuse of manures. The dirt of the village' as is pointed out by F. L. Brayne "is the raw material of good crops." The cultivators should be encouraged to utilise every kind of animal and vegetable waste for agricultural purposes. Artificial manures are beyond the means of the average cultivator, but those engaged in large farming may be persuaded to use *them. Arrangements should be made* so that the good varieties of seeds supplied by the Department may reach even the most distant villages. Increased attention must be *paid to the health and breed of cattle.* Cheap and simple implements which save labour and do better work will have to be made available to the *cultivator. The more* expensive kinds of agricultural machinery like the tractor the harvester and the thresher will be found very useful in large-scale farming. Crop *diseases and pests must* receive greater attention than they have so far received. A considerable expansion of marketing facilities and the development of means of cheap and quick transport will be needed.

One of the principal impediments in the improvement of agriculture is to be found in the smallness of agricultural holdings. Earnest attempts will have to be made for the consolidation of holdings either on a voluntary basis or by enactment of suitable legislation. Steps must also be taken to prevent further fragmentation and subdivision of holdings. Agricultural research has in recent years received the attention of the Government and the universities. *This work should be further expanded and the* results of scientific investigation must be made known to the tillers of the soil.

One of the greatest needs of agriculture is finance. At present the bulk of agricultural finance is supplied by the local money-lender called the *mahajan*. This person fills an *important place in village economy, but he is* primarily concerned with his own profit. The rates of interest charged by him are very high. The other agencies such as the loan offices, the *commercial banks and the Government, are not* quite suitable from all points of view. As has been rightly observed in the Statutory Report of the Reserve Bank (1937), the best agency for supplying finance to agriculture must have an educative as well as a purely business side.' The Statutory Report goes on to say:

> *"It should supervise the use of credit and see that the farmer employs the money obtained by him in improving the productivity of the land and making the business of agriculture more profitable. An agency which satisfies the requisite conditions for agricultural finance is the cooperative society."*

This has been so recognized in all agricultural countries and every effort must be made to render the co-operative movement capable of discharging in the best manner, the highly important function of supplying credit to the agricultural population of the province.

A few words may be said here about the legislation which has been recently enacted in this province for regulating the business of money-lending and dealing with agricultural indebtedness. The two Acts which have recently been passed in Bengal have very laudable objects in view, namely the checking *of unconscionable transaction on the part of the* money lender and the granting of relief to the needy agriculturist. Enough time has not yet elapsed to enable us to judge the full effects of these measures. But an impression prevails in many quarters that these enactments have led to a contraction of credit. For the moment this may not be regarded as an unmixed evil, but if this result be of a permanent character, not only will the purpose of legislation be frustrated but *a positive harm will ensue to the agriculturist.* It should therefore be the duty of those entrusted with the administration of these Acts to watch

very closely their temporary as well as their permanent effects With regard to legislation relating to the scaling down of debts and the grant of instalments the following important observations are made in the Statutory Report of the Reserve Bank

"These are definitely emergency measures to be justified only by the occurrence of unusual circumstances. Their effect in frightening away credit cannot be minimised but the exceptional circumstances themselves have a similar effect Where however there is chronic indebtedness and debts accumulate because the cultivator's income is not sufficient to leave him a reasonable margin of profit the mere scaling down of *debts cannot provide a permanent cure* Even a limitation on the rate of interest which can be charged by the *money lender (if it could be enforced) is not* likely to do much good as the rate of interest is not the only cause of the cultivator's inability to pay such chronic indebtedness requires a comprehensive policy aimed at improving the whole life and economic status of the agriculturist."

But all effort to improve agriculture will prove futile until and unless the condition of the agriculturist is improved At present he is a helpless uneducated poverty stricken person without hope or ambition Villages in most parts of Bengal are exceedingly unhealthy being the hot beds of various kinds of disease Therefore sanitation in rural areas and education for both children and adults are necessary Steps should also be taken to see to it that the cultivator is not deprived of his legitimate share in the fruits of the soil When he becomes healthier and stronger and educated the peasant will begin to feel greater enthusiasm for his work Then and not till then will be laid the true foundation for the agricultural progress of the province Great assistance can be rendered to the cause of agricultural advancement by educated persons belonging to the middle classes of society if they undertake to throw the light of their acquired knowledge on the processes of *cultivation and agree to serve the village folk in* many other ways

The economic life of the peasant is likely to be considerably improved by the adoption of the measures outlined above But even these may not in all cases be sufficient to secure him the means of a decent livelihood Therefore it will be necessary for a cultivator to try and supplement his income from cultivation by engaging himself in subsidiary industries during the spare time at his disposal Hand spinning *handloom* weaving basket making rope making etc will be found the most suitable industries subsidiary to agriculture and the development *of these should be encouraged*

Akin to agriculture are fruit growing kitchen gardening dairy farming and animal husbandry There is great scope for expansion in industries like these and they are peculiarly suitable as occupations for educated men, who can also desire substantial incomes from sericulture and pisciculture

But agriculture alone will not solve the question of Bengal's economic regeneration Agriculture is peculiarly subject to the law of *diminishing returns and no nation in the* modern world can become prosperous if it depends entirely on it Whatever improvements *may be introduced into the system agriculture* will not be able to maintain in a state of vigour, health and efficiency the enormous and growing population of the province Besides agriculture itself will not be fully improved unless the pressure on the land is considerably reduced The problem therefore is how to remove a part of the population from the land Industrialisation can achieve this object Industry and trade have created wealth for the advanced nations of the present day and if we wish to rise in the scale of nationhood we must tread the path which was trodden by them This is also the way to solve the problem of unemployment Nor is there any other method by which the standard of living can be raised

What is required in Bengal at the present moment in the industrial field is not improvement but reconstruction But unaided private *effort will not be equal to this huge task* Bengal is suffering from a sort of economic paralysis Individual initiative and enterprise *are practically non existent The best brains of* the province are engaged in pursuits outside the economic sphere Capital is scarce There is *no organization In a situation like this a* powerful and well directed stimulus is needed to start the economic development of the province *along the path of progress* 'Such a stimulus to use the words of the Industrial Commission ' can only be supplied by an organized system *of technical financial and administrative assist* ance ' The initiative in the matter must be taken by the Government which should follow *an active and energetic policy of encouragement* and support and should be prepared to render financial aid in whatever shape or form it may be *needed But even this will not be enough* Success of this endeavour will depend on the combined and sustained efforts of the Government the intelligentsia the possessors of wealth and the labouring population

The proper agency through which the work of reconstruction ought to be organized should be an Economic Development Board consisting of persons who will command the support of all sections of the personnel of the Board as well as methods of work must be such

new energy and enthusiasm into the hearts of the people and create in them a feeling of self-confidence This Board will in the main be an advisory body for the Government as well as for the people The chief functions of this body will be to supply information on all economic subjects to encourage and guide promoters of new industrial ventures to offer advice to owners and managers of existing industries as to the best way of conducting their businesses to watch the trend of economic movements in other provinces and in other countries to influence executive and legislative action in regard to tariff currency and transport questions and to make recommendations to the Government and the banks for the supply of financial assistance to industrialists In suitable cases the Board may urge the Government to pioneer industrial ventures It may also advise the Government to assist the establishment of new industries by subscribing a portion of the initial capital or by guaranteeing reasonable rates of dividend In order that the Board may function properly the Government should place adequate resources in men and money at its disposal But it will be an unwise and undesirable policy on the part of the Government to interfere unduly with the activities of the Board

Among the important duties of the Board will be to institute from time to time enquiries and investigations relating to economic questions It will be necessary for it to undertake an industrial survey of the province This survey should include enquiries relating to natural resources raw materials required for different industries the present position and future prospects of the industries of the province the causes of the decay of some industries the possibilities of the establishment of new industries the markets for products exports and imports the effects of tariffs and freight rates on industries the financing agencies and labour conditions There is a Department of Industries in Bengal which is doing some amount of useful work within a restricted sphere This Department will have to be reorganized and strengthened It should carry on its duties in co-operation with and under the general guidance of the Economic Development Board A Development officer was appointed in Bengal a few years ago but the province does not seem to have derived much benefit from his activities The creation of new offices without sufficient necessity or justification is to be deprecated

The Economic Development Board will direct its attention to the development of cottage industries and small organized industries as well as large scale industries Of the cottage industries of Bengal the hand loom industry is the most important Although it is not in a flourishing condition at present, it has been able so far to hold its own against competition from the mills The other industries worthy of mention are hand spinning hosiery, silk industry, brass and bell metal industry, hardware and cutlery smithy tobacco industry oil industry toy making shoe-making jewellery, pottery and ceramics

If the difficulties under which these industries labour are removed and their special needs attended to it may be possible to place them once again firmly on their feet Small organized industries also deserve to be encouraged Of these the more important are the following leather industry soaps and candles tiles and bricks rice milling fruit canning jute textiles gur making pencil and pen making woodwork and carpentry celluloids conch shell industry button making printing and boat building Industries like these stand midway between large scale industries and cottage industries As they can be worked with small amounts of capital there is a great scope for their future development

Important and useful as cottage and medium sized industries are it must not be forgotten that we are living in an age of large scale production If Bengal wishes to live she must develop large-scale industries A number of mills already exist in this province but the children of the province derive little benefit from many of them There is no reason why more cotton mills and jute mills should not be started with Bengali capital and under Bengali management Although there is overproduction of sugar in some parts of India there is still scope for establishment of two or three factories in suitable sites in Bengal for supplying the local demand Paper and glass industries afford fair chances of success in this province Some progress has been made with the development of the iron and steel industry but there is room for further expansion The local manufacture of machinery agricultural tools and implements is an urgent necessity A further development of mining is desirable but it is an unfortunate circumstance that some of the mining districts which really belong to Bengal have been transferred from it to other provinces This is a great loss to the province and an earnest effort should be made for the restoration of these tracts to Bengal The use of motor cars is steadily increasing and a factory for the manufacture of these vehicles offers a good opportunity for successful working A further expansion in chemical industries is desirable

Apart from manufacture river steam navigation and coastal shipping should be developed

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Botany Section

Presidential address of Dr B Sahni, F R S dealt with the remarkable progress in the knowledge of the fossil plants of India during the last twenty-five years, contributed chiefly by Prof Sahni and his students working assiduously at the Lucknow University Botanical Laboratory There was interesting discussion on 'Absorption of Salts by Plants" presided over by the eminent physiologist Prof V H Blackman, F R S of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London, the discussion was opened by Prof P K Parija of Cuttack and Mr B Sen of Calcutta, Dr B N Singh of the Benares University and Dr V Subramanayan of the Bangalore Institute took part in the discussion The second discussion was on "Algal Problems Peculiar to the Tropics with Special Reference to India,' it was presided over by the distinguished British Algologist Prof F F Fritsch of the London University Dr M O P Iyenger of the Madras University opened the discussion with a number of interesting observations on various Algal associations common in India Mr R Senior White of the Bengal Nagpur Railway narrated his experience about the relationship between Algæ and Mosquito larvæ Dr B Pal of the New Delhi Agricultural Institute spoke of the relationship between Chara plants and Mosquito larvæ and Mr M O P Iyenger contributed some remarks to the problem from entomologist's point of view The third discussion was on "The Dissemination of Cereal Rusts in India" It was opened by Dr K C Mehta of Agra Dr Mehta has been studying the problem since 1923 He holds from a study of the incidence of rusts in the plains as well as in the hills extending over a period of seven years, that the foci of infection lie in the hills and hilly tracts, where rusts oversummer in the uredo-stage Prof Buller of Manitoba said that in Western Canada the source of infection consists of clouds of uredo pores which are carried by northerly winds for hundreds of miles from the middle-western parts of the United States to Canada An attempt is being made to breed rust-resistant wheats suitable for growth in the wheat areas of the hills and thus to prevent uredospores being carried to the plains from the hills along with wind currents Dr L A Ramdas of Poona Meteorological Department and Dr H Chaudhuri Mycologist of the Punjab University, took part in the discussion

The morning session of 6th January was devoted to the annual meeting of the Indian Botanical Society at 35, Ballygunge Circular Road (Calcutta University Botany Department), when Dr S R Bose of the Carmichael Medical College read his presidential address of the Indian Botanical Society on "Effects of Radiation (X-ray, Ultra-violet and Radium) on *Polypores* in Culture" In connection with the annual meeting which was attended by all British Botanists (delegates to this Congress) a conversazione and exhibition of interesting Botanical specimens from Calcutta and other parts of India were held In the afternoon there was 150th anniversary celebration of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, where the members were invited to tea by Dr K P. Biswas, the Superintendent, providing a comfortable steamer across the river Almost all the British Botanists (Delegates) and Sir James Jeans, the General President, attended the function A proposal for starting a national herbarium for India with the famous Sibpur Royal Botanic Garden's herbarium as its nucleus was warmly supported by the section A Sub-committee was formed to work out the details of the scheme with occasional advice and suggestions, if necessary, from Sir Arthur Hill, the Director of the Kew Gardens, who spoke in warm support of the scheme, Dr S P Agharkar of Calcutta was appointed its Convenor

The distinguished Mycologist Prof A H R Buller, F R S delivered a highly interesting and valuable lecture on "The Sexual Stages in Rust Fungi" illustrated with beautiful lantern slides and models Prof R R Gates, F R S of the London University besides contributing an interesting paper on "The Structure of Chromosome" delivered a general lecture on "Modern Genetics" which was highly appreciated Dr C D Darlington gave a summarised description of his recent valuable work on the "Biology of Crossing Over" which has attracted so much attention in the domain of both plant and animal cytology The last joint-discussion on "Species-concept in the light of Cytology and Genetics" was unfortunately not so warmly taken up by the members of Zoology and Agricultural sections The discussion was opened by Dr E K Janaki Ammal of Coimbatore and Prof Gates and Dr Irlanson took part in it Besides, about 30 papers on various aspects of Botany were read by Indian Botanists, and some of them evoked a good deal of discussion in which some of the British Botanists took their part and had the opportunity of exchanging their views with those of the Indian co-workers On the last day a visit was paid to the Bose Research Institute

route of expression not rarely means salvation to the more emotional, as opposed to the perspicaciously thinking type of artist So that the alleged superiority of the inward image of art to its materially expressed form is often illusory The three phases through which all true art has to pass, namely the creative emotion or urge which is vague and only a sort of "divine unrest the mental image or the inward counterpart of what thereafter shall take outward form and the expression or the outward material expression or creation all these three phases constitute art It would be pedantry to give superior place to one of these phases as against another One might assert that the vague unrest or the artistic emotion is more important than the mental image or the outward expression on the ground that this emotion comes first or is of divine origin But what is the value of any such emotion unless it result in clear thinking and artistic action? What evidence would one give of it presence unless through expression? A million such vague emotions may flit across the mind without leading to any achievement The sand dunes of the Sahara may feel emotionally floral but would that yield a single violet? The artistic emotion fails to be artistic if it does not lead to an artistic mental image and that image in its turn fails to be an artistic image if it does not reproduce itself in outward form

Whether or not all beautiful things are of divine origin can be discussed only when the things are perceivable In the unlimited expanse of the universe there may be greater emotions and visions than men have ever felt or conceived and the nebulæ may be the expression of some such grand vision nurtured in the Soul of the Artist of all artists, but one dare not speculate at this magnitude Michael Angelo thought that 'the true work of art is but a shadow of the divine perfection' and so did Dante when he said that Art as far as it has ability follows nature as a pupil imitates his master, so that art must be as it were a descendant of God Such sublime thoughts make all artists feel one with Divinity But this is not merely true of art but of all aspects of human life and conduct This good earth of ours however insignificant its place may be in the endless universe is nevertheless a part of that infinitely grand scheme of things Being earthborn all men try to share in their own insignificant way the absolute glory grandeur and perfection of the universe But they do it in a human way and it is only of matters human that one feels competent to discuss The Niagara Falls the Grand Canyon of Colorado or the snowy expanse of the Kanchenjungha would strike any heart with wonder, amazement and humility, but the sight of these works of divine art would rather inhibit creative endeavour in a true artist nor infect him with a mad desire to equal these with his own creations The knowledge of the speed at which light travels has not disheartened modern builders of automobiles, nor has the modern telescope discouraged earthly travel The ultimate or absolute Beautiful may be studied and contemplated by artists, art critics and aesthetic philosophers without any obligatory reference to human art and its constitution

The scope of any study of art lies entirely within the limits of the human mind and its manifestations as concerning the creation of things of beauty perceivable by the senses of man Questions such as what is beautiful would be similar to asking what is red or what is musical or what is sweet We may point out a thousand things that are beautiful red musical or sweet, but we cannot attempt at any definition of these primary experiences of the human mind without landing ourselves into absurdity or making the explanation even more unintelligible than the thing explained The beauty of a thing is that quality in it which attracts and holds the attention of the perceiving mind The senses want more and more of it as soon as they come to realise its presence The beauty of fabrics invite prolonged caresses and the joy imbibed through the sense of touch swells and surges in overwhelming raptures of aesthetic delight The eyes feast long and insatiated upon objects rich in colour or form Beautiful music enthralls the soul and the ears refuse to turn away from the gorgeous waves that descend upon the field of consciousness With great eagerness would the mind respond to the impressions of rhythm and graceful movement conveyed to it by artistic dancing and the feast of images provided by really good poetry and literature never leads to surfeit Objects that repel the perceiving mind or leave it cold and disinterested may be said to lack the spirit of true art barring such instances in which the artist has expressed something repellent But where true art does not aim at beauty and embodies an emotion suffocated with abhorrence the perceiving mind responds to its art nevertheless and is fascinated with horror and disgust

Art is essentially human and communicative By this is not meant that the artist is playing to the gallery with any set purpose of being applauded by others The urge that impels the

artist to give external shape to his mental image never ceases until the artist has satisfied himself with the successful objectification of the image The artist revives his inner experiences as he faces his creation That is to say the work of art has the power to provoke artistic experience in the perceiving mind even if it were that of the artist himself and no other The so called universal nature of art is seldom universal in the logical sense of the term The greatest achievements in art would surely meet some minds that are blunt and insensate enough to overlook its appeal Therefore the communicativeness of art is restricted to the artist or to such others as are sensitive to its message All the same it is human and communicative just as a lonely sufferer may groan alone or a Robinson Crusoe sing the glory of the dawn to himself so might an artist create to record his inner experiences entirely for his own purpose But the communicativeness comes into existence and remains there for one or for a million receivers according to the fortunities of human affairs

All this has been said with a view to avoid any misunderstanding as to art and its limitations in the universe of beauty For beauty there may be in creation without being of artistic origin namely the beauty of the starlit heavens or the glories of nature or yet the beauty which is born of accident But only human experience and effort create art It is no doubt true that in seeking the sources of the artistic emotion in man we may have to travel beyond the merely human but the present enquiry begins where the infection is found located in man's mind and ends where we find it crystallised as the artistic creation We leave the ultimate origins and truth to metaphysicians and we leave to yet other speculators such question as whether or not after all that what we call artistic emotion imagery or creation is not entirely illusory—an ever receding fragment of the Cosmic *Maya* The world as we know it is merely an alleged world so to speak in strictly logical parlance All reports and evidence concerning the world of ours are merely sensory and the established and accepted summary of the situation is only an average of numerous sense perceptions no two of which have been exactly identical Proceeding upon such inexact data no conclusion of any satisfactory accuracy or exactitude can ever be arrived at Nor need it be aimed at No two hearts ever felt actually the same agitation or unrest no two minds ever formed the same identical images and no two strokes of the brush ever moved exactly in the same way Nor ever did any two perceiving minds receive absolutely the same impression from an object of art We should leave things at that

We have seen that art embodies three essential elements in it The elements of emotion imagery and externally perceivable expression Mere mechanical rhyming would not be poetry in the sense that poetry is art nor would a mechanical and well schemed out combination of lines and colours make a painting in the sense that painting is art An accurate imitation of a natural object may not be called art unless there were an emotional basis to its production Art cannot begin with reasoning out in image philosophically logically mathematically scientifically historically or in any other way It must be felt and must stir up the soul and the image must grow in an effort to appease the unrest Every branch of human knowledge may be useful in giving proper shape to an image but the image must primarily satisfy the demands of its intuitional parent which is often vague as to details but very sure of the basic substance Tradition convention technique and environment may condition the formal expression of the artistic image but the force of the emotion must remain paramount if at all a true work of art is to be born For any art which is the result of an adulterated image modified overmuch by considerations other than those of the parent emotion would fail to communicate itself truthfully It would therefore resemble an edition of a masterpiece of literature that has been mercilessly edited expurgated and re-written substantially by alien publishers to suit their own moral political or economic purpose When it is said that art must be true the meaning is that the artist must not deliberately tamper with the true nature of his emotion and modify his mental image substantially in order to lend any special character to his work as dictated by extra artistic considerations Art therefore should never have a purpose other than stating itself accurately and truthfully Propaganda making things to measure for sale observing the dictates of fashion keeping within the limits of current conventions or laws subordinating the inner truth to the external ideals set up by technical or other experts are among some of the causes which work antagonistically to the creation of genuine art Certain kinds of political oratory or patriotic songs dramas enacted for social reform or to spread a new religious cult revivalistic dances painting or sculpture architecture dedicated to the glory and omnipotence of the ultra violet ray creative compositions in the field of handicrafts

for a fuller realization of the possibilities of chromium-plating, the aerograph the planograph or some other mechanical contrivance are good enough examples of external forces obstructing the smooth and easy flow and consummation of the artistic urge These and similar forces have we believe, always existed in one shape or another during the millenia comprising the history of human art True art has never failed to rise above these impediments but their presence has always been a source of danger to the growth of art

All this analysis may suggest that art is an elaborate and complicated process of human behaviour and that the artist is a wonderful machine of precision and accurate performance which feels and develops images and forthwith translates the same into externally appreciable and communicable objects of faultless perfection In fact the artist often feels and thinks and acts all in a jumble makes mistakes moves round and round in a barren circle of inaction and failure and feels conceives and acts without any definite sequence for long periods and often through his entire life The artist does not even realise very frequently that his efforts and creations are the result of any inner urge and that he is giving external shape to any aesthetic emotion He may be rich in emotion great in conception and perfect in expression, without consciously knowing that he is anything out of the ordinary Like Moliere's ambitious citizen who suddenly realized that for long years he had been speaking in "Prose" and not merely talking the artist may come to learn that his favourite pastime has been "Art" and not just making this or that Generations of great artists have lived and died and produced beautiful works of art without knowing that they had been in the throes of any emotion or artistic urge Grand architecture superb sculpture, exquisite textiles pottery or metal work have been created in the past by men who were perhaps, entirely innocent of any art-consciousness in the modern sense Art is intensely human and intermingles with life vitally and intimately It is a sad outcome of a false intellectual outlook that has removed art from the sunny soil of every day life to the hot-house of superior conduct John Dewey says

"So extensive and subtly pervasive are the ideas that set Art upon a remote Pedestal that many a person would be repelled rather than pleased if told that he enjoyed his casual recreations, in part at least because of their aesthetic quality The arts which today have most vitality for the average person are things he does not take to be arts for instance, the movie, jazzed music the comic strip and too frequently, newspaper accounts of love-nests, murders and exploits of bandits For when what he knows as art is relegated to the museum and gallery the unconquerable impulse towards experiences enjoyable in themselves finds such outlet as the daily environment provides Many a person who protests against the museum conception of art still shares the fallacy from which that conception springs For the popular notion comes from a separation of art from the objects and scenes of ordinary experience that many theorists and critics pride themselves upon holding and even elaborating The times when select and distinguished objects are closely connected with the products of usual vocations are the times when appreciation of the former is most rife and most keen When because of their remoteness the objects acknowledged by the cultivated to be works of fine art seem anemic to the mass of people aesthetic hunger is likely to seek the cheap and the vulgar

"The factors that have glorified fine art by setting it upon a far off pedestal did not arise within the realm of art nor is their influence confined to the arts For many persons an aura of mingled awe and unreality encompasses the "spiritual" and the "Ideal," while 'Matter has become by contrast a term of deprecation something to be explained away or apologised for The forces at work are those that have removed religion as well as fine art from the scope of the common or community life The forces have historically produced so many of the dislocations and divisions of modern life and thought that art could not escape their influence We do not have to travel to the ends of the earth nor return many millenia in time to find peoples for whom everything that intensifies the sense of immediate living is an object of intense admiration Bodily scarification, waving feathers, gaudy robes shining ornaments of gold and silver of emerald and jade formed the contents of aesthetic arts and, presumably, without the vulgarity of class exhibitionism that attends their analogues to-day Domestic utensils furnishings of tent and house rugs, mats, jars, pots bows spears, were wrought with such delighted care that to-day we hunt them out and give places of honour in our art museums Yet in their own time and place such things were enhancements of the processes of every day life Instead of being elevated to a niche apart, they belonged to display of prowess, the manifestation of group and clan membership worship of gods feasting and fasting fighting hunting and all the rhythmic crises that punctuate the stream of living

"Dancing and pantomime the sources of the art of the theater flourished as part of religious rites and celebrations Musical art abounded in the fingering of the stretched string the beating of the taut skin the blowing of reeds Even in the caves, human habitations were adorned with coloured pictures that kept alive to the senses experiences with animals that were so closely bound with lives of humans Structures that housed their gods and the instrumentalities that facilitated commerce with higher powers were wrought with special fineness, But the arts of the drama, music painting and architecture thus exemplified had no peculiar connection with theaters, galleries, museums They were part of the significant life of an organized community"

Art has therefore a spontaneous outlook but is extremely selective at the same time The inborn urge of man the artist to make his life and the instruments of human existence more and more beautiful and to give permanent external shape to his experiences with a view to communicate and recommunicate the same to fellow humans as well as to revive and experience anew the emotions of his past life, has

been the parent of all true human art The selectiveness of course is essential and the process of selection is often complicated Dewey speaks the language of Keats when he refers to the 'innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its thousand materials before it arrives at that trembling delicate and snail horn perception of beauty The meditative attitude embodying close inner perception and keen aesthetic discrimination is essential to proper artistic production Hurrying over things, mechanical imitation overmuch subservience to the exigencies of environment dominant bias for particular motifs colour schemes meters idioms scales gestures or for philosophy logic geometry artistic cults of an esoteric nature etc etc would always hamper true aesthetic selection and detract from the quality of art The true artist therefore is not a preacher and is unfettered by scholasticism nationalism intellectualism and all other 'isms save and except where these have the power to rouse any real artistic emotion in him He does not pretend for the sake of appearance for he prefers to appear as an artist above everything else Regional and traditional factors no doubt predominate in the mental and technical make up of all artists generally speaking but the history of art provides many instances where artist break away from the bond of tradition without breaking away from art As a matter of fact such secession has often meant the beginning of newer traditions in the field of art For conservatism and blind obedience to existing forms command the mind of aesthetic workers in the same way as they dominate the thoughts and actions of workers in any field of life The artist is a born pioneer and is ever prepared to strike out into the unknown Provided of course he does not overlook the demands of his ruling passion or beauty he is always safe He has really no cause to die for he creates his cause as he marches along into the boundless expanse of the universe of beauty in search of aesthetic sustenance for those who stay behind

It must not be imagined however that the artist is entirely free from all bonds and obstructions in his journeys into the realm of beauty or in his subsequent attempts at giving a true account of what he has experienced Just as a wanderer in the valleys and slopes of a mountainous region feels an unbounded joy in his freedom to move and explore the glories of nature and forgets in his ecstasy the physical limitations set upon him by the laws of friction and gravitation and the relative incapacity of his muscles internal organs and vision the artist accepts the limitations imposed by convention technique and material and moves ahead in spite of these and achieves creation without raging inordinately against these often essential restrictions The stricter the conventions the more intricate the technique and the harder the material to be handled and shaped into an illusory replica of the artistic image the subtler becomes the artist in his intellectual discrimination and manipulations Nowhere is this aspect of artistic work more vitally and vividly shown up than in ancient Indian stone and bronze Added to the difficulties of the material and relatively undeveloped instrumental aids the now forgotten artists of these grand monuments of human aspiration in the field of aesthetic dealism had to face and observe a rigidity in convention of which no parallel can be found in the art history of any other civilization The features the limbs the gestures the poses and even the composition had to pass the Supreme test of the *Shastras* tradition The different attitudes had to be maintained with a great insistence upon detail That the artists of those days could at all escape a dead mechanical artisanship with all these restrictions has given us an incontrovertible proof of the amazing subtlety and microscopic discrimination of the artistic mind Just as in the past the Indian musicians have composed wonderful melodies by adopting a method of subtle subdivisions and have at the same time preserved the purity of form demanded by classical theorists the artists have in their turn observed all conventions of gesture pose and composition and by infinitesimal variations within the small margin provided by an austere conventionalism achieved creative perfection of an inimitable character A dancer may move within a thirty foot circle and fail to convince his spectators of any artistic achievement Yet another dancer may not move excepting very slightly and convey wonderous images of inner realisations to those who could see it

There is an idea propagated by certain Western thinkers that there is no element of realism in the artistic creations of Indian masters of ancient and medieval times The Indian artist thought it is alleged that attempts at realism or making things appear as real are bound to fail unless audiences and spectators called imagination in support of the illusions created by art Para or the emotional colouring of the mind can be promoted by the artist only by means of suggestion and never by artificial representation of the facts of nature It is no doubt true that imagination is an important factor in aesthetic

enjoyment But the differentiation of realism and suggestion is often arbitrary A knowledge of the cultural traditions of the race is generally assumed in the spectators or audience, by the artist, so that the so called suggestion is merely an attempt at brevity in externals on the part of the artist Where Western critics fail to detect any semblance of realism in Indian art and ascribe the entire composition to symbolism and suggestion they overlook the psychology of those for whose enjoyment the art was meant To a man in whose native geography and culture the elephant is an unknown quantity even that vastly real animal might appear esoteric and symbolic Acquaintance with regional factors is an essential of proper understanding and ignorance often leads to exaggerated theories such as the one mentioned which denies all realism to Indian art and explains it away as a scheme of suggestions The element of suggestion is present in all art on account of its illusory nature No one is likely to appreciate the *Laocoon* or the paintings of Michael Angelo in the *Capella Sistina* with any degree of satisfaction without a proper cultural background Wagner's operas may have the most devastating effect on the mind of an uninitiated audience The *No* theater of Japan the lyrical Operas of Italy the mural painting in the Pantheon of Paris would all lose a major portion of their appeal to minds which are elemental totally untrained and utterly unsophisticated Even the sculpture of the Greeks of the great fifth century is suggestive and symbolic The Discobolus of Myron would lose much of its charm to persons who have no knowledge of the athletic side of Greek civilization (It might even appear as a representation of a person decamping with a plate) Phidias is acknowledged to have represented "the religious ideals of the whole people and" to have "contributed in no small degree to purify and ennoble these ideals" That is to say his admirers would fail to admire his art without a knowledge of these ideals

In order to succeed in symbolism and suggestion the artist must choose the real as the vehicle of expression The real may be modified or synthesised according to the requirements of the artist but reality is the fundamental basis of all great and true art A ten handed goddess in an apparently impossible attitude of contortion is nevertheless perfectly real to those who can by tradition and even everyday behaviour understand the meaning of the manual gestures The *Namaskara*, a gesture of greeting made by both hands is vitally intermingled with the life of all Hindus So are *Pranama Ashirvada* and other gestures made in everyday life by Hindus to express affection, threats or utter desolation etc, etc These conventional attitudes or movements are as real to the life of this ancient land as are the "Attention" "Stand at-ease" "Salute" or other martial gestures to the members of the British Army

There is no such thing as purely real in art Nor is there anything which is purely suggestive It is a question of degrees and is more or less the one or the other according to psychological and artistic requirements The European Doll maker has created within recent times such highly suggestive things as the Gollywag Felix the Mickey Mouse and similar other symbolic creatures for the edification of the juvenile mind During the same period the adolescent public have been provided with statuettes for their mantlepiece which prove a continuity of taste from the days of Praxiteles down to modern times This shows that the artist has moods which synchronise with the moods of those to whom he addresses his art

Art if it has any purpose at all is meant to provoke emotion in those who perceive it As the majority of humans rather one should say all humans depend upon the facts of nature for practically all their emotions and as much of the highly refined and rarefied emotions are broad based upon reality, an analysis of the real and its synthesis in ideal shapes provide the basis of all art In his work of analysis and synthesis the artist practises varying degrees of elimination exaggeration multiplication mutilation superimposition and imagination One can see the whole thing clearly and minutely if one would look long enough and deeply Intellectual short cut is the greatest misleader in art criticism It is no doubt possible to sway the mind of some men by presenting things algebraically geometrically or in some such way That would be entirely symbolical and purely suggestive intellectually speaking but that certainly will not be art!*

* Inaugural lecture delivered to the University of Madras under the Sir George Stanley Endowment 1938

FACING THE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

By ALINE MASTERS

In these days of oecumenical despondency it is a commonplace to be ceaselessly reminded of the numerous urgent problems that confront the world and the need to solve them with immediate propriety But the ever voluble advocates of reorganization leave much unsaid Somehow they feel almost instinctively as it were that things require mending Cato could not have been more vehement in his denunciation of evil But that is about all Practicable propositions do not issue from these people they stop with crying themselves hoarse over this that and the other When tackled with tact they can be made to admit their incapacity to show the way out of the rot which they declaim against The world is infested by these phenomena Maybe they add something to our sense of enjoyment But that in itself cannot help much because one has to get down to brass tacks sooner or later

To face reality bravely to hit the nail right on the head—this is a flight to which most cannot rise For one thing it requires a good deal of courage to try things out One must needs have guts to dare and to do in blissful indifference to the criticisms of the self righteous After all the world would not be much of a place to live in if it were not for these interesting creatures who arrogate to themselves the right of evaluating However too much of nagging can be a veritable pest for there are enough difficulties to contend with even now

The same thing can hardly be expected to please every body the degree of suitability differs with the climate so to say That must be why although the problems are much the same all over the world the methods of handling them are as divergent as is conceivable Here it is not a case of sauce for the goose being sauce for the gander as well

Grave portentous crises stare the governments of the world in the face National administrations have sought to escape out of their fangs in their own way Not all of the measure adopted are sound but most are dictated by considerations of expediency and are appropriate to the needs of the times

There is youth problem for instance It has caused many sleepless nights doubtless to understanding statesmen everywhere Bound within no restricted confines this has affected all parts of the world with equal intensity its unpleasant effects have been considerably aggravated during the past few years

What exactly does it connote?

During the transition from boyhood to adolescence the youthful mind has to adjust itself to a world of mature realities But the prospect which spreads itself before the neophyte is none too glamorous Adjustment is no easy joke It seethes with immense psychological portent It is the principal issue to be braved but its ramifications are very wide indeed Every generation has its own peculiar problems tagged on to this main one

But it seems to me the obstacles that have to be encountered at the present day are far greater in the intensity of their power for evil than ever before Youth today is hemmed in on all sides by the rude inelegance of poverty and weighed down by the burden of joblessness and insecurity of conditions

America at any rate has something tangible to show by way of a sincere nation wide campaign against these intangible forces With all its shortcomings the Roosevelt regime has put through certain arresting schemes which require to be closely studied in relation to the circumstances involving their adaptation Such is the establishment of the National Youth Administration whose work merits analysis by all who are interested in the well being of the youth who to use a cliche will be the citizens of tomorrow This Federal institution provides a hint which with certain necessary modifications can be tried in India as well

On the eve of the foundation of this agency the President voiced the innermost sentiments of all thinking men and women when he declared

> "I have determined that we shall do something for the Nation's unemployed youth, for we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to work and earn for themselves I believe that the National Youth Program will serve the most pressing and immediate needs of that portion of the unemployed youth most seriously affected at the present time The yield on this investment should be high."

The National Youth Administration is not a youth movement and cannot be *said to exert*

ny political or religious influence upon the oung people who come under its purview It as been founded under the ægis of the Govern ent solely to extend a helping hand to all who leserve it Its entire activity is based on an acute realization of the profundity of youth's helplessness The very pertinent observation that the most serious element in the predica ment is the moral deterioration that accompanies all unemployment particularly that of youth idleness leads to undesirable mental attitudes— feelings of frustration and hopelessness and inability to earn a living may give rise to anti social tendencies has been grasped to the full by the sponsors of the move toward emergency relief

Shortly after his inauguration in 1933 President Roosevelt made an approach to the solution of youth problems when he launched the Civilian Conservation Corps It diminished the extent of youthful idleness by putting more than three hundred thousand men to work in the forests and national parks This was a step in the right direction for it had a twofold effect Not only did it find employment for so many but it provided simultaneously a powerful stimulus to the gradual realization of the value of the out of-doors It opened the eyes of the American people to the bracing influence of recreation and healthy exercise amid natural surroundings

But this was not enough By itself it could not exhaust the potentialities and touched but the fringes of a vast field There still remained thousands as yet unprovided for Girls could not join the Civilian Conservation Corps and young boys who wished to continue in school without the means to do it were outside its pale

And so, quite in the fitness of things the Executive improvised the National Youth Administration as a corollary to the older institution

The National Youth Programme with its multifarious aspects is designed to preserve unimpaired the rortiness of youth so as to be able to turn it to advantage later in life Youthful indolence is prone to generate Laodicean inclinations unless it is counteracted by external factors This is best done by studying the respective requirements of youth at varying ages and seeking to meet them in the most appropriate manner This is exactly what the Programme provides for

Student Aid is given whereby needy students at school or college are enabled to go on with their scholastic career which under other circumstances they would have been inevitably compelled to leave They are furnished with part-time employment under the supervision of school officials on work projects designed to suit their abilities But there is a proviso to this part of the programme No one under eighteen years of age is allowed to be employed in this way

Young people who are out of school are given work on these work projects too Those seeking jobs are rendered *vocational assistance* and *recreation* and *leisure time activities* are abundantly catered for Needy youth between the age of sixteen and twenty-five are thus helped in ever so many ways to afford them a start in life

The National Youth Administration, as has often been mistakenly supposed does not provide doles The basis of relief is payment of wages for work performed The rates are the same as in the community but hours of work are strictly limited It has been calculated that approximately eighty five per cent of the agency's annual investment is covered by these wages Statistics reveal that in the spring of 1936 well nigh six hundred thousand young people were benefited by this scheme This can be taken as giving a fair indication of the extent of the help given

It is to be noted that the purpose of floating work projects is not solely to provide the needy with part time employment The training and experience gained thereby are useful in so far as they enable them the better to secure private employment

The National Youth Administration is in short the nucleus of a nation wide scheme of rehabilitation

When twelve months after the inauguration of this scheme Franklin Roosevelt had occasion to refer to its working he gave in a few memorable words a succinct exposition of the Government's attitude towards the youth of the nation

> "No greater obligation faces the government than to justify the faith of its young people in the fundamental rightness of our democratic institutions and to preserve their strength loyalty and idealism against the time when they must assume the responsibilities of citizenship The splendid record of the National Youth Administration in helping some 600 000 young men and women from the despair of idleness seems to me excellent testimony that our means of meeting the obligation are sound"

No mere log-rolling this but the considered opinion of the head of the world's mightiest democracy Facts bear out the appropriateness of this tribute

Yes the yield on the investment was certainly high

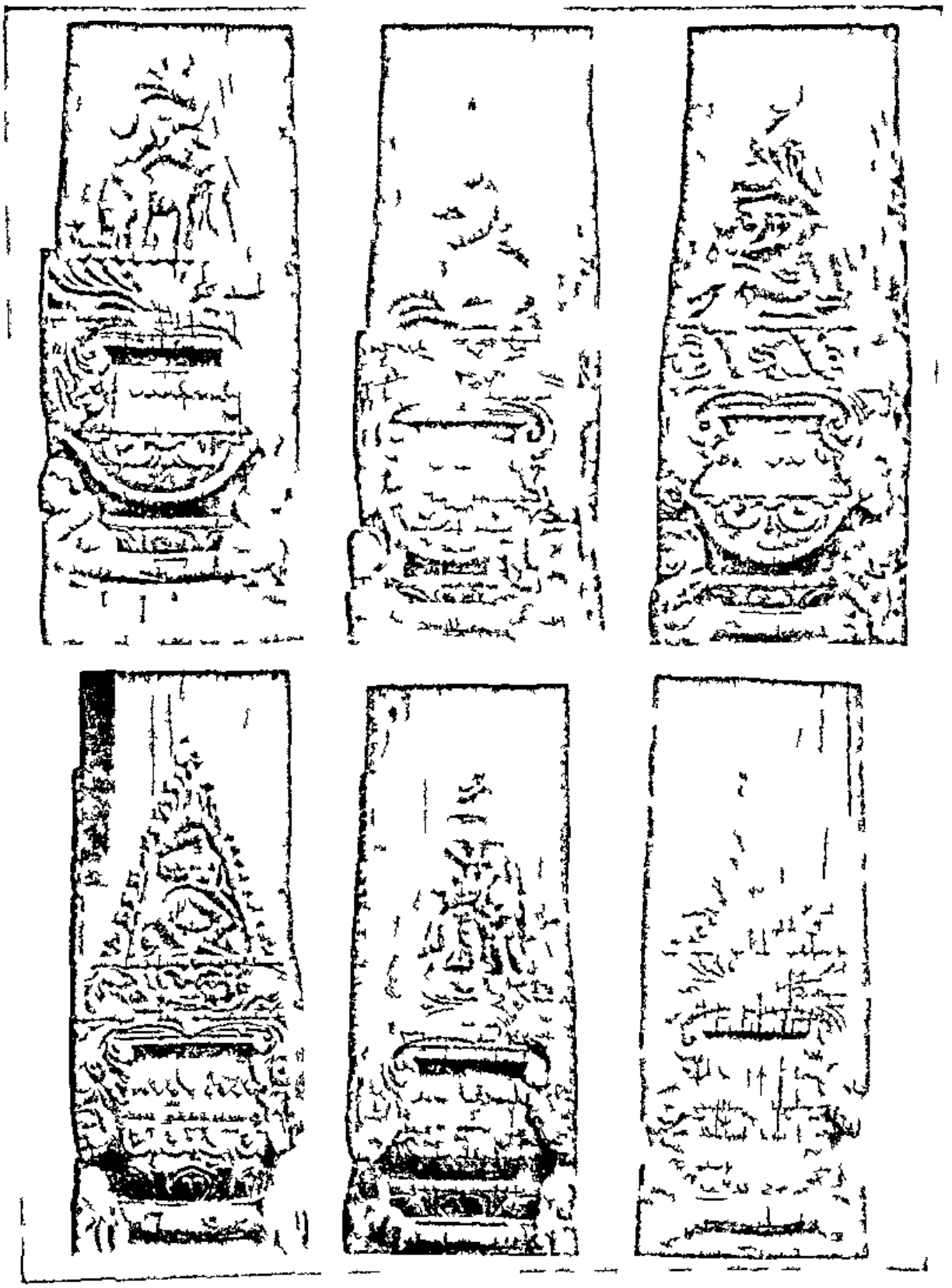
WOODEN SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL



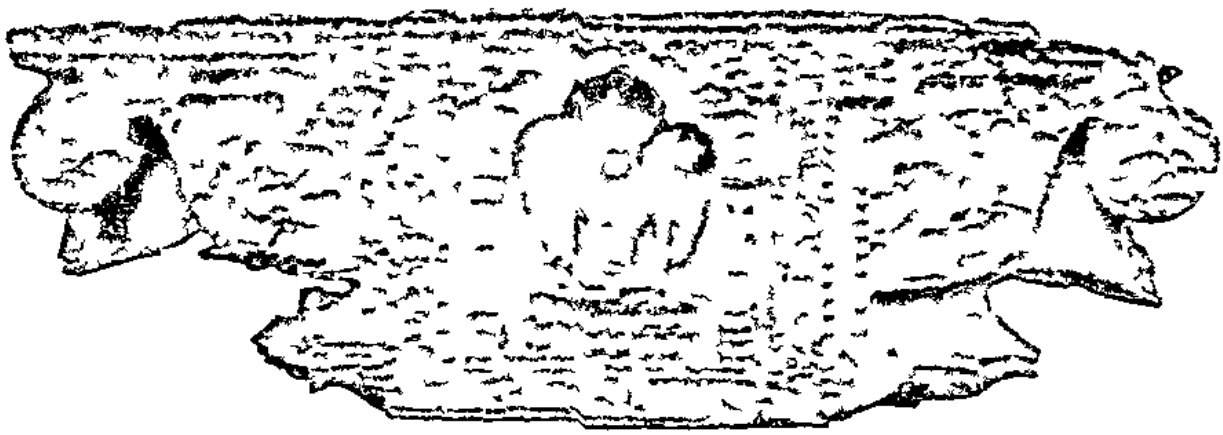
Wooden pillars recovered from the great tank at Rampal

Sthirachakra Manju-Sri

Image of Visnu found at Krishnapur, Tripura



P llar I Fa e II Face III Fa e IV
P llar II Face II Face III Face IV



The wooden capital discovered at Sonarang

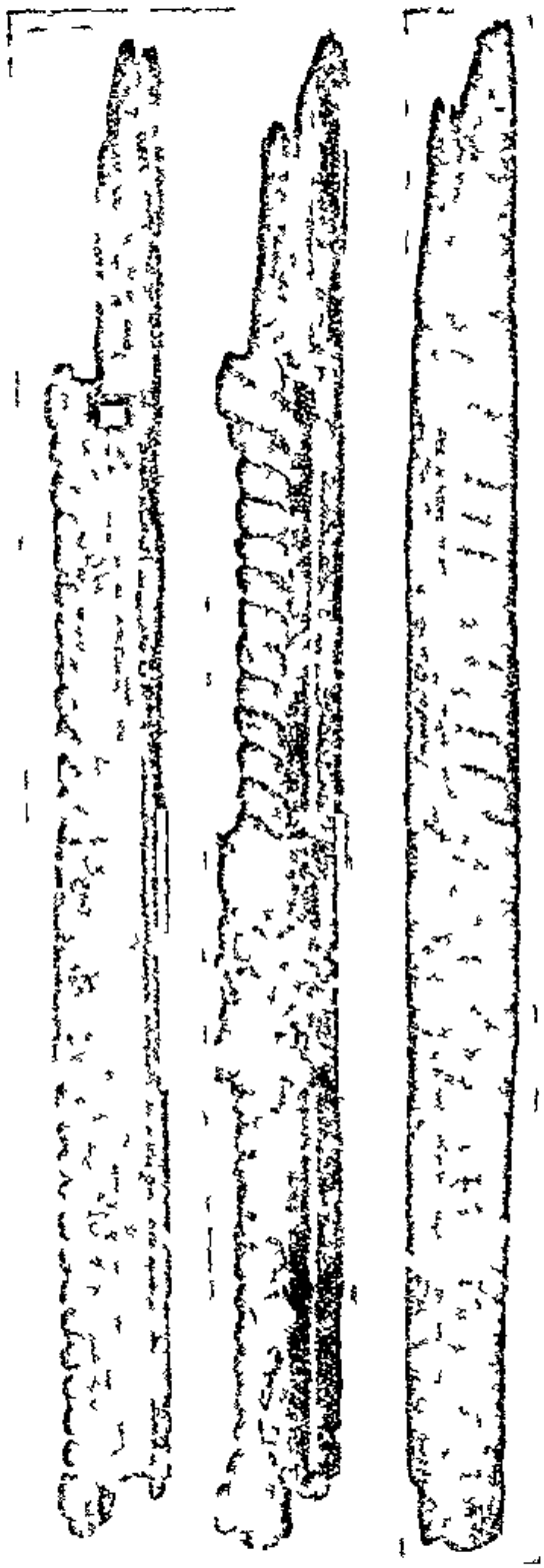
WOODEN SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL

By N K BHATTASALI M A Ph D

In ancient Bengal stone was undoubtedly the most popular material for the manufacture of images But the authors of the Silpa astras also recommend wood as a material for the expression of the carvers art Stone is undoubtedly durable In fact some varieties like chlorite are practically imperishable But wood has the merit of being cheaper and more pliant It is no wonder therefore that wood carving was a most extensive and well patronised profession in ancient Bengal Mediæval images of the Vaisnava apostles in wood are still met with in some of the famous shrines of Western Bengal In Eastern Bengal the image of Vasomadhara at Dhamrai Dist Dacca is a wooden one The famous Jagannath Balaram Subhadra of Puri are also wooden images But these last are periodically renewed What has happened to the numerous wooden images and wood carvings that obtained in ancient Bengal? Have they totally perished? The Museum at Rajshahi the Museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat the Indian Museum of Calcutta house numerous images in stone But in all these collections images in wood are conspicuous by their absence

Bengal is a moist country a country of floods and rain of rats and white ants and of frequent conflagrations during the dry season It is no wonder that specimens of ancient wood carving should totally perish in such a country Fortunately we have succeeded in collecting some excellent pieces of ancient wood carving from the ruins of Sri Vikramapura the pre Muhammadan capital of Bengal in the district of Dacca now generally known as Rampal but actually comprising many more villages These priceless relics of old by fortunate chances found their way to the beds of tanks and were preserved in a more or less perfect condition under the sheltering loam during the succeeding centuries Some of these are pleasing works of Art and would serve to give the reader an idea of the excellence attained by the wood carvers of ancient Bengal Pre Muhammadan Bengal sculpture is deservedly praised by art critics for its expression and mellowness Bengal wood carving of the period shows precisely the same merits Impediments to the revival of the art of stone-carving are many in Bengal The absence of a demand the total extinction of the trade in carvable stone the high price of stone all stand against the revival But the same cannot be said with regard to wood Wood carving as an art can easily be revived if a demand for such products manifests itself in Bengal for religious as well as secular purposes

The first specimen of the Bengal wood carving of ancient days which we are going to present to the reader was discovered at the heart of the old capital It was discovered at the southern bank of the southern moat of Ballal Badi which stands out on the accompanying



The wooden Jinel I sc vered at the v llage of Nateswar

map of the old capital surrounded by broad moats on all sides except the east

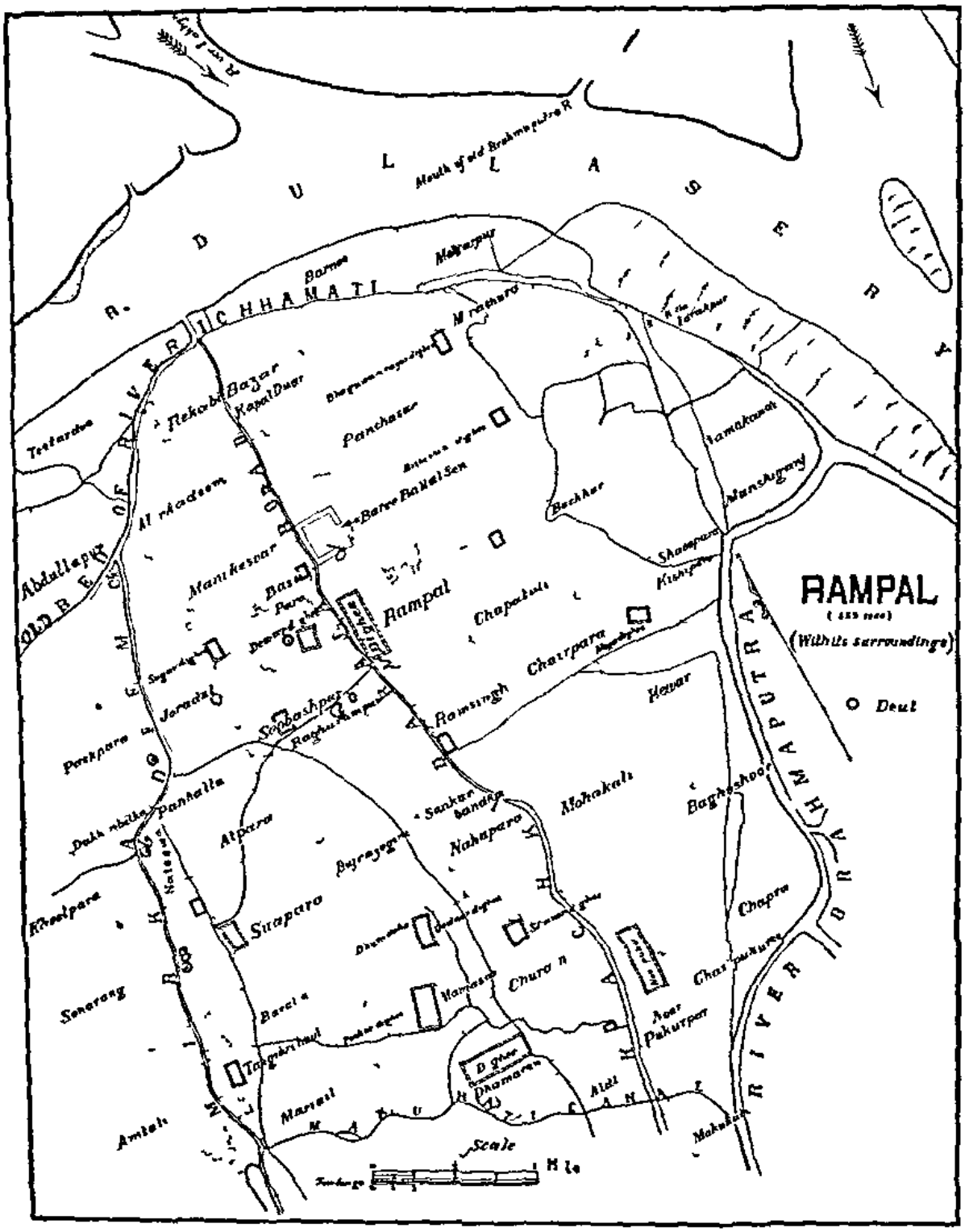
The exact spot of the discovery is marked by the Bengali numeral 1 Sj Mukundalal Goswami of Pancha ar Vinodepur obtained it and pre ented it to the Dacca Mu eum

The piece is carved in low relief and depicts a bov h figure standing in *Tribhanga* pose under a *Rekha* temple with a prominent *Amalaka* at the top The head of the deity is covered by a *Mukuta* big earrings are pendant from the lobes of the ears the hair is done into a chignon like a lady —an end of the chignon shoots up like the beak of a bird This conical end is surrounded by two rows of pearls The *god s holding a sword by its hilt in such an* artistic and soft fashion that the spectator at once understands that his loosely hanging sword with its point to the earth has no murderou propensities A *Chadar* hangs loosely from the *left shoulder of the god and flowers out at the* end The god holds a second *Chadar* by his left hand The neck the arms the waist and the wrists of the god are profusely bedecked with ornaments like a lady Strings of jewels hang *down from the waist of the god like friezes* The god stands on the right leg and the left leg with a beautiful anklet on is placed behind the right one in a tip toe dancing pose An offering of flowers is seen spread below the feet of the god The face and the entire body beams with the freshness and suppleness of first youth and these have survived the ravages of a thousand years on this old piece of carved wood to an extent enough to show that the carver was a master hand in his art

The representation of the temple over the *head of the god is an indication that the figure* represented is the figure of a deity Who is this young sword man who is yet not a killer whose face beams with the freshness of youth and who is almost feminine in his love of finery? The absence of a vehicle would *point to the Buddhist* pantheon and the sword the ornaments and the youth of the deity would point towards Manjusri the Buddhist god of learning

Manju Sri is known in a number of varieties Dr B Bhattacharyya in his *Buddhist Iconography* enumerates the following Vak Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Manjughosha Siddhaikavira Vajranangi Namasangiti Vagisvara Manjuvara Manju Kumara Arapachana Sthiracharka Vadirat Manjunatha None of these thirteen varieties appears to agree with the piece under discussion We can *trace some* resemblance only in Sthiracharka which is thus described by *Dr* Bhattacharyya

"In one of his hands he carries the sword which spreading its rays destroys the darkness of ignorance while the other is engaged in bestowing boons of all kinds, or in other words, displays the *Varada* pose His colour



Sri Vikramapura the ancient Capital of Bengal

is white and he is decked in garments of the colour of the bee He sits on the moon over a lotus and wears the *Cirakas* which make his body resplendent He wears princely ornaments and displays the sentiment of passionate love He is accompanied by a female or *Prajna* who is beautiful displays the sentiment of passionate love and laughs profusely

Dr Bhattacharyya did not meet with any image of Sthirachakra and could not illustrate any He has with great hesitation identified an image preserved in the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat as that of Sthirachakra and has also published an illustration of the image This image hardly agrees with the description quoted above

What then is the correct identification of our image? Can we identify it with Sthirachakra? The agreement of our image in some particulars with Sthirachakra is undoubtedly very remarkable The *Chadars* on our image are placed prominently in such a manner that we can easily understand that they form canonistic features of this deity So the *Chirakas* (pieces of cloth) of Sthirachakra are here The sword also is present and profuseness of ornaments is also to the point But the god is *standing* and is not accompanied by the goddess Prajna The remarkable agreement and the no less prominent disagreement led me to re read the original Sadhanas of Sthirachakra The result has been very convincing

These *Sadhanas* were edited and published by Dr Bhattacharyya himself in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series in 1925 A reference to this excellently edited work removed all doubts In the *Sadhanamala* two *Sadhanas* are devoted to Sthirachakra one in verse and the other in prose The necessary portions from the first *Sadhana* are culled below[1]

The writer introduces the elaborate *Sadhana* with the *Sloka* (quoted in the Foot Note), which may be thus translated

Making respectful obeisance to goddess Prajna and to him who shines like the fresh shoots who is beautiful who has dispelled all ignorance by the power of his speech who is pure like the shaft of a white light who holds a sword from which effulgence shoots out (making obeisance) to that Enlightened one with the appearance of a boy—this jewel of the Chakra (i.e., the *Sadhana* of Sthirachakra) is fashioned out (written) by me for repeated mental recitation

This *sloka* makes two points clear

(i) The composer of the *Sadhana* salutes Sthirachakra who has a boyish appearance as well as the goddess Prajna

(ii) Dr Bhattacharyya was somehow led to assume that *Prajna* should accompany Sthirachakra But this is not the case

In the Sadhana itself the god is described as dispelling dense darkness by the effulgence of the red rays proceeding from his bright garments deep dark like the black bees He is also characterised as skilful in bestowing all kinds of boons on his devotees This is probably what led Dr Bhattacharyya to think that one of his hands has to be in the *Varada* pose But the text does not warrant any such assumption

A little further on we meet with the following *Sloka*[2] which may be thus translated

Meditate carefully on the feet of the god who is a hero who wears a boy's ornaments whose face is beautiful like an opening lotus and who is steeped in sweet sentiments of passion and is thus pleasant to look at

Dr Bhattacharyya in his *Buddhist Iconography* reads *abhirāmāṅg*[3] in the first line and takes it as an adjective of the goddess Prajna who is to accompany Sthirachakra In his edition of the *Sadhanamala* however, the correct reading *abhirāmang*[4] is accepted which is an adjective of Sthirachakra Thus the goddess Prajna disappears We can now identify this god of boyish appearance beaming with throbbing life and softness holding a sword in his right hand and prominently wearing more than one flowing *Chadar* as *Sthirachakra* Manjusri I hope my readers will join with me in admiring the great genius of the artist who succeeded in animating this piece of dead wood with a vision of beauty which has survived on the frail material the ravages of a thousand years The image is 4 ft 9½ inches in height (*See* Plates)

Regarding the age of the image we can generally say that it is of the pre Muhammadan period We have to discuss history a little if we want to be more specific The discovery of the image from the mound surrounding the site of the royal palace at Rampal is significant The conjecture is reasonable that it was housed in

1 The first sadhana begins thus

श्रीमद्वीर्यगरिमानिरस्त सकल भ्रान्ति प्रतानोज्ज्वल
प्रोद्यद्दीप्तगभस्ति बिम्बविमलं बुद्धं च बालाकृतिं।
विभ्राणं करवालमुद्गतरुचिं प्रज्ञां च मत्वादरात्
आत्मानुस्मरणाय लिख्यत इदं तच्चक्ररत्नं मया॥

2 ललित्यभक्तारसाभिरामं
ध्याजृम्भमानाम्बुरुहरुचिलक्ष्मौम्।
वीरं कुमाराभरणं दधानं
ध्यायात् पदं तस्य समीहमान॥

3 अभिरामां

4 अभिरामं

a temple inside the palace area This was possible only when the family of the Chandras of which Sri Chandra is the best known king was ruling in Eastern Bengal from the capital at Sri Vikramapura This period falls roughly between 980 and 1020 A D Our image in all probability belongs to the same period and is thus more than nine hundred years old

A number of excellent samples of old wood carving came out from the tanks and ditches of the ancient capital A look at the map will show how the city grew on either side of a very broad and embanked road that ran south from the southern bank of the river Ichhamati up to the confluence of the Padma and the Megna fifty miles south This old pre Muhammadan road called the *Kacki Daruaja* is still in existence encroached upon in innumerable places by land hungry cultivators This part of Bengal is subject to heavy annual floods and embanked roads ought to follow the courses of the rivers and currents as the Kacki Darwaja did The Dacca District Board is spending thousands of rupees annually over the Munshiganj Srinagar road their own creation which meets the currents at right angles—and allowing this old road to fall into disuse through sheer neglect

On either side of the northern end of the Kacki Darwaja grew up the ancient capital of the Chandras Varmmas and the Senas and the extent of the city can easily be recognized on the accompanying map by the presence of a number of large sized tanks so vitally necessary for the water supplying system of cities in those days—the earth obtained from them serving the useful purpose of raising the surrounding area above the flood level

The portion of the Kacki Darwaja between the bank of the Ichhamati river and the Makuhati canal is about six miles long On either side of this length and on the raised banks of these tanks the citizens built their houses and temples The great tank at Rampal is more than one third of a mile in length The tank called Nairpukur and the east west tank at Dhamarai are both remarkable pieces of excavations and not much smaller than the tank at Rampal Numerous stone images came up from these tanks and their vicinity Today we shall confine ourselves only to the wooden sculptures recovered

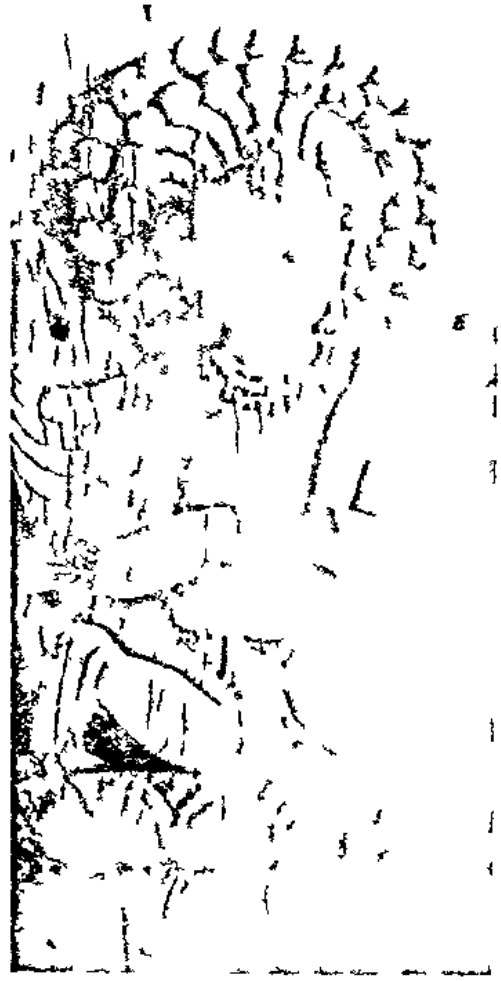
Two brothers Abdul Ghani and Abdul Rahaman in excavating earth from the southern slope of the great tank at Rampal recovered two excellently carved wooden pillars from the soft mud The pillars are 9 feet 5 inches long Their find place is marked with the Bengali numeral 2 on the map The carving on the four faces at the bottom are described below The pillars have carvings also at the top and in the middle (*See* Plates)

Pillar I Face I A goddess with a short sword is fighting a demon also holding a sword

Pillar I Face II An erotic picture of an anchorite and an antelope

Pillar I Face III A couchant camel

Pillar I Face IV Figure of a prince in dejected attitude with his bow and arrow thrown on the ground Coupled with the theme



The wooden image of Garuda discovered at Raghurampur

of Face II the story illustrated appears to be that of Maharaja Panlu

Pillar II Face I The famous pre Muhammadan sculptural design *Kirttimukha*

Pillar II Face II A woman dancing in the *Atibhanga* pose

Pillar II Face III Two girls are shooting at birds with the string of the bow in the air A comic fling at the feminine attempt

Pillar II Face IV Scroll work

The *Kirttimukha* marks the pillars out as pre-Muhammadan productions Both the pillars are good samples of the carver's art

The wooden lintel illustrated here was discovered from a tank north of the *deul*—the spacious ruins of an ancient temple at the village of Nateswar The find spot has been marked with the Bengali numeral 3 on the map The motif is the well known coiled serpents a perfect sample of which in stone was discovered from the ruins of the old city of Kotivarsha and is now preserved in the house of the Raja of Dinajpur Our lintel formed the upper portion of a huge *Nagadvara* The scales of the serpents are even now distinct on this well carved piece

The wooden capital illustrated on page 261 was discovered about half a mile to the south in a small tank adjoining the *deul* at Sonarang The spot is marked with a Bengali 4 on the map The deity carved inside the capital is Visnu of the Yogasvami variety The wood used was of a particularly substantial nature and the piece is still as heavy as stone The carving is even now intact in places

The wooden image of Garuda was dug out of a tank in the village of Raghurampur, about half-a-mile to the south-west of the great tank at Rampal The face of the giant beams with such joy and intelligence that we are filled with admiration for the artist who fashioned the image A wooden image of Visnu found at the village of Krishnapur is also illustrated (*See* Plates)

As I have already said, a revival of the old traditions of Bengal sculpture is perhaps still a far cry Stone of the right sort is difficult to obtain in Bengal There is now practically no demand for the finished products which are bound to be somewhat high priced But the same cannot be said of wood carving Wood is plentiful in Bengal Workers in wood with artistic bent capable of rivalling their brother-artists of pre-Muhammadan days will stand out as soon as we evince a taste for their finished products Then why should not wood carving be revived in Bengal? Shall we for all time to come remain content with admiring Burmese wood-carving and never care to revive Bengal wood carving which had such a glorious past?

PREPARE FOR PEACE

By Major D GRAHAM POLE

I suppose there was never a time in the history of the world when there was so much talk of war and preparations for war and certainly there never was a time of peace when so many thousands of millions of pounds were being feverishly spent on guns and armaments And yet everyone and every Government wants or professes to want peace But what are they doing to try to secure it?

Herr Hitler in his New Year speech to the diplomatic corps in Berlin explained to the world that the one thing that Germany wanted and would work for was peace Signor Mussolini in his speech intimating Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations declared that Italy "would not abandon her fundamental lines of policy aiming at collaboration and peace" It is perhaps rather unfortunate that in the same speech he remarked that Italy's arms had been "tempered by two victorious wars" One was in Abyssinia and the other of course, in Spain. But Italy is a party to the Non Intervention Agreement So one begins to wonder exactly what Signor Mussolini means by peace Japan also wants peace—or so she says Her action in China she says is 'not aggressive but defensive' and she goes on to tell us that "peace will only return when China brings herself to see the error of her ways" It is rather like the peace of the wolf and the lamb There certainly is a deep peace when the wolf and the lamb lie down together—the lamb inside the wolf

Too many well intentioned people are quite anxious to avoid war But they put far too little energy into active preparations to ensure peace There are certainly even in this time of peace enough preparations for war Even in my own cottage in the country—40 miles from London—I have been called on officially, only a day or two ago to state how many people are living in my house so that the requisite number

to have exported £195 millions more in goods had we not received income from those savings of the past"

The Chairman, finally, advocated

"three interlocking measures necessary for a return to more satisfactory world conditions namely freer trade a revival of overseas lending and the stabilization of currencies."

And all these three depended upon one thing—*a revival of confidence*

How is confidence to be revived in the world? Anyone looking back on the past years will see the successive blows it has received in Manchuria in Abyssinia, in Spain, and now on such a scale in China that no one can tell what is going to happen there When the League of Nations failed to prevent the Japanese ramp in Manchuria, it was not merely the League idea that suffered Peace, as we see now, tumbled down with it Read your history, screamed the Japanese delegate at Geneva, as he tried to convince the Assembly that Manchuria had always been an affair between Russia and Japan And the Beaverbrook and Rothermere Press in this country took up the cry and injected the idea into their public that it was no part of our job to pull the chestnuts out of the fire Well, British chestnuts are in the fire now In fact so many chestnuts are in the fire that in whatever guise it may be served up the League idea is coming back again

Indeed one wonders how long the totalitarian countries in the present state of their finances, *can* go on with their wars and armament programmes The City Editor of the *Daily Herald* pointed out the other day that Italy's total national income is about £800 000,000 a year and of this practically 50 per cent (including the 10 per cent capital levy) is being spent on budget necessities and on military expenditure in Abyssinia and Spain Only a little more than half of this expenditure is covered by revenue

The total national savings of Italy are estimated at about £80 000 000 and the Government expenditure out of loans is about *double* this amount The result is that the cost of living in Italy is going up at an alarming rate and the people are becoming more and more impoverished The Government tries to keep down the rising prices with but indifferent success As in Germany commodities are being adulterated in order to conceal the rise in the cost of living

Whereas in Italy budget revenue covers barely one half of the total Government expenditure in France it covers about three fifths and in Britain about nine tenths Britain's Government expenditure is a little under 20 per cent of the national income, in France it is about 25 per cent, while in Italy it is practically 50 per cent

Britain's loan expenditure, at say £100,000 000 in the coming year, is about 15 per cent of the national savings France's is about equal to the national savings at about £160 000 000 while Italy's is about *twice the amount of the national savings* France and more especially Great Britain have vast sums in foreign investments, while Italy has practically no such reserve to fall back on The puzzle for economists today is to guess how long Italy can go on before the smash is bound to come

How then can we bring confidence back into the economic and international sphere? We have tried one World Economic Conference which was a failure solely because the nations of the world had not learned to subordinate their private interests to the good of the whole Surely the time is ripe and over ripe for another attempt to try to get out of the present state of affairs which is more like a mad house than a world of reasoning human beings

The fundamental difficulty is, of course, that so few of us are able to put ourselves inside the skin of the other man We see it in every walk of life—between employers and employed between governors and governed between nation and nation

We hear so often in England surprise expressed at riots in India, at the incompatability of Hindu Moslem differences and so on We seem to overlook the fact that there are heads broken even in England and that Europe—I wish I could say the United States of Europe—is seething with animosities that may break out in war any day without notice And India is larger than Europe if we exclude Russia

International law seems to have gone by the board The rule of Law seems to have given place to the rule of Might International obligations solemn signatures to treaties are set aside without even an apology if they seem to interfere with 'national' interests The rule of law will only be established when there is an international tribunal with such authority and power behind it that it will be able to compel the aggressor to come before it That can only be brought about by the formation of an international police force with something higher than a merely national patriotism The armies of all countries in the world would be at the disposal of that international tribunal Such a force would not be to make but to prevent war Had there been such a force in existence Japan could never have overrun China,

nor Italy Abyssinia The Civil War in Spain would have been brought to an end practically before it got started and the rights and wrongs of each side would have been considered and adjudicated on by reasoning and law and not by the power of brute force which in the end settles nothing It is not by their arms that the police in England keep order They are unarmed but they have the authority of the law and of the whole body of the people behind them The very fact that the police are there with that authority is enough to restrain people from disorder It would be the same internationally as nationally

A real League of Nations is a necessity to the world It is the only alternative to a continuance of the Rule of Might as against the Rule of Right—Force or Law

The League of Nations has for years been subjected to a campaign of misrepresentation in the Press Why has it been too dignified to go in for a publicity campaign on its own behalf? Year after year our Government has paid its subscription but how many people in the country have ever even seen the Covenant? It can be bought for a penny from the League of Nations Union but why isn't it to be found on every bookstall? It is nothing short of amazing to think that the Covenant which certainly marked a new departure in history whatever its ups and downs may be is never to be met with —in our bookshops or our schools or our homes

These reflections are prompted by the appearance under the title of the *Peace Act 193*" of a most remarkable four penny worth For this small amount it is possible to obtain all together, the Covenant the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War and the Locarno Agreements Surely if peace lovers in this country knew their business this publication would have been widely advertised (It can be obtained from H M Stationery Office The title is *Peace* It is Bill 35 1 Geo 6) It is of course the Bill introduced recently into the House of Commons by a Private Member Mr Mander—and alas talked out It is his conviction as it was the conviction of the late Mr Arthur Henderson that these treaties and instruments of peace to which Great Britain is a party, should be embodied in an Act and adopted by the British Parliament To do so surely is to bring them down to earth to bring them out of the realm of high and mysterious foreign policy and to habituate the ordinary people to the ideas and instruments of peace which are waiting to be used—but which never will be used unless and until there is an informed public opinion behind the Government

Mr Mander may have failed in the House of Commons but at least through his introducing this Bill we have learned something And perhaps if we buy the Bill and study it we may see to it that it is not talked out next time

There is another reason for acquiring this Bill The nations are on the point of meeting to discuss reforming the Covenant Not only will it be an advantage to have the Covenant by us so that we can follow how it is proposed to alter it it is a safe guess that any emendations will be such as will be acceptable to the United States In which case it will be an advantage to have studied the Peace Pact Article 16 of the Covenant which deals with Sanctions is of course due for much discussion It is said that the Scandinavian nations discouraged by the half and half methods of the Great Powers as regards Italy are impatient of their own obligations under this Article But it is to be hoped that Article 16 will survive in some form We have Signor Mussolini's own bitter testimony in the speech in which he announced his departure from the League to the efficacy of even our half and half sanctions

It is notorious of course that at the time of the making of the Versailles Treaty President Wilson was much more interested in the framing of the Covenant of the League than in the actual terms of the Peace Treaty itself To him that was a very minor matter if he could get his idea carried out for the formation of what was really to be a world government exercising authority over national governments Such a League with the authority of all the Great Powers including the United States could certainly have prevented war in any part of the world It was a calamity the effect of which can hardly be measured when the United States Senate for purely local and political reasons refused to join the World League so hamstringing it at the very beginning Had there been a League including the United States along with Great Britain and France war in any part of the world could have been prevented—and not merely war but the very threat of aggression on the part of any nation in any part of the world could have been nipped in the bud France would have had that sense of security which she has always sought for and the bitter feeling between her and Germany would have been avoided

The intention of the League was excellent but without the United States the power to make it effective has been lacking It is because of that that Germany Italy and Japan have left the League as it exists today Nevertheless sooner or later a World League will have to be

established with adequate machinery for preserving peace At the present moment this would be difficult because there is no common denominator amongst the nations as to what is right and no acceptance of what should be condemned as aggression

The nations will first have to agree on the principles of right and justice and then we may reach the time, which at present, alas, seems far distant, when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more"

RELIGION AND MORALITY AS THE BASES OF SOCIETY

By Prof UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M A

II

Viewing the world of today, we find that it is not religion alone that has to meet the challenge of modern thought Morality, too, fares no better If science and social progress have affected religion—more often adversely than not—morality too has not escaped a similar attack by the same forces

So far as moral problems are concerned we know what they are, and the discovery of new problems does not appear likely The distinction of right and wrong, and the reasons for such a distinction and the question of man's responsibility and freedom—theoretically there are about all that we have to determine in Ethics These questions have engaged man's attention for nearly twenty-five centuries We have had different views on them but the problems have not very much differed with the passing away of centuries The progress of science not infrequently throws new light on them but it does not bring new problems to light. Researches in anthropological sciences have sometimes led to the formulation of new theories about our notions of right and wrong but even they have not added to our list of moral problems But science has considerably affected ethical doctrines Ethics could not disprove what science had proved It could either adapt itself to the conclusions of science or keep aloof The principle of causality was one such scientific doctrine

The question of man's freedom divided scientists and philosophers into two hostile camps for a long time And the theory of determinism in Ethics was an attempt to make Ethics fall in line with science by accepting the principle of universal causation The theory of freedom was a challenge to the universality of physical causation Those who accepted freedom but were yet unwilling to deny the universal character of physical causation regarded moral freedom as an "antimony"[1] From the standpoint of physical science, causality pervaded whole of nature and freedom could be denied to man from the standpoint of moral experience, freedom was a fact Freedom was thus a fact as well as not a fact It was true but was not true according to science

In recent science however, the principle of causation has been thrown open to doubt Its universal character is no longer an unquestioned fact In Heisenberg's *Principle of Indeterminacy* we have a theory that the whole even of physical nature is not causally determined Many acclaim this proposition as a scientific demonstration of the fact of freedom If the behaviour of an electron cannot be predicted—if even an electron is free, how much more must men be so! Many of us think that the pendulum has now definitely swung back from determinism to libertarianism But whether Heisenberg's *Indeterminacy* or as some prefer to call it uncertainty—or what is equivalent to the same thing, our present ignorance of certain things—does really mean a final rehabilitation of the principle of freedom yet remains to be seen. Whatever may be the final outcome, it would only mean a triumph for the time being—and perhaps only for the time being—of one theory against another If Heisenberg's doctrine becomes the ultimate principle in science, for once morality will be benefited by science and a doctrine of which moral science is so fond will have scientific support

But science cannot always be expected to support our moral convictions And what is more surprising, even philosophy does not always do so The leading doctrine in Ethics is the objectivity of our moral judgments and their

1 *Cf* Nicolai Hartmann—*Ethics*

ultimate nature Moral law is objectively valid, independent of the circumstances of our life or the peculiarities of our individual nature, and it is valid ultimately beyond the contingencies of individual life and consciousness and of time and space But so far as its objective character is concerned Prof Westermarck himself a moral philosopher arrives at the conclusion that

"neither the attempts of moral philosophers or theologians to prove the objective validity of moral judgments, nor the commonsense assumption to the same effect give us any right at all to accept such a validity as a fact"[2]

Further,

"all moral concepts which are used as predicates in moral judgments are ultimately based on emotion" (p 62)

Westermarck contends that

"the moral consciousness is ultimately based on emotions that the moral judgment lacks objective validity that the moral values are not absolute but relative to the emotions they express" (p 289)

And the ultimate character of moral values has been challenged more than once Nearly half a century ago, Fr Nietzsche gave us the cult of the Superman He and his followers extolled man as 'the noble beast" The animal in man was considered more valuable than the spirit A sharp contrast was drawn between Rome and Judaised Rome—between Aryan and Semitic morality The truer morality was the morality of the strong, the powerful, the conquering and the lordly Aryan people, this was the morality of the Romans But an unfortunate tragedy happened Rome was Judaised was gradually converted to the slavish morality of the Jews The world bows today to three Jews and one Jewess—Jesus Peter Paul and Mary, 'the mother of aforesaid Jesus' *Humanity has suffered enough for this conversion* Time has come so we are told to make amends for this stupid act

Nietzsche's cult of superman and superior morality has taken hold of many thinkers and writers—in philosophy as well as in literature And in practical politics active pursuit of this ideal may easily be seen in more than one country The drive against the Semitics—the ostracism of the Jews—which Germany of today has initiated, may well be traced to this philosophy of fifty years earlier

The softer and saner and the more humane moral ideal of the great Nazarene appears to be at a discount today Individual and national greed and avarice hold sway over the mind of humanity We seem again to be at the crossing of ways and it is obvious that the future of civilization will depend on the correct choice of ideal

So long as man remains a moral agent and the distinction of right and wrong remains, such theorising will also continue A state of social existence in which all men will act uniformly like atoms of matter and will not call for any *criticism and valuation, is beyond the range of* our imagination Even atoms do not behave *uniformly* They behave *differently* towards different element Hydrogen atoms will combine in the proportion of two to one with oxygen (H_2O) but one to one with chlorine (HCl) The onlooking atoms of nitrogen do not, however, pass any judgment on this behaviour of hydrogen *The behaviour of atoms, call it* virtuous or otherwise is not uniform But there is no judgment on them—no valuation—no appreciation or condemnation

But, although it has been the dream of philosophers that a state of society will in the long run be ushered into existence in which *all* men will *always* act *rightly*, when virtue will be the universal law of life—it will be not simply *habitual* but *natural*—*i e*, a society from which all wickedness, actual and potential, will be banished—although such an utopia has been dreamed of, yet we cannot imagine man being ever reduced or elevated to the neutral attitude of material existence in which the distinction of right and wrong has ceased to trouble him And so long as the distinction continues, an enquiry *into its nature, validity and foundation* will also be there, unless of course the mind of man reaches a condition in which all thought is *abjured Ethical theorising therefore will*—as far off as we can look into futurity—continue to be of interest to humanity And so long as *such theorising goes on, divergences of opinion* also will be unavoidable

But such differences of view ought not to alarm us They are after all not so fundamental as to undermine the code of morality that we follow in practice There may be a quarrel between Hedonists and Intuitionists or between Kant and Spencer, about the meaning of the right, but justice is justice according to both, and in a general way, they do not quarrel about what one ought to do in given circumstances At any rate this is what moralists usually affirm *The foundation of the code of morality* is usually regarded as well and truly laid. But the history of morality tells a different tale—*even here*

In the mazes of theory, we ought not to overlook the fact that Ethics arose as an attempt to

2 *Ethical Relativity*, p 60

find out the meaning of rules of conduct already in existence Such rules are the practical side of ethics—its raw materials so to say And for a man living his life here and now the more important thing is not *why* something is right or wrong but *what* is right or wrong On this question of *what* the verdict of history is that it is *not immutable* Changing times have changing codes of morals The present century has witnessed vast sections of humanity give up the ancient code of moral and adopt a new In Russia we have what Maurice Hindus describes as the uprooting of humanity The old roots of society are torn

Old ideas of right and wrong have undergone modifications which are by no means insignificant Perhaps the right is right for the same old reasons as before but the right today is not the same thing as 2000 years ago Need we take examples? Two will suffice The conception of property and marriage are two of the fundamental ideas on which society is based Have they remained the same since the foundation of Christianity?

Only recently a love-affair which received world wide newspaper publicity and in which royalties were involved showed how fundamental the change has been in the ideas of many men and women regarding sexual propriety In Christ's morality whosoever cast an adulterous eye on another's wife was guilty of adultery and adultery was an offence against God's law Today according to many men and also women there can be heroism even in adulterous love Is the change insignificant?

With regard to property too ideas pregnant with possibilities have cropped up The relation between debtor and creditor is a relation based on property and also on truth When you borrow money from another, you take it as *his* money and when you *promise* to repay it you give him your word of truth If later you decline to pay, you violate the principle of property and also the principle of truth Yet do we not see in recent tendencies exactly a thing like this? Nations repudiate debts Individuals also combine and through modern democratic organization and legislatures manage to go back upon their word By a stroke of the legislative pen property that belonged to A is transferred to B Specific instances cannot be cited for obvious reasons They will drag us into current controversies But recent legislation regarding land tenure and agricultural indebtedness, which is so much advertised in newspapers obviously militate against old moral concepts of property and truth With the help of the legislature, a man is relieved of the duty to keep his promise A has not to pay to B what he once promised to pay Plighted troth is thus blighted It brings relief to the debtor but it also relieves him of a sense of obligation which the old moral code generated Such laws may give economic relief to some classes or communities but they also revolutionise our moral concepts The future potentialities of such drastic change no one has cared to foresee Does right remain right for the same old reason, if the same thing is not right as before?

Shall we philosophers continue to spin out theories as to why a thing is right and never care to ascertain *what* is right? While mankind goes on discussing whether suffering a wrong is a greater virtue than inflicting one, shall we philosophers maintain a complacent calm in the belief that whatever may be a virtue it is a virtue for the same reason? Should we not give a lead and determine the code of virtue for mankind? I am not talking of casuistry but am talking of a real problem—a vital and practical question of the day The cobwebs of speculation will be useless if they fail altogether to give a lead to the enquiring soul in actual life

They talk of progressive morality, but would not wait to determine the line of progress Progress is not time-flow the present is not necessarily more progressive than the past and future than the present The pendulum may swing both backward and forward Every change is not necessarily a change for the better

Instead of waiting for changes to crystallise, the philosopher ought to be able to say what in any given situation is right Kant's "good will" has often been criticised as devoid of content and an empty formalism But does the moral philosopher offer anything better if he is not prepared to give a lead to mankind in its struggle to find out what is right in the concrete?

Civilisation today is at the crossways Human society all over the world is passing through rapid and radical metamorphosis Old ideas are yielding place to new Old institutions are being thrown into the melting pot Social and political structure is being dissolved in the hope of finding a better in lieu of it At this juncture of man's history should not the moral philosopher point his finger to the correct path to be followed!

There is another and more important direction in which the moral philosopher should cast his glance We know well enough that virtue—or what the moral philosopher asks us to take as virtue—is not always rewarded But unrequited virtue like unrequited love is a desperate thing Moral philosophers of old

therefore fell back upon religion and invoked the belief in a future life and a God Virtue will be rewarded and there is God to guarantee it, and if the reward does not come here and in this life it will come hereafter To put it like this would make morality hypothetical It is just possible that a man may not *want* future reward for him virtue will have little inducement Virtue therefore was proclaimed to be its own reward *Unless we consent to be put off* with rhetoric we must admit that virtue is not a spring of action The virtuous man—the just man—therefore must have a price for being just

As opposed to scientific world view the moralist thinks that the universe on the stage of which the moral actor moves is not an ephemeral show and that morality is not an empty and meaningless endeavour It has a reality and a permanence It is not confined to the span of a single life—three score years and ten—but extends beyond the grave The struggling soul is immortal and its endeavour to become better and better will be continued beyond this life and the universe in which here and now as well as hereafter and in future it will pursue its ideal is itself subject to a moral government and was intended to foster morality

All this is fine sentiment—may even be fine poetry But each one of the propositions here adumbrated can be and has been challenged Even if they were all true and demonstrable beyond doubt can the lure of future glory be always and for all men be enough compensation for the shortcomings of the present? Does suffering humanity today submit to its lot in the hope that it will have a blessed future? *Does poverty feel elevated at the prospect of* seeing heaven? Does wealth feel cowed down with the fear of encountering difficulties in entering heaven?

That the hope of a better future is and has been to many of us a solace in our distress is not denied But it is after all a question of balancing our account Present enjoyment and future deprivation against present privations and future joy *Unless the future is enormou ly* better than the present any practical minded man will say a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush Besides why should the reward of virtue be deferred? Why may it not have the sweets of this life? Why must it go unrewarded here? Or to put the same question in another way why must present life and social organization be such that the virtuous man can have no scope in it?

In Plato's ideal state the philosopher who is also the moral philosopher—*for he has his* gaze fixed upon the eternal good—is to be the king For the good of the state this must be so Else a state would never attain the ideal condition Of course a state may damn itself and refuse to be an ideal one and *continue to be* ruled by unphilosophic rulers If it ever chooses to become an ideal state it must place itself under a philosopher's guidance

But why should the philosopher be a *philosopher* at all? The usual answer is because philosophy and also virtue—is its own reward because of the mental calm that philosophy ensures and so on

But as between these two the moral philosopher has to face another question *viz* how to place the virtuous men at the helm of affairs? How to secure that only good men get up to position of trust and responsibility in society? Surely this is a more vital question than merely defining the meaning of goodness

In all civilized countries recruitment to public services is regulated by certain principles There are tests everywhere though they are not the same *Yet after all they* are always tests of intelligence and not of character We have devised intelligence tests but have we any system of character tests? In politics the conflict between mere goodness and worldly greatness is rampant A mere good man has little chance there

In modern life money yields tremendous advantages And it is an uncanny truth that the God of money prefers soiled hands to hands unsoiled Honesty is not always even the best policy In trade and commerce and in the profession a type of honesty undoubtedly prevails To a large extent that type of *honesty is the best policy* But *in the first* place it is only a *policy* and secondly even this it always is not In the third place it is commercial or professional honesty—not honesty in itself—not general honesty

In the struggle for existence which undoubtedly there is and which is daily being accentuated by the forces of civilization the typically good man—the scrupulous the honest *and strictly virtuous man—the conscientious* considerate and selfless man—is always at a disadvantage It is always well nigh impossible to lead him to the top It is difficult to bring success to him In politics this is perilously true, and it is not untrue in other walks of life Even in intellectual pursuits there are such things as plagiarism which when it succeeds means the triumph of dishonesty The triumph *of what is other than moral is not infrequent* And what is worse life is so conditioned today, *that pure and straightforward morality always*

finds it difficult to maintain itself Is it any consolation to the moral man to be told that there is a future for him?

Society puts a premium on intellectual superiority A University graduate has certain advantages which a non-graduate does not enjoy This is the reason why a man strains his every nerve to become a graduate Do we detect a similar straining of nerves for the attainment of virtue? Does society provide sufficient incentive for such straining of nerves?

Money means manifest advantages in society By hook or by crook men are bent on acquiring money Have we ever seen a similar general effort for the acquisition of virtue? Of course virtue is not an external thing like money and *cannot* be *possessed independently of our activities* But do men always place it above other considerations in their activities say the pursuit of wealth and power? Is virtuous activity the means by which things desired in life may be acquired? Are they not rather acquired by means other than virtuous? This is the crux of the question

The *moralists dilemma therefore*, is either to have the machinery of society so adjusted that none but the virtuous can attain to position of trust and responsibility or to frankly declare that virtue is not virtue It is an unholy thing to have one code of morality to be taught in schools and another code followed in life!

But can we really say that virtue is *not* virtue? *Emphatically no* The alternative open to us therefore is to bend all our energies to the reconstruction of society No one has ever said that the existing social machinery is anywhere perfect Efforts more or less systematic, have always been made for the betterment of social organization But the *mere* philosopher has *oftener than not* been only an onlooker The day has come when there should be a closer bond between Ethics and Social Philosophy and when the moral philosopher should actively lead in all efforts of social amelioration

The talk of social reconstruction is in the air We talk of the *uplift of the masses* If we are *honest*, we certainly do not mean to use the muscle power of the masses for giving effect to the brain waves of the select few If we are honest in this we mean to place power in the hands of the many—or to borrow an expression from Plato without subscribing to Plato's feeling of contempt *about* it—to place power in the hands of the multitudes The domination of the weak by the strong—the exploitation of the poor by the rich, must become if our new scheme succeeds a thing of the past

But the moral philosopher *must remind the* world which is now agog with enthusiasm about social reconstruction and economic planning, that the rich as such are not vicious and the poor as such are not virtuous the few are not necessarily wicked and the many—simply *because they are the majority—are not necessarily righteous* If we have *had oppression of* the poor and the many and the masses by the rich the few and the classes it is equally possible to have the reverse process, *viz*, oppression of the few by the many Surely one kind of oppression and exploitation replaced by another doth not make an ideal society What is necessary is to do away with *all* oppression and *exploitation* all abuse of power, and *to* establish the *reign of justice—to establish* the kingdom of heaven on earth or to have, in Kant's language the kingdom of ends realized

This cannot be done if power simply changes hands It can be done only if you can make virtue and righteousness triumph not in the class room only—not in theory—but in *every walk of life in the professions in public* life in politics and in *the Government of* the countries Perhaps we are thinking of the old Platonic conception of the philosopher-king But we do not emphasise the mere meditation on the idea of the good, but actual pursuit of it in life

In physics they have denied absolute motion *In Ethics* similarly it seems that we *must deny absolute right and absolute wrong* The theory of relativity has pervaded every realm of our thought And neither in religion nor ethics can we allow that the elders have thought out our thoughts and that our problems have been solved for us—that once for all the *code of life has* been determined for us, *and all* that we have *to do is to live up to it* and according to it On the contrary, each age must have its own problem to face and must face them boldly and squarely Each age and each of us must think its and his own thought We must determine what is right for us in material, *mental and spiritual life and live accordingly* A religion or a morality that considers itself as eternal and universal, is *ipso facto* dead and unworkable And the task of the moral philosopher is not to recapitualte old worn-out truths but to teach mankind what is just, proper and *righteous to do in the prevailing condition of* life

Any social reconstruction in order to be stable must devise a machinery to select the good in preference to the wicked for positions of trust and responsibility Can such a machinery be devised? Well that is just the question that *moralists in the class room as well as in world-*

politics, in the relations between individuals as well as in international affairs, have to tackle It is often claimed that British public life is purer than that in many other countries And this is said to be due to the enlightenment, the honesty and the sanity of British public opinion That a healthy public opinion is a steadying force in public life is an apparent truth And if society as a whole is to reap the fullest advantage of the moral code, it seems that the only immediate and practical means is to have a healthy and honest public opinion Cannot philosophy create it?

Religion is having either no importance or an excessive importance in the societies of today It should have its proper place And morality as the code of life must not be merely a class room affair It must actually regulate life How can it do this unless the good and the just have their rightful place in society? And this can hardly be effected by any cut and dry machinery that we can readily think of—any scheme or devise except perhaps by the proper education of public opinion and the fostering of a genuine belief in the truth of moral differences The education of public opinion is the most important practical work that the moral philosopher can perform

In Plato's simile "the present governors of mankind" may justly be compared to the mutinous sailors in a ship who have thrown away the true pilot as a good for nothing star gazer and have taken the piloting of the ship in their own hands And the philosopher is

> "like one who in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along retires under the shelter of a wall and seeing the rest of mankind full of wickedness he is content if only he can live his own life and be pure from evil and unrighteousness and depart in peace and goodwill with bright hopes."

But it seems that this aloofness is no longer pardonable 'Far from the madding crowds' ignoble strife' there is an amiable peace and tranquillity Yet the state offers a fuller opportunity of self realization which even a philosopher cannot ignore "The ruler" to quote Plato again "who is good for anything, ought not to beg his subjects to be ruled by him" Yet the state must be so shaped that it feels the need of the philosopher-king

The affairs of the world are seldom guided according to the highest moral principles Whether at Brussels or at Geneva, whether at Shanghai Nanking or Addis Ababa, whether in the League of Nations or in the Provincial Councils it is interests rather than principles of justice that determine peoples' conduct It is the mailed fist rather than the olive branch that commands respect

But the clouds that darken the horizon have one silver lining In the welter of turmoil dissension and distrust into which the world has been thrown today in the midst of national, racial, religious and communal strife that disfigures human society today a lofty moral philosophy has come into existence In M K Gandhi, the saint of Sabarmati we have the embodiment of a philosophy of non violence which though too lofty for many of us to pursue, is yet the highest political philosophy that the world has yet known and which if ever translated into practice will make easier the work of social and political reconstruction which changing times will always demand The political and legislative endeavours of mankind towards nation building and reform, will acquire a new and hitherto unexperienced illumination, once the nations of the world can be drilled into the acceptance of this creed of non violence Whether we think of nations or of individuals, the only cure for the ills which beset the world today is perhaps Kant's good will coupled with Gandhi's principle of non violence Thus alone can the Kingdom of Heaven be realized on earth



CONGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

By S RAMASWAMI IYER, M A

Since the assumption of office by the Congress in some of the Provinces, the cry is frequently raised by its critics that democracy is in danger that parliamentary institutions in the country are on the verge of collapse In the course of this article a brief attempt is made to examine the force of this criticism under three headings 1 What is democracy? 2 How far is it obtained in India? 3 How has Congress work affected Indian political conditions?

What is democracy? The question has been agitating political thinkers almost from the dawn of the political and social conditions the word endeavours to signify As President Wilson says it is impossible to define democracy Lord Morley remarks that

> It is the name for a certain general condition of society not only involving the political doctrine of popular sovereignty but representing a cognate group of corresponding tendencies over the whole field of moral social and even spiritual life within the democratic community "Simplification of life the sovereignty of the people and the protection of a community by itself the career open to the talents equality and brotherhood the substitution of industrialism for militarism respect for labour such are some of the attempts that have been made to seize in a phrase the animating spirit of the profound changes through which the civilized world has for a century and more been passing not only in the imposing institutions of the external world but in the mind and heart of the individual man"

In more concise language, it can be said that absolute legal sovereignty of the nation and the exercise of that sovereign power by the majority of the people are the indispensable features of a democracy The first is impossible without political freedom and in strict theory a country that does not possess this elementary mark of nationhood cannot be called a state at all

The second the exercise of sovereign power by the people usually takes two forms, one through their elected representatives and the other through the direct method of referendum and initiative as it is obtained in Switzerland and America With the latter the representative system is less popular, but the ultimate difference between the two modes of expressing the popular will is only apparent what the referendum decides in one country the general election settles in the other Either way, the will of the majority prevails and it is the inevitable best that has been invented by political practice As long as differences of opinion are bound to occur on all public issues and no question can be settled to the satisfaction of all the greatest happiness of the greatest number has to be decided by the greatest number of votes

Democracy has also come to mean some other things as the rule of law as distinct from the rule of executive regulations, the strict subordination of the executive to the legislature to which the former should always be responsible, the independence of the judiciary and what is supposed to possess a socialist sting in it, the minimum means of existence for all those who go to form the community Laski would add that liberty should provide every man an atmosphere wherein he can be the best of himself

How far political conditions in India answer these requisites? The answer is obvious and simple Most of them are absent and as for those that seem to exist they are but shadows with no life within Is India politically free? No Is her foreign relations and internal administration completely under the control of Indians? Again a humiliating negative Does rule of law prevail? Does she afford freedom of speech and of person to all her sons? The ordinances and imprisonments without trial stare us in the face Do they get two full meals a day? The majority have to be content with one and some not even one True, we have legislatures cabinets foreign agents and Indians in the summits of the League of Nations But the grim facts of our constitutional history and political relationships refuse to be submerged under such vast pretences A country governed under an Act passed by the British Parliament enjoys no more exalted constitutional status than a municipality governed under another act of the same parliament. Theoretically, the whole of India is a huge municipality of Great Britain A British municipality can have an elected chairman of its own in India he is appointed by the Imperial Government, and he is in theory responsible exclusively to those who have given him his position

As regards her internal relations there is the well guarded autonomy of the provinces with not even the name in the centre In the provinces before the Congress took up office,

minorities were ruling against the express will of the electorate Both the fundamentals of a democratic government were missing And as this country can excel no other except in her dire poverty we were also having the unedifying combination of political subordination with grave economic malaise

What has the Congress done for or against Democracy in India? By accepting office the Congress established majority rule in the seven provinces where congressmen have formed cabinets One essential is thus achieved And the Congress rules in such a way that the attainment of the other is always kept in view and to which all other transient issues are strictly subordinated Measures are also being designed to improve the condition of the poor and to lessen the glaring inequities of Indian social and economic life These are the tangible achievements of Congress in furtherance of true democratic ideals and practices

The argument that the Congress is paying scant regard for parliamentary forms of government demands notice This criticism is built on the grounds that the sovereignty of the legislatures is neutralised by the Congress executive committees that the absence of an effective opposition takes away the wholesome restraint so much necessary to curb the autocratic impulses of a single party executive and that the Treasury benches are intolerant and dictatorial in their dealings with the opposition minorities

First of all we will do well to be constantly reminded of the fact that the Congress has accepted office not in deference to any political precept or constitutional dogma but as an inevitable step in their own programme which is exclusively and primarily designed to achieve political independence They don t find democratic institutions in the country just for the reason that there is no democracy Whatever might be the potential destructivity of the Congress they cannot destroy things that do not exist

The Congress is not dealing with a settled order of things The country is in a period of transition a transition from unparliamentary to parliamentary government the niceties of the latter will be of use only when the change is accomplished and they will only provide obstacles if they are attempted to be employed during the process The present enthusiasm for parliamentary institutions resembles the fondness and silliness of an aged father who quarrels with his wife over the colour of the skirt with which they will clad their son just unaware of the fact that the lady is only four months in labour and the issue when born can be either a son or a daughter! Perhaps a doctor s assistance may become necessary and if the delivery is not easy a surgical operation can alone save the mother and who knows whether the child may survive it?

We are in grips with the problem of not how to run the state but how to create it A parliament can run the machine but it cannot create it It is like a motor car that will run splendidly over a smooth road but the road should be there and the car cannot be used in constructing it India has decided that the road should be built The country called for tenders and several came forward the Congress tender was accepted and the construction has already set in and the people are satisfied that the Congress can do its work well Those who want to run their automobiles before the road is finished are spoiling their machines and delaying completion of the road The Congress has received the sanction of the people for their programme in unequivocal terms The idea which the Congress stands for and the methods it employs to attain them are understood and approved by the masses It is often said that a subject nation has no politics It is an untruth Only a subject nation striving to shake off its subjection has politics The issues are simple and easily grasped Not like the gold standard or the Bank of England rate which not even the greatest financiers of the world profess to understand thoroughly

The shifting of popular attention and interest from the halo of wealth and official dom to the interests and aspirations of the masses is another distinctive achievement of the Congress towards democracy Till the emergence of the Congress as an active force in Indian life the masses were a neglected factor and the problems of the nation had a snobbish hue about them It was entirely the result of Congress labour that the masses have been roused from their lethargy and self consciousness instilled into them with marvellous results

These are some of the more tangible consequences of Congress work The intangible results will be the more abiding A glance over the history of democracy will reveal that wherever it has been ushered into existence the path has been uniformly stormy and destructive The devout catholic the ardent Puritan the philosopher and the poet have all championed the cause of freedom and has taken up cudgels on its behalf but neither art nor religion have been able to eschew violence or avoid bloodshed in the process Millenniums have passed ere the world became first aware of the birth of

and will lead to further progress of the movement In the Central Provinces too apreciable progress has been made 55 Adult schools have been established by local bodies during the year 50 in rural areas and 5 in the Nagpur Municipality The Government has undertaken the entire cost of maintenance of the schools in rural areas and one half of it in urban or municipal areas and has placed them under the supervision of its inspecting officers

In Bengal the Minister of Education has rendered available a sum of Rs 1000 obtained from a private source for the formation of a Central Committee in Calcutta to guide and advise the working of Adult Education Centres recently established in rural areas by the Department of Public Instruction in co operation with the Registration Department A non official Bengal Adult Education Association has also been recently formed in Calcutta

Among the Indian States Mysore has 78 schools for adults with 1898 pupils against 74 schools with 1699 pupils last year They are conducted by Local Education Authorities under the general supervision of the State Education Department and are reported to be doing really good work Travancore provided Rs 21,300 in its budget for the introduction of a State library system and established libraries and reading rooms in 60 selected State primary schools (57 Malayalam and 3 Tamil) mostly situated in rural areas where library facilities did not formerly exist It allotted Rs 100 for furniture for each library and supplied 200 books to each and has appointed the Headmaster of the Primary School as Honorary Librarian and has been paying him Rs 3 per month as honorarium

Among the Municipalities Calcutta conducts 5 night schools for carters and sweepers and aids privately managed night schools to the extent of Rs 10,000 per annum Patna aids free libraries to the extent of Rs 2 420 per annum Poona maintains 1 night school and aids two others and Karachi has 28 night schools to which it gives grants amounting nearly to Rs 3 000 Bombay shows the greatest progress The Bombay City Literacy Association started under the lead of Mr K F Nariman is now conducting 60 Adult classes (20 Marathi 12 Gujarati 18 Hindi and 15 Urdu) staffed with 90 teachers and attended by about 2 000 adults They cost over Rs 10 000 per annum The Secretary reports that the classes have been working satisfactorily and have led to a demand for the opening of many more which cannot be met for want of funds Were more funds available, it would be possible to increase the number of classes to 100 and their attendance to 3000 within a couple of months

The work of the Universities in the field of Adult Education consists in the organization of Extension Lectures not only at the University Centres but also at other places within their territorial jurisdiction The one outstanding defect of these lectures however appears to be that they are mostly on higher subjects of University study and research of interest to University students rather than to the ordinary adult inhabitants of urban areas Lectures on subjects such as Currency and World Chaos The Linlithgow Commission and After , Cultural Synthesis of India Great Poetry Mysticism in Religion The Future of the Tamil Language Kalidasha Sandesha Karnatak Samskriti Contemporary Socialist Theories Race Origins and Differentiation The System of the Universe Lineage of Man are far beyond the comprehension of most of the people for whose benefit they are intended

The Y M C A The Bombay Presidency Adult Education Association Bombay the Adult Education Institute Vile Parle (Bombay suburban area) the Adult Education League, Poona the Rajyat Shikshan Mandal Satara and the Central Night Schools Association Muzaffarpur (Bihar) are all pursuing their useful activities with the same zeal as before

Poona has recently organized a Saksharta Prasarak Mandal (Association for Spread of Literacy) and has already commenced work. It has been proceeding on the plan evolved by Prof S R Bhagwat Chief Officer of the Poona Municipality who is known for his keen interest in the subject with the active co operation of well known local educationists It achieved success in its work at the three places at which it started it and encouraged by this success extended its activities to six other places and brought nearly 300 adults within its sphere of influence at the beginning of this year Since receipt of a grant of Rs 4 450 from the present Bombay Education Ministry in October last it has opened six more classes To ensure success the Association has arranged to train teachers on its own plan and has already produced six special reading books at a cost of over Rs 3,500 for the adults receiving instruction in its classes It has got films prepared to assist it in its work and has purchased a motor lorry to carry on propaganda on the subject from village to village

An 'Indian Adult Education Society' has also been started at Delhi with Prof J B Raja and Mr H B Richardson of St Stephen's

College, Delhi, as President and Secretary respectively, under the inspiration of Mr and Mrs T F Williams of the National Adult School Union, England, who came out to this country last winter and toured round several educational centres such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Nagpur and Bombay Its motto is "Lighted to Lighten" Its aims and objects are

(1) To remove illiteracy from India
(2) to enable the masses of the Indian people to become better citizens in every respect and
(3) to promote in all possible ways the personal development of the men and women of India so that they may attain the fulness of their bodily, mental, and spiritual stature and more especially those who had not the opportunities of education in their early life

Its methods are

(1) To open and conduct classes for imparting instruction in the three Rs to those who are illiterate,
(2) to start and maintain more advanced classes of instruction to meet the need of those who are literate, but who have not had the opportunities for higher studies
(3) to discover and inaugurate suitable courses of vocational training of direct economic value to the poverty stricken masses and more especially for the unemployed and as a subsidary occupation for agriculturalists
(4) to devise and introduce general cultural courses on such themes as the National Heritage Fine Arts, Health and Sanitation Citizenship and Co-operation
(5) to supplement the regular courses enumerated above by stimulating periodical discussions discourses demonstrations, debates dramas concerts competitions melas or fairs, markets tournaments crafts, country dances fancy shows and exhibitions of arts cottage industry and agricultural products and the maintenance of reading rooms stationery and itinerant libraries, museums and in ther kindred ways calculated to promote the aims of the Society
(6) to provide for all who seek instruction in the Society's institutions sound moral and religious instruction in their respective faiths, to be imparted by the best qualified persons available for the purpose,
(7) to organize adequately equipped gymnasiums wrestling pits and playing fields for healthy physical exercise

It has deputed Miss Cryan who is a professor in Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, to report the work of the Association to this meeting I am glad to welcome this measure, on the part of the Association, to establish contact with the All India Federation and discuss the subject with it

During the current year, some interest in the subject was aroused by Dr Frank Laubach who introduced into the Philippines a new method of teaching reading to illiterate adults He showed at several places which he visited during his tour round this country how his method could be applied to the education of Indian illiterates, and assisted in forming local committees for preparing reading books for adults The Gujarat Committee has already prepared and published the first book and is now planning to revise it for the second edition.

It seems to me that time is now ripe for the consideration of the question of co-ordinating all these activities and bringing them within the purview and jurisdiction of one Central All-India organization Their integration is necessary if a united effort is to be made in the field of Adult Education

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to acknowledge with thanks the active interest that Mr Earnest Champness of the National Adult School Union of England has taken in our proceedings I am glad also to note that the World Association for Adult Education has continued to evince the same sympathetic interest in our work as it did before It published a summary of our last year's proceedings in its Bulletin, Second Series Number IX, and in its Occasional News Sheet No 12 for March, 1937 *

* Report as Secretary to the Adult Education Section of the All India Education Conference, Calcutta, on December 28, 1937



THE PROGRESS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN THE MYSORE STATE

By G RUDRAPPA M.A (Oxon) Bar at Law

The problem of improving the moral material and intellectual conditions of the agriculturists living in rural areas in India and the urgent need of action in the matter have engaged the earnest attention of enlightened and patriotic citizens of India for over one quarter of a century The appointment of the Royal Commission on agriculture and the report that has been published as a result of their labours served as an eye opener to town and city dwellers earning their livelihood by trade and other occupations The report is an impressive and monumental document and will serve as a valuable and authoritative reference book for a long time to come for all those who are really and sincerely interested in raising the average standard of life and culture of the citizens of this country The conclusions of the Commission and their earnest and far reaching recommendations do honour to the members of the Commission This remarkable report gave further inspiration and strength to those who were thinking and working in the same field Then came the Round Table Conferences with a view to giving India a democratic form of Government with federation to give unity to the country and the need of educating the masses so that they may know the great value of franchise and exercise it intelligently as responsible citizens of the country was acutely felt by some awakened citizens of India

And now that democracy has actually dawned upon India and bureaucracy is at an end and the State looks to the individual citizen for guidance in shaping the policy and destiny of this great country the need of improving the standard of life and education of the average citizen has become all important and every popular government in India is earnestly trying to solve the rural problems to accelerate the progress of the country and create a favourable atmosphere and soil for the democratic plant or idea to take root and thrive and grow

When politicians in British India are just beginning to do something in the matter and particularly when it has become a fashion on the part of leading politicians in India to regard the native states as untouchables for associations for all India purposes it may not be inappropriate to say a word or two on the great progress that has been achieved by a constitutional monarch in his State with able and patriotic ministers at his service

Perhaps it may not be unpleasant to remember that about two hundred years ago every bit of land in India was ruled by some Chief Prince Raja Maharaja Sultan Nawab or Chakravarti or Emperor and they were constantly at war with one another Some of these rulers were wise good and God fearing and the Indian literature abounds in the inspiring accounts of such rulers The folklore, legends and *puranas* are full of their accounts The names of Dharmaraya Shuka Muni Lord Buddha Harischandra Nala Chandragupta, Asoka and Akbar readily occur to my mind and most of them were not only kings but were also profound scholars and philosophers and saintly in their character and their names are still remembered and honoured in this country so much so that India knew only one form of Government and that was Monarchy and the Indian still retains this traditional love and loyalty for his King just as the English love their King in spite of a democratic form of Government I also venture to say that some Indian States are very much ahead of British India in the progress they have made and that is because the States have full sovereign powers and the interests of the ruler and the ruled are identical

It is needless for me to mention that about three decades ago little interest was taken by a town or city dweller in the rustic or cultivator of land It appeared quite natural that the cultivator of land was illiterate ill clad and ill housed and lived in the midst of filth and insanitary conditions The villages attracted the attention of the public and the governments only when rains failed and famines prevailed or floods occurred or epidemics broke out And so in 1914 it occurred to H H the Maharaja of Mysore and his then prime minister who was no other than Sir M Visveswaraya that something should be seriously attempted to change this apathetic attitude on the part of Government officers and the public towards these un

fortunate subjects of the State who form 90 per cent of the total population of the State to improve the moral material and intellectual conditions of the agriculturists and the Village Improvement Scheme was introduced by an administrative order A determined and dynamic campaign was launched to improve the sanitation, health and happiness of the rural population Village improvement committees were formed throughout the State for each village or a combination of villages with the heads of the villages as chairmen to attend to sanitation and other immediate wants and requirements of the village The Government generously contributed one half of the cost of works of public utility such as draw wells for drinking purposes village halls chavadis cattle pounds and school buildings forming approach roads to villages and erecting gate pillars and sign boards to indicate on the road side the location of the villages The villagers were also asked to devote one day in a week for communal labour *viz* for removing prickly pear lantana and other rank vegitation and filling up insanitary pits with stagnant water constructing drains and culverts and repairing school buildings temples and chavadis and planting avenue trees etc

Very satisfactory work was turned out by these village improvement committees Thousands and thousands of draw wells were sunk to provide pure fresh and sweet water (God's or nature's wine), for drinking purposes and miles and miles of village roads were constructed by communal labour in addition to school-buildings ornamental gate pillars and name boards culverts and drains The work of the village improvement committees under the supervision of the revenue officers continued to be satisfactory and H H the Maharaja of Mysore and his prime minister Sir Mirza Ismail thought that the time had arrived to give each village a statutory basis and a constitution and the village panchayats took the place of the village improvement committees under the Village Panchayat Act of 1926

The Panchayat Act has conferred full local self government on the villages The members of the panchayats are elected once in three years and many of them have elected their own chairmen They have power to levy taxes and spend the income for necessary social services *viz*, sanitation health and education and works of public utility They have also power to levy optional taxes for increasing the amenities of life such as getting electric power for lighting the streets and also for industrial and agricultural purposes

The village panchayats are holding meetings fairly regularly, framing their annual budgets and attending to the ordinary social services and collecting taxes also although their collecting work cannot be said to be satisfactory Special officers are being appointed for collection work wherever it is not satisfactory and also subordinates of the engineering department for the execution of works of public utility to make use of the large balance at their disposal including the annual government grants

For the purpose of giving the public and the world at large an accurate impression of the work that these panchayats have done and are doing in this State so far I cannot do better than quoting the concluding remarks of the Revenue Commissioner of Mysore who is the chief controlling authority in the matter in his annual report for 1935 36

> It is a little over nine years since the village panchayats scheme was brought into force The number of village panchayats have steadily increased from 7 996 village panchayats on 1st July 1927 to 11,255 village panchayats inclusive of hamlets at the end of 1935-36 The total income of these panchayats during this period was nearly Rs 89,21 100 while the aggregate expenditure incurred by them was Rs. 67,31 500 It may be interesting to note that during this period nearly 4½ lakhs of rupees have been spent on conservancy and sanitations Rs 9 36 400 inclusive of government and other contributions on water supply and maintenance charges and Rs 29 21,500 on improvement works Much remains to be done etc"

It would therefore appear according to this authentic document, that there are 11,255 miniature parliaments working in rural areas with a democratic form of government The report speaks of things only from 1927 and I want the public to take into consideration the work done and the amount spent for village improvement from 1914 to 1927, to form a correct idea of what the State has done so far This account of the village improvement progress will not be complete if particular mention is not made of other important activities of the village panchayats

The panchayats in addition to attending to social services are also in charge of all local village institutions They are managing village forests and tanks and *musafirkhanas* They are also enjoying additional postal facilities by employing runners on a small pay wherever a locked bag system has been introduced Most of the village panchayats have opened reading rooms and libraries and are also subscribing for newspapers and magazines and libraries and reading rooms are increasing from year to year in the rural areas

Medical Relief

The village panchayats have also shown that they are not unmindful of affording medical relief They are distributing quinine pills freely to the villagers wherever malaria prevails A large number of village panchayats is contributing their quota towards the maintenance of Ayurvedic and Unani Vaidyashalas and District Board dispensaries Some villages have also arranged for weekly visits of the local medical officers to their villages and what is more interesting and gratifying is that the village panchayats are evincing great interest in maternity and child welfare Maternity wards and maternity homes have been opened in villages with the assistance of the District Boards and the Mysore branch of the Indian Red Cross Society A large number of them have sprung up throughout the State A few philanthropic gentlemen have also given handsome donations for the construction of maternity homes and dispensaries in different parts of the State Milk centres have also been started in different places for the supply of pure milk to the children of the poor 150 village panchayats held baby shows and gave prizes to parents whose children were found to be healthy

Planned Village Extensions

Attention is also being paid by the village panchayats to the laying out of village extensions on a definite sanitary plan, and tiled roofs are taking the place of thatched roofs For some years past the electrification of villages has been going on and a large number of villages are using electric power for lighting the streets and houses and also for industrial and agricultural purposes It would also appear that many villages have taken kindly to the scout movement and that scouting has been introduced into 40 villages in the State It may be a pleasant surprise to some that the village panchayats have been evincing a very great interest in the humanitarian activities of the Mysore Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society They are contributing a substantial sum of Rs 5000 and odd to the local branch which has made it possible for the society to further extend its humanitarian activities

I have so far endeavoured to give a general idea of the important activities of the village panchayats It only remains for me to say a few words on what the State has done and is doing to reduce illiteracy among the agriculturists and improve their material and economic conditions

The Spread of Primary and Industrial Education

The problem of educating the masses and giving them a political training has become more important than the problem of providing bread for eating since the advent of the democratic era in India by the inauguration of autonomous and self governing States on a democratic basis in India This State is fully alive to this great need of educating the masses and rapidly extending primary education in the State so that literacy may spread among the agricultural classes The number of primary schools is increasing from year to year As most of the school board authorities have expressed their inability to rapidly increase these institutions for want of funds the Government have been encouraging voluntary efforts in starting private schools by converting them into aided institutions by sanctioning special grants for this purpose Owing to this additional help and encouragement the number of primary schools for boys in the State has risen from 5 735 to 5 783 and the number of girl schools to 503 within a course of one year In addition to this attention is also being paid to start adult schools on a large scale There are at present 74 adult schools under State control Some private individuals have opened adult schools both for men and women This is a very encouraging feature Some hold night classes and others afternoon classes There are also 497 indigenous village schools serving 15,243 pupils

The Government are maintaining 18 practical instruction classes in agriculture and 4 practical instruction classes in sericulture In addition to this there are 80 practical instruction classes attached to middle schools and high schools to give a vocational turn to the education of boys in these schools and it is reported that all these are doing very useful work

Improvement of Agriculture and Agricultural Prosperity

The traditional and conservative habits of the agriculturists and their fatalistic outlook and contentment with things as they are and happen is being gradually changed by the efforts of the agricultural department for some years The agriculturists are now realizing the advantages of using scientific agricultural implements and ploughs better seeds and manures to increase the output of their agricultural produce and its quantity, the result is that many village panchayats are purchasing more improved implements for the use of the villagers

and are also maintaining agricultural depots in many rural areas, and what is more gratifying, they have also realized the need of improving their cattle which is one of the major factors of their agricultural wealth They have come to realize that mother cow and father bull should be beautiful and majestic in look to get more milk, and strong working animals to draw their carts to the market with their produce and plough their lands They are therefore listening to scientific advice and are not objecting to inoculations when cattle diseases break out, to the castration of the inferior variety of bulls and are purchasing superior pedigree bulls on a large scale Most of the village panchayats are purchasing such bulls for common use in the village at concessional rates Can it be a matter of wonder if with better implements better seeds and better cattle the agricultural prosperity of the country should increase!

Subsidiary Occupations and Home Industries

Again in order to provide the agriculturists with some subsidiary occupations when there is little to do on the land for many months home industries are being introduced on a large scale It is a well-known fact that the Government in Mysore has given the greatest encouragement to the honest work of spinning weaving and khadi work Khadi cloth is used by all Government servants to whom cloth is to be supplied annually by the Government What this means to the poor, although it means no more than four annas a day, can be easily imagined

Framed looms are also brought into use by demonstration work by the Department of Industries and Commerce Soap making for which Mysore is so famous is also taught to these villagers so that they may earn a few pies or annas more a day Bee-hiving industry and poultry farming are also taught to the agriculturists by the agricultural department and many other useful arts and crafts to spend their leisure hour profitably

These are some of the normal activities of the State in the welfare of the agricultural population I may also say that the Government of Mysore are earnestly trying to tackle the problem of agricultural indebtedness by means of debt conciliation boards on a voluntary basis with the help of co-operative societies and land mortgage banks, and the Government have also appointed marketing officers to help the agriculturists in selling their produce in the best markets without middlemen who consume nearly half the value of their produce

Not contented with this and the progress made the Government have recently sanctioned the following schemes with a view to achieving greater immediate results

(1) The authorities of the National Council of Y M C A. are in charge of the rural reconstruction centre at Doddaballapur for which a recurring grant of Rs 4000 per annum has been sanctioned by Government for a period of 5 years in their order dated the 21st of September, 1934 It would appear that eight members of select panchayats in Doddaballapur taluk were given training at the centre during the official year 1935-36

(2) The Government in their order dated the 9th May 1936 have sanctioned a scheme of concentrated propaganda for rural welfare in 189 selected villages in the different districts of the State in order to give a further push or impetus to the work of rural reconstruction, and the half yearly report of the work done under this scheme is very interesting and raises great hopes of rapid results

(3) In pursuance of Government order dated the 1st of July 1935, a rural health training centre was established at Closepet in co operation with the Rockfeller Foundation to serve as a model unit of efficient rural health service and as a training centre for the personnel of the Health Department, and the Centre began work in 135 villages

The Government also established a rural welfare centre at Closepet on 10th July, 1937, to work side by side with health work The work done by these special institutions is very interesting and worth reading

It will thus be seen that the Government of H H the Maharaja of Mysore are paying very special attention to the work of rural reconstruction or regeneration of the people in accordance with progressive modern ideas

If in a short newspaper article, I have been able to bring out the salient features of the immense work done since 1914, which seems to be of a pioneering nature from a comparative point of view, my labour of love will not be in vain, and by this work alone Mysore may perhaps vie with other modern progressive States apart from phenomenal developments in other directions which the politicians of British India have generously and unhesitatingly recognized and commended



SOCIAL ILLITERACY

By A ARONSON, B A (Cantab) Ph D
Visva bharati

As the title of this essay might lead to misunderstandings we want in a few preliminary remarks to make the aim of our study clear Commonly the word 'illiteracy" is used in a somewhat narrow sense, in official statistics reports and public speeches, it indicates the inability of a person over six years of age to read and to write The social data provided by *statistics and reports* are altogether of a too general kind, the economic and cultural background are not sufficiently taken into consideration Illiteracy being one social phenomenon amongst many others, it should be studied in *connection* with its original and natural surroundings namely the life of a social group Illiteracy considered from a social viewpoint, becomes something quite different It no longer indicates the inability of a person to read or to write but it provides us with the necessary data as to the means of intellectual communication between the adult members of a society primitive or civilized *It, furthermore, indicates* the evolution of illiteracy from the pre literate stage of a primitive tribe to the highly developed literate stage of an urban civilization These two stages of illiteracy should be carefully *distinguished* we may call *the one*, the illiteracy of the uneducated which is to be found in all primitive and as yet undeveloped social groups such as in India and the other the illiteracy of the educated which nowadays is to be found in all 'civilized countries in the West as well as especially in America Both are in the proper sense of the term social phenomena in order to interpret them one has to go back to the social economic and general cultural structure of the social group in question This essay therefore aims at an interpretation of the data provided by a study of illiteracy in the framework of a general *sociological survey and the question* we want to solve here is how those data can be used for further investigations

We have found the clearest formula for the use of illiteracy statistics in a publication of the United States Bureau of Education, a formula that emphasizes all the social and cultural implications of the illiteracy problem, we quote it by way of *introduction* as it represents a viewpoint which we have taken up ourselves throughout our whole study

Illiteracy statistics form one of the several *indices used in the science of demography to measure* roughly the degree of a people's culture They indicate to a considerable extent the effectiveness of its school system *the pride* which the *race* in question takes in its language and literature and its determination to open to all its citizenry the medium of written communication They reflect the national attitude towards the education of women indigenous peoples, and minority groups the enforcement of compulsory educational laws and the general progress of educational policies They are of use to the administrator in formulating policies of government They are in a definite sense an indication of country's financial and economic status They are a valuable supplement to the more detailed and more frequently gathered statistics of education published annually or biennially by most countries. (James F Abel and Norman J Bond Illiteracy in the several countries of the world United States Department of the Interior, *Bureau of Education Bull 1929 No. 4*)

These remarks can, of course, be applied both to the illiteracy of the uneducated and the educated The latter is a new form of illiteracy unknown to the pre-literate tribal stage of society, it is, in fact, to be found only in highly developed civilizations and only after the war it has been recognized as a new form of social isolation in Western countries as well as in the United States A child before reaching school age can be called illiterate' in the West as well as in India, after leaving school, children in India *frequently fall* back into their former primitive state of illiteracy because the opportunity given to them to read and to write is very negligible indeed, from a sociological point of view that means that there is no natural need for *inter societal communication and that in a* primitive stage of society people are very well contented with an oral transmission of news as well as of literature" A child in one of the Western countries or in America has first of all to go through a most complicated and involved educational machine with its standardized curriculum, and after leaving school, although it usually does not forget how to read and write, it does not find any serious connection between the actual life of society and the subjects taught at school its ability to read and to write is not used in inter-societal communication (except for writers journalists, politicians etc), but, in the average case, for the acquisition of wealth, at the same time this ability makes the child or the

young adult undergo all sorts of influences emanating from all these social phenomena with which a normal adult in Western civilization comes in daily contact, such as all reading and writing matter general cultural interests social and religious activities and the way of getting a living A normal adult in that type of society will accept indiscriminately those influences from outside He will no longer find any relation between them and his former school life and this experience which every normal adult has to undergo nowadays will bring about a new kind of illiteracy one which is more complex than the mere inability to read and write but which is altogether more dangerous for after opening the child's mind in an elaborate educational process the social group is incapable of providing the right kind of intellectual material for the child's further development and material of the wrong and indiscriminate kind inevitably leads to a higher form of illiteracy which may be called the illiteracy of the educated It is as we have said before a new form of passive isolation in a civilized and industrialized society We shall presently give instances of this kind of intellectual isolation It needs however hardly mentioning that there are no statistics available for this form of illiteracy only sociological surveys on a much broader basis can help us whenever they have been used here they will be mentioned in the course of this essay

It should be clear by now that the ultimate aim of this essay is to present the evolution from the illiteracy of the uneducated to the illiteracy of the educated as seen from the standpoint of a sociologist As both are to be found side by side in the present state of civilization and the East (with the exception of Japan) on the one hand and America on the other represent the two alternatives in a most illuminating manner, and as the two are separated by several centuries of "progress" in the West this study is of actual as well as of historical interest Statistics and meaningless numbers will be avoided as far as possible, no scientific investigation has been attempted here from the few suggestions found in the following paragraphs the reader will have to draw his own conclusions

It has been said that illiteracy both "primitive" and "evolved" is a form of isolation Our first aim therefore will be to consider the "primitive" isolation of an adult illiterate together with its social implications Written symbols are unintelligible to him therefore he must limit his social intercourse to his immediate social group and many stimuli will pass unnoticed Contemporary civilization depends to a large extent on written symbols, therefore the illiterate adult will be handicapped in his reactions to stimuli, and, furthermore, only a limited number of stimuli, namely, those independent of written symbols, will be conveyed to him These few remarks indicate that primitive illiteracy above all, belongs to those phenomena of human existence which by common consent are called 'societal" In an American study on illiteracy we have found the relationship established between illiteracy as a societal phenomenon and other elements of social life such as race nationality, school system, birth rate infant mortality, early age of marriage, size of family mobility, suicide and urbanization (Sanford Winston *Illiteracy in the United States*, Chapel Hill, 1930) Although there these elements were quantitatively determined we shall be contented here with the conclusions drawn from the very complex material And if we keep in mind that all the conclusions are intimately connected with the sociological fact of individual isolation a great deal of what we shall have to say on the illiteracy of the educated will become clear

In order to show the relationship between "primitive" illiteracy, economic status, and educational facilities, two examples will be given here both taken from Mr Winston's book. One is at present of very great importance in most civilized countries a problem with which all the various forms of government have to struggle, and which is for obvious reasons unknown in the "uncivilized" East the steady fall of the birth rate Here Sanford Winston comes to the following illuminating conclusion

> "To sum up briefly one may say then, that not only were low birth rates found to be related to higher economic status, and to a high percentage of urbanization, but also to low illiteracy rates. Moreover since urbanization and economic status were thought to be factors that disturbed the truer relationship of birth rate and illiteracy these two affecting factors were mathematically controlled When this was done a significant relationship between illiteracy and birth rate was still found to exist. It would appear then that illiterate women tend to bear more children To what degree this is due to lack of knowledge of birth control in its various forms, to what degree it is due to lack of other sources of interest is a separate study in itself If this relationship is true then, with the gradual decrease of illiteracy and conversely with the gradual increase in the educational status of women it would appear that we have here an important factor in explaining the decreasing birth rate in the United States" (*op cit.*, p 92)

This conclusion refers to a social phenomenon of a rather collective kind For our own study it indicates that there is an increase in birth-rate to be found in a social group where the illiteracy of the uneducated prevails and that the reverse is true for a "civilized" country with preponderate illiteracy of the educated.

Another phenomenon which concerns the individual rather than a collective body is mentioned in Mr Winston's book the relationship of suicide-rates economic status, educational facilities, and illiteracy, although this problem is still of minor importance even in the West, it draws, however our attention to the fact that illiteracy as such, individual isolation, and lack of inter societal communication does not necessarily lead to mental deficiency Indeed, we read there that

> The illiterate as compared with persons of higher educational status do not commit suicide to an important degree When the regression equations are utilized the suicide rate may be predicted as rising as educational status rises. To what degree this is due to the increased complexity of stimuli which confront the person of higher educational status is an important study in itself" (*op cit*, p 131)

These two instances may appear ambiguous It seems, in fact, as though "primitive" illiteracy were a kind of *retour a la nature*, a simple and harmless form of ignorance, or a refined Rousseauism That this is not the case, could be easily proved by the fact of economic exploitation of the illiterate by the educated On the other hand however, society itself, or at least a large number of its adult and educated members, considers illiteracy as something utterly despisable, a disease in the cultural life of a nation How can these two points of view be reconciled? Why does society at present attack illiteracy, although it seems fairly clear that illiteracy as such and especially considered from a social viewpoint is quite harmless to society and even to a certain extent 'profitable'? Is it pure humanitarianism and philanthropy? What social motives lie behind the word "progress" which wants to utilize literacy in the service of a social group? Why should the mind of the millions and millions of illiterates be opened to new stimuli and if so, who will be responsible for those stimuli, who will set up standards for the right choice of stimuli?

The answer to this most important question is to be found in the history of literacy itself The cultural stage of social groups in Europe which by common consent is called "literate," has been reached there only in the course of the last hundred years or so Literacy was considered throughout the European Antiquity, Middle Ages and to a certain extent the modern times as well, a social "luxury," a privilege of the leisured class, all those who did not earn their living by manual work and who were by their social status, caste or intelligence above the crowd were entitled to a free remuneration for their services rendered to the cultural life of a social group, to this minority belonged the clergy, teachers, writers, philosophers So, for instance, in the great cultural centres of antiquity, Athens and Alexandria, a high percentage of illiteracy prevailed and in the rural areas the mechanism of oral transmission was still in force The cultural characteristics of the preliterate tribal stage are to be found all over Europe right through the Middle Ages The apparent efforts of Charlemagne in 789 to extend literacy to the masses only signify unsuccessful attempts to exterminate illiteracy among the clergy A strong movement against illiteracy is to be found in 19th century Europe, especially in all those countries with a powerful and enlightened monarch In this particular instance, abstract or philosophical interpretations are very misleading this movement was not due to *some kind of progressive "enlightenment" or* to humanitarian ideas but it was an integral part of the larger technique of nationalist revival In the case of the Hapsburg the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser in Turkey and in Japan, this nationalist revival is more than obvious the citizens became the willing tool of some ruling caste and on the other hand the range of mob behaviour was greatly widened by universal literacy Japan's attempt to exterminate illiteracy in her own motherland is most illuminating in connection with her nationalist revival in the last 50 years The very low illiteracy rate in Japan (0 88 per cent) does not indicate anything so far as Japan's general cultural level is concerned for the census figures for Japanese living abroad are much higher indeed, those in Canada are 20 4 per cent illiterate, those in U S A 11 per cent (*For more details see James F Abel and Norman J Bond op cit*) Even if we neglect the relationship of nationalist revival and illiteracy, another more important factor must be taken into consideration The notable extension of literacy in the last two centuries especially amongst the middle classes, was due no doubt to the industrial and capitalist revolution the development of foreign trade, and the awareness that good and continual information gives a good and continual economic reward Literacy thus became a means for the acquisition of wealth As for the "reading habit" among the middle classes in the late 18th and early 19th century, the popularity of Goethe in Germany, Byron in England, and Chateaubriand in France, it seems to be from this point of view at least altogether a negligible factor The extensive sales of new literature at that period (especially between 1800 and 1830) do not necessarily indicate a higher level of culture, they rather represent new and more powerful

methods of "cultural" advertisements through the economic and social position of the printing press in modern society It is at that time that literature and science began to be popularized to a great extent, whether this popularization of literacy was something good or whether it was harmful to the social group at large, we shall have to consider later on in connection with the "*illiteracy of the educated*" Enlightened monarchies and the desire for economic power of the individual were the two forces that literally "pushed" the masses towards literacy A third factor should be mentioned Governments in the early part of the last century were troubled by mob turbulence strikes and terrorism from 1816 onwards *select committees of the House of Commons* revealed a 'shocking degree" of illiteracy among the lower classes in England, they were, in fact forced to promote education so as to teach the working class "to govern and repress their passions" And it is perhaps interesting to know something more about the teachers engaged in teaching the working classes how to read and write, and who opened their minds to new and powerful stimuli, so we read in a pamphlet published in 1856

> In my John s (Russel) speech on this part of the question there is a very startling statement made on the authority of Sir John Pakington— that 700 teachers did not sign their own names, but merely affixed their marks '— thereby intimat ng their inability to write their names" (The education of the Masses Can it be accomplished? A question addressed to the Lords and Commons of the British Parliament, London, 1856 pseud)

All the three factors which insist on the importance of literacy, either as means for nationalist propaganda, or as a means for acquisition of wealth, or lastly as a means for the suppression of mob turbulence, do not consider literacy as an aim in itself Only in the last 50 years we find this tendency represented in humanitarian or philanthropic movements of a more or less international kind The key-word for all these movements is "Mass education on a democratic basis", and here we are back to our first problem what is the real reason of the educated members of a social group to open the minds of the illiterate to new and powerful social stimuli? The three factors which have been at work until now do not give a satisfactory answer The humanitarian and the philanthropist however, are quite different in their mental outlook Here universal literacy becomes an aim in itself, and, according to them, it should be attained for unselfish and purely "ideal" reasons It seems hardly necessary to go on quoting some of those vague and ambiguous statements which we read daily in Indian newspapers In the Proceedings of the first biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations held at Edinburgh in 1925 (*World Education*, edited by G C Pringle vol II, p 639) the following disconcerting remark is to be found

> I have been told that educating illiterates is just like letting them into an unlocked garden, but I said, to me it was more like opening prison doors and letting them out of the dungeon"

This attitude towards literacy did not undergo many changes during the last decade, illiteracy is still commonly considered to be "ignorance" and literacy "knowledge" and light and what not

> " the transition from illiteracy to literacy in he case of any person is not so much a transition from one level of ignorance to another as it is a transition from one world to an altogether different world from a world of superstition and acquiescence to a world of light and independent judgment " (In a recent number of *Tribune*, quoted in A Scheme of Adult Literacy for Allahabad Municipality by Babu Sangam Lala Agarwalla 1937)

Frequently also the lack of ideals among the illiterates is emphasized Illiterates are all those

> "who have not the ideals that open the way into this education which is the interpretation of Life the interpretation of life in terms of nature, the truth of man as a social individual and the interpretation of Life in terms of Beauty' (*World Education op cit*, vol II, p. 661)

And when the same speaker is asked whether precisely the illiterates in Germany or France plunged almost the whole of Europe and 50 per cent of America into the War, she finds a most illuminating answer, an answer, in fact, which strongly supports our own argument

> They were spiritual illiterates, because they did not know their fellows." (p. 664.)

It is indeed a pity that this statement passed more or less unnoticed For its deeper implications are that education as it exists at present is far from being "an interpretation of life in terms of truth, nature, and beauty," and that the transition from illiteracy to literacy is in reality "a transition from one level of ignorance to another,' or in our own terminology it is a transition from the illiteracy of the uneducated to the illiteracy of the educated

It is a common and regrettable mistake among modern and "progressive" educationalists to neglect the economic background of education, many of them do not as yet realize that there is an intimate relationship between the desire to provide education for all and the economic abilities of the social group This economic ability stands frequently in an over-

whelming contrast to the purely "ideal" desire for education Thus even Governments of democratic countries are not in the least ashamed to draw the attention of its adult and educated members to this fact The United States Bureau of Education in a publication entitled *The Deepening Crisis in Education* gives us the following interesting educational data for the year 1933

100,000 more children are this year denied all educational opportunities because of closing schools, (especially in the rural areas) school terms will put at least a million other children on learning rations close to the level of mental starvation one of every two cities has been compelled to drop some important school (especially all the classes on art physical exercise civics hygiene, etc) one of every three teachers must work this year for less than the "blanked code" minimum for unskilled labour 200 000 certificated teachers are unemployed 259 school districts in 29 states have been compelled to default on bonds (Leaflet, No 44, 1933)

We think that these disconcerting remarks are sufficient proof for the link which apparently exists between the economic ability of a social group and the education provided for its members but there is even a deeper link between the two one which again strengthens our argument economists at present realize that mass education automatically raises the economic abilities of a country and in the same year 1933 a high American official pronounced the following statement which after all no longer surprises us

"I wonder if it is not a fair statement that while we have indulged ourselves liberally in education, we have not done this so much for the sake of education itself or to add to the culture and graciousness of life, but because of the general belief that by educating ourselves and our children we have been making it possible to win in the race for acquisition of wealth" (Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior addressing the National Education Association at Chicago, July 6 33 cf *New York Times* July 7 1933)

The above Leaflet and this address form a perfect vicious circle out of which there seems to be no hopeful escape possible As mere literacy does no longer satisfy the adult member of a social group as on the other hand whenever there is an economic crisis the educational services are curtailed in the poorer states rather than in the richer ones and as lastly, education for the rich as well as for the poor becomes simply a means for the acquisition of wealth or for an assured social position one has a quite natural right to ask where all this education and literacy ultimately leads to and whether there is a genuine and sincere response to be found among the 'masses', especially among the middle classes of a civilized country, such as America. A sociological survey of very great importance and interest has helped us here to collect the necessary material (Robert S Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd *Middletown, A Study in American Culture* 1929) We have found in this survey a satisfactory answer to our two questions Of what kind is the response of the masses to literacy provided by mechanized and standardized mass education

"Parents insist upon more and more education as part of their children's birthright editors and lecturers point to education as a solution for every kind of social ill Literacy yes, they want their children to be able to read the newspapers write a letter and perform the ordinary operations of arithmetic but, beyond that, many of them are little interested in what the schools teach." (p 218)

And in the same chapter of the book we find the answer to our first question where does the over emphasis on education and literacy lead to?

"The city boasts of the fact that only 2.5% of its population ten years of age or older cannot read and write, and meanwhile the massed weight of advertising and professional publicity are creating new forms of social illiteracy and the invention of the motion picture is introducing the city's population young and old, week after week into types of vivid experience, which they come to take for granted as parts of their lives yet have no training to handle" (p 222)

By social illiteracy" is obviously meant the new illiteracy of the educated The stimuli to which an adult member of the social group has to respond are in no connection whatsoever to the stimuli of his actual or former school life The educational process the aim of which it was to make the transition from the primitive illiteracy of a new-born child to the literacy of an adult as easy and smooth as possible has evidently failed to fulfill its purpose Instead of using the abstract knowledge of languages (see the preponderance of Latin in American schools) of civics of philosophy of science, the adult's mind, after leaving school is in his 'business' hours solely occupied with the means of acquiring wealth, and in his leisure hours either with reading newspapers (written symbols that convey to him news from his own social group as well as from other social entities— nearly two third of the morning paper bought by the great bulk of Middletown families is composed of advertisings) or with listening in to the wireless (a mechanized and centralized transmission of news and of cultural goods to the members of the social group) or with going to cinema (a combination of oral and ocular transmission of experiences mostly unknown to the average adult of the average community a heightening of the artificially imaginary life divorced from the actual experience of the group itself) The reading of a newspaper the listening in to the wireless, the visit to a picture-

house, are purely individual actions, at the time when those actions are actually performed the individual is completely isolated from his social group although the same news and experiences are conveyed to all the members of the same community there is no societal intercourse between the members of that group it is an interesting fact to know that no other profession is more neglected in the common social life of Middletown's adult citizens than that of the teacher both educationalists and teachers are "in terms of the concerns and activities that pre occupy the keenest of the city's leaders (p 209) non entities If there is any social activity at all in this highly civilized group it takes place in the interest or the name of some political masonic or religious association it serves on the one hand the monetary or social ambitions of the individual member of the society or on the other hand it helps to pass one's time in an agreeable and quite pleasant manner But the individual isolation of the adult member of the group persists all through his business and leisure hours One may say in fact without much exaggeration that the individual isolation today is of a much more dangerous kind than in the pre literate tribal stage of civilization today the individual characteristics of oral transmission of news and cultural goods are no longer to be found either in the newspaper or in the wireless programme or in the cinema the mechanization and standardization of societal intercourse robs the individual of his genuine capacity to mix freely and innocently' with other members of the social group His capacity to read and to write rather prevents him from doing so it only provides him with a powerful weapon against all those members of society who are weaker and therefore unable to resist his attacks The commonplace that 'knowledge is power" cherished by all those who fight against primitive illiteracy becomes utterly absurd and essentially destructive in modern civilized society For if power' means "wealth"—and that is the case in all 'advanced' societies —then this commonplace should be abolished altogether It leads as we have tried to prove to a new form of individual isolation harmful to men, to an illiteracy of the educated, the dullness and intellectual misery of which seems sometimes to be much more appalling than the dullness and intellectual misery of an uneducated illiterate And does 'knowledge" in more advanced societies really mean power? Are not those social groups that deliberately went back to the pre literate tribal stage of society, proud of their ignorance? Do they not cultivate primitive illiteracy as a means to attack and to fight against the nearest social community by means of new scientific discoveries? "Knowledge in such countries is only for the very few the great bulk of the people for whom compulsory education and "mass education on a democratic basis was introduced should be kept in ignorance And the paradox becomes true namely that "ignorance is power", the ignorance of the educated in particular or in our terminology the illiteracy of the educated Clear formulas for the relationship of ignorance and power are to be found in the writings of the greatest statesmen of today as well as in newspapers

> It is not necessary to fill the students brain with ancient and modern learning Learning can only be a special Swedish drill necessary for the training of the brain and the quicker it is forgotten in its useless and superficial details the more useful it will be" (Mussolini in a Speech in vol V of his *Scritti e Discorsi*)

In the East we find the same thought expressed in a cruder and more sincere way

> "We must rid the schools of the spirit of free inquiry our schools are educating a rising generation which in the next war will form part of the army and must be closely connected with it" (In *Nikkou*, a Japanese newspaper)

The next generation all over the world is cheerfully marching towards ignorance The prison doors of illiteracy have been opened, now the 'blessings' of literacy descend upon the masses The individual in his new social isolation encounters and has to deal with yet unknown powerful stimuli Literacy is a burden upon him No genuine response to social stimuli can be expected from him He becomes suspicious sceptical, and intellectually impotent In his behaviour he is proud, pretentious and self satisfied In his mentality he is advanced, civilized and essentially progressive



WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By Prof KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI Ph D
Visva bharati Santiniketan

III

The right of women to the free choice of an occupation if it stretches to the extent of excluding motherhood (from their choice) presents features which are quite unique and as such cannot be treated by the leaders of a state (whether men or women) on the same footing as the right of the free choice of occupation of males for the simple reason that here a certain contingency may arise (*e g* if all the women or a substantial majority of them or all the educated women in a society refuse to take up the responsibilities of motherhood preferring professional careers) when the State may in the interests of its very existence have to interfere with *the freedom of choice of occupation of* women I have only mentioned the refusal of *responsibilities of motherhood (by women)* as the only contingency in which the State may have to interfere with and *modify this right of* women and have intentionally excluded their choice of refusing wifehood from such a contingency because I think we ought not to yoke unwilling women to matrimony if they consider the status of a wife as derogatory and (as I hope to show in a separate paper The future of the institution of marriage) we can do so without incurring any loss to our racial future

Untrammelled by the responsibilities of office or state duties I would personally (on grounds of perfect political justice) like to go to the length of even granting women the right to evade motherhood if they find solace and realize the utility of womanly existence in scientific and professional careers because I would consider the imposition of motherhood on a woman unwilling to shoulder its burdens with eagerness and love as wasting a precious favour by thrusting it upon one unworthy of being enthroned on the sanctuary of motherhood Not till she feels the utter futility of her existence without motherhood has a woman earned the title to motherhood and when she feels that certainly then she will not accuse men of thrusting the evil upon her On the contrary she will be thankful to man for enabling her to realize her highest spiritual self through motherhood Such mothers alone are assets of a race Unwilling mothers are national liabilities They will not build up sweet homes they would create obnoxious bedlam

It will be evident from the issues raised and points discussed in the foregoing pages that there exist an inequality of ability and dissimilarity of taste (between the two sexes) brought about principally by their dissimilar sex function placing the female sex in a permanently disadvantageous position so far as reputation earning and career building (through the exertion of the body and mind) are concerned These dissimilarities of sex functions (which puts an unequal burden on the female sex) are however not of man's making and if anybody has any grievance complaint must be lodged not against man but against the Maker, *for he is not responsible for it On the contrary,* amidst all his follies blunders excitements *irritations and failings man has tried to the* best of his abilities to make up for the comparatively more favourable position in which Nature happens to put him by allotting him lighter obligations in the process of the propagation of the race by willingly taking up on his shoulders harder and more difficult jobs

These dissimilarities have given rise to different standards of morality education conduct and behaviour for the two different sexes in society To a certain extent these differences are inevitable and even where it may be found that a different standard is unnecessary it is not always men who have been responsible for perpetuating the differences History will show that more often than not it is women who are persistent in demanding a different standard of conduct and behaviour for males and females sometimes even from childhood Which mother will not take care to see that a just adolescent daughter (who does not yet know the facts about the sex life and is yet old enough to be curious about it) does not mix freely with her equally youthful boy companions—as freely as she allows a son of that age to move about because

"the boy cannot be so abused that the consequence is a life long shame and impairment of career and destiny"[1]

(1) Sumner and Keller *Science of Society* p. 117

And even if in future it be possible for a really enlightened state to remove the obloquy on illegitimacy and unmarried motherhood with which these are at present stigmatised by society no government however enlightened can repair the loss that she suffers in health and attractiveness by having had to go through the ordeals of a forced motherhood at a tender age This we will say, is not fair but it is neither fair that women alone should suffer the pangs of childbirth 2

For this injustice and unfairness the Maker alone is responsible and I see no possibility of removing this injustice unless He finds it convenient to repeal the first section and clause of His First Act of Creation Speaking scientifically in other words

" the only way to make the sexes equal would be to get back along the course of evolution and interfere at the point where bi sexuality first appeared "3

Unable or unwilling to accept these unalterable facts the leaders of women's emancipation in our country (and in other countries as well) found it convenient to hurl the whole blame on the shoulder of man by concocting, what I like to call the ' myth of systematic male tyranny "4 which under the spell of a false sense of courtesy or chivalry has come so dangerously near getting established as a fact by receiving indirect encouragement instead of refutation from men that when very recently women demanded seats in the Executive (Working) Committee of the Indian National Congress even the most outspoken and courageous of Congress Presidents appeared apologetic and was unable to tell them plainly (a quality with which his male friends are but too familiar) that they cannot hope to secure any seat in the Congress Cabinet unless they produce women of the cabinet calibre

They have bullied us to such an extent to the belief that we have habitually ill treated them that even our best journals (edited by men) try to make amends for our supposed omissions and commissions in the past by taking recourse to such acts of subtle flattery to the fair sex as publishing the career (with a photo) of Miss So-and-so who has perhaps distinguished herself by doing no other uncommon feat than securing the B A degree or obtaining the title of a " nightingale " from a music club, though it is common knowledge that the (wicked?) male father of the said Miss So-and-so had left no stone unturned to provide her with all her requirements including perhaps half-a-dozen private tutors including those for *tabla* and piano

Far be it from me to suggest that women's merit and distinguished achievements should not receive public recognition or that heroines should not be honoured But it is up to us to make it clear to women that a heroine is one who courageously fights life's battles against heavy odds and not one who wins a Bachelorship of Arts or a nightingalehood of Bengal under such favourable conditions Instead of that we add to their false vanity by honising them as intellectual " Stars " It spoils an already spoilt band It adds a fillip to bourgeois ostentation and vainglory

I want to make it perfectly clear at this point that I should not be mistaken for a reactionary or anti emancipationist The very knowledge of the fact of the inequalities of the sexes of the disadvantageous position to which women have been put by Nature makes it incumbent upon me to become a thorough and uncompromising champion for the removal of women's disabilities (such as are removable by the efforts of man), and my views on that point have been very plainly stated elsewhere 5 Our success or failure in that direction will determine the quality of our civilization

But a movement and specially a social movement to be successful must bear the stamp of honesty, sincerity, fixity of purpose and above all its leaders must be in touch with the realities of life When in the face of the patent fact that the movement of women's emancipation owes its origin to the inspiration and initiative of men and that in almost every family a father or a brother is fighting for the greater liberty of action and freedom of a young daughter or sister in choosing her station in life as a mother or a grand mother, women forge the myth of male tyranny I am constrained to say they are lacking in honesty When they pass resolutions in a Women's Conference (as they did recently in the Panjab) demanding that men should leave the management of society and the administration

(2) Sumner and Keller *Ibid* p 117
(3) *Ibid* p 116
(4) It is most refreshing to note that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (the ablest and perhaps the only woman public servant who has won a place among the leaders on her own personal merits) has never given any encouragement to the spread of this myth and has always exercised her vast influence in curbing the propensity of her less experienced sisters of degrading any Women s Conference of which the guidance was left in her hands to an exhibition of hysterical vilifications of the sturdier sex which appreciates and admires her unerring instinct for justice and feminine chivalry with gratitude

(5) Mukerji " Some aspects of female education in India " contributed in *The U P Education*, May 1937 (15-23), pp 18 and 21

of the country to their hands and sit at home caring for the children they betray a colossal lack of sincerity of purpose and instead of advancing their cause make themselves the laughing stock of the whole world When responsible women leaders publicly complain that instead of treating woman as the companion of man's leisure she is made to play in her family the role of a 'glorified cook and head servant' I am obliged to think that they are not in touch with the realities of life and this last mentioned drawback on their part is also dangerous because suffering under them women are led more easily to put all the blame for their disadvantageous position in society on the shoulders of man and lends support however innocently to the myth of male tyranny Let me illustrate

The best proof of lack of the sense of the realities of life is evinced by the feminist leader when she starts with the general proposition that women irrespective of the economic position of the families to which they may belong can form (for the purposes of their social and educational uplift) into a homogeneous social class and that every class of women are suffering under the same disadvantages This is a fiction The fact is that the wealthier the stratum occupied by a woman in society the greater the number of roles she wants to play and greater the disappointment she feel in the event of failure to play the maximum number of advantageous roles In an admirable article[6] Mr Clifford Kirkpatrick has divided a married woman's roles in the family under three heads The first is the *Wife and-Mother role* (the traditional role of the married woman) which was the only imaginable role for a woman in primitive times and which is still the only role which can be filled up by the overwhelming majority of women (belonging to the economically lowest and the lower middle classes) whose whole energy and time is taken up in procuring the bare necessities of life With the growth of wealth and intellectual awakening woman's mind begins to be conscious of two other roles the *Companion and Partner roles* which are leisured class phenomena In the words of Mr Kirkpatrick the Companion role among other things consists in "sharing pleasures with the husband" "receiving a more romantic emotional response," "being the object of admiration" "preservation of beauty" etc It will be readily seen that not to allow a leisured class woman to fill the role of a companion is certainly depriving her of many precious pleasures and to force her to do the works of a household drudge will be surely putting her under great inconveniences but it will have to be equally acceded that that very role (of a Companion to the husband so desirable for aristocratic woman) may prove totally undesirable and even vexatious for a woman of a poorer class whose whole time has got to be spent in filling the Wife-and Mother role Neither is there any inequity from the inter sexual standpoint (though there may be good deal of it from the inter-class standpoint), because if the wife in a poor home is only a dignified cook and head servant the husband to be sure is nothing better than an *undignified* porter office clerk or a foreman There are very few pleasures in their lives which are capable of being enjoyed in common companionship between the husband and wife excepting the board and bed of which I have reasons to believe they do take the fullest advantage What this class of women (and they comprise the vast majority) are suffering from is not male-tyranny but they (together with their male relations) are suffering from the tyranny of poverty and ignorance and to this great relief may be given by richer class women leaders if instead of trying in vain to prove the guilt of man for all the woes of poorer class women they sincerely try for the economic uplift and education of their unfortunate sisters (not forgetting the sad plight of their equally unfortunate husbands)

Much as I appreciate the willingness (rather eagerness) of leisured class women to play their roles as companions and partners of their husbands I should like to remind them of their limitations

Firstly even leisured class women (not to talk of their sisters of the poorer class) cannot absolutely dispense with the duties and obligations of the Wife-and-Mother role so long as the institutions of marriage and family exist in society

Secondly, the evolution of the ideas of woman's emancipation in her playing the roles of a companion and partner (of man) in society are dependent upon the extent to which it has realized in its corporate life the humanizing principles of civilization mainly through the effort and consent of man Two misconceptions therefore have to be readily rejected (i) that every society is fit enough for the same extent of women's freedom irrespective of its progress in the fields of education administration of justice, etc, and (ii) that man is the enemy

(6) Clifford Kirkpatrick "The measurement of ethical inconsistency in marriage" Contributed in *The International Journal of Ethics* July 1936, pp 444-460

from whose unwilling hands freedom and just treatment have to be wrung out by the organized forces of women On the contrary man's civilizing efforts have been the greatest factor in paving the way for a movement of women's freedom.

"The extermination of wild life, the harnessing of the forces of nature to the service of humanity, the inauguration of the rule of law the improvement of the technique of the administration of justice—these are the century long positive achievements of men on which alone can be laid the foundation of a movement for women's emancipation"

Thirdly, the exercise of the rights and the performance of the obligations pertaining to the Companion role must of necessity be confined, in the main, to the few leisured class women who and whose husbands and male relations alone have the requisite wealth and leisure to be able to enjoy the pleasures of such a role The proper functioning of such a role must of necessity entail, at least to some extent, the negligence of the obligations of the Wife-and-Mother role and as such circumstances may arise in which the sacrifice of the latter role for the former by a woman of poor class family may result in positive discomfort (instead of increase of comfort) both for the woman and her husband (and other relations in the family) No husband of a poor class family will feel happy if instead of finding his meal and bed and clothes well prepared finds on his return home after the day's toil that in imitation of her millionaire sister his dear wife has spent the whole day over a painting of Venus and Cupid and in maintaining her best appearance with the hope of *evoking a romantic emotional response* in the over-worked husband Neither will a wife of a poor family appreciate the blessings of this Companion role if she is required to *preserve her beauty* by taking recourse to costly artificial means (under the penalty of marital insecurity") when she finds herself so engaged with her household duties (absence of servants presumed) that she gets hardly any time for rest or recreation The absence of such "privileges(?)" are a blessing rather than a cause of grievance for a poor woman That we hear about these "grievances" is due to the fact that the richer class women who come forward to voice the grievances of their race are hopelessly ignorant of the realities of life which, living in the sheltered atmosphere of male generosity, they have never learnt to face bravely They come from that vain and irresponsible class among which, to be adorned in gorgeous georgiette and silk brocades bedecked and jewelled with all modern luxuries, each one of them—from the vanity bag to the motor car —bought with the hard-earned money of a *man* (not a very conclusive proof of male tyranny) and address a lady's meeting preferably on the perennially interesting theme of male treachery and wickedness, is considered an *achievement* and the dainty act of cutting a silken ribbon with a pair of golden scissors to declare a new road open is considered as an act of great *public service* No wonder they mislead their less fortunate sisters

I have discussed these points here at some length because I wanted to point out that the feminist movement has proceeded into wrong channels under a wrong leadership I am sure a rightly directed movement can succeed in removing all the disabilities, social and legal, under which women suffer But removal of disabilities is not attaining equality It may mean legal equality but not a position of equal importance and respect in the social order Because real equality of status, reverence and respect can be won only through the performance of equally important (not necessarily identical) functions and services for the advancement of the common good, through the records of achievements for the benefit of the human race Without trying to justify any restriction that has been put to debar women from as much freedom as is enjoyed by man in any field we maintain that that equality of status in society through the performance of equally important social functions can never be attained by women if after getting their rights of free choice of occupation they take into their heads to misuse this right by wasting their energies in competing with men in the physical and intellectual fields in which their achievements can in no way be compared with those of men

If therefore women do not in addition find out and concentrate in some fields of action where they can claim greater natural facilities of success (in adding to the social good) my fear is that they will not only fail to achieve that equality (of status and importance in society) for which they clamour but they will merely succeed in reducing themselves into man's female valets stenographers and ornamental private secretaries

What that field of superior facility of registering greater achievements is, is best for women to discover I have however, reasons to think that the same allotter of unequal generative functions who encumbered woman with such

(7) Krishna P Mukerji "Some aspects of female education in India." *The U P Education* May 1936 p 19

extraordinary responsibilities in the process of the propagation of the race has perhaps endowed her with a mind which does not (in a normal state) look upon child bearing and its concommitant disabilities as a periodical obnoxious disease I have heard a very enlightened and educated friend8 (who is the proud mother of three sons) say in all earnestness that she would willingly undergo the pangs of child birth thrice more (specially to get a daughter which she lacked in her home) and that dancing and the company of fine young men are all right till 25 but after that the craving for babies is a "great hunger" I do not pretend to have understood in its real depths the sentiment expressed in the above statement (perhaps no man can understand them) and I would not go through the botheration even once for all the treasures of the world But the picture of that big German woman pressing her breasts with her own hands and expressing her craving for motherhood as a great hunger (pronounced in the emphatic German way—'hoonger') made an abiding impression on my mind and pointed the way in which women may really find that equality and importance in society the absence of which they resent To me it seems therefore that that way is the *way of enlightened and willing motherhood and love* with a double emphasis on the words *enlightened* and *willing* (including within its meaning the right of a woman to refuse to submit to wifehood and determine the number of children she will like to bear)

(8) She is a widow of independent means and not dependent on any male financially

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HOW EGYPT GOT RID OF CHOLERA

By Dr DHIRENDRA NATH BANERJEE, M.B. (Cal.), M.D. (Berlin)

Introduction

Cholera in Egypt is a long story Although cholera is now a disease of the past in Egypt still her name will always be associated with cholera on account of the epoch making researches of Robert Koch in 1883 which resulted in the discovery of the specific agent of cholera —the cholera vibrio—and that took place in Egypt The advantages of this fundamental work of Koch which lead to rapid diagnosis of the disease by reliable bacteriological methods have been utilised to their fullest extent by Egypt in such thoroughness that she has been able to rid herself from invasion of cholera within such a short period of only 20 years

I was amazed to find, from the reports as appearing in the publications of the League of Nations, that there had been no case of cholera in Egypt since 1902 although she is in close proximity to the countries very often frequented by cholera in epidemic form, and she herself was found to have been heavily infected before that date In order to study how she had been able to achieve this end I had the pleasure to write to the Ministry of Health, Egypt, requesting to give me opportunities to know the details of the methods adopted by the Department of Public Health to control the disease, during my proposed visit to Egypt I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt thanks to Dr Almed Helmy Bey, the Under Secretary of States who received me very cordially and as he himself was formerly in charge of the Quarantine Board, I had the greatest privilege to know the details firsthand from him direct and also from his other officials who very kindly demonstrated to me the actual working in the Public Health Laboratories My best thanks are to them also The Official Reports on the works of the Department of Public Health and also the book *Instructions on Procedure in Outbreaks of Cholera* published by the Ministry of the Interior, Egypt, which have been very kindly presented to me by the Minister in charge of the Public Health Department had been of great help for this study These publications form the basis of the present article

History of Cholera in Egypt during the last 100 years

During the last 100 years there had been nine epidemics recorded in Egypt They took place during the years 1831 1834 1848, 1850, 1855, 1865, 1883, 1895 and 1902 The last one

occurred in 1902 and no case has been reported during the last 35 years Thus it is found that the fruitful researches of Robert Koch have been so advantageously applied that within the brief space of 20 years Egypt has been able to deal with the epidemics and is also successful in safeguarding the country against cholera infection

This history may be conveniently divided into three periods First period—1831 1883 second period 1883 1902 and the third period from 1902 to date

First period (1831 1883) —During this period very severe epidemics occured in Egypt but as is common with other countries very little detail and no reliable figures are available concerning these epidemics In 1831 Egypt was heavily affected as the disease spread in pandemic form extending over the whole of Asia Europe and Africa As is the misfortune for India this pandemic is ascribed to have spread westward from Bengal the Ganges delta being regarded to be the true home of cholera

Second period (1883 1902) —This period of 20 years marked the most eventful period in the history of cholera in Egypt nay of the whole world The year 1883 saw the fifth pandemic of cholera which extended its ravages into many parts of the world During this pandemic Robert Koch was deputed from Germany to study on cholera The mystery regarding the cause of this fell disease was revealed by Koch when he for the first time discovered the comma shaped organism occurring in the contents and in the wall of the small intestine of cholera patients After some months of fruitful work he came to a definite conclusion that this germ is the cause of cholera and afterwards had to come to Calcutta to convince the workers here Later epidemics confirmed Koch s statements and now it is a settled truth The epidemics which took place in the years 1895 and 1902 recorded the number of deaths amounting to 16,251 and 34,595 respectively which give the appalling death rate of 88 0 per cent and 85 per cent respectively In addition to the appalling death rate the two epidemics furnish us also the data which are worthy of note from epidemiological point of view

In 1895 the disease was discovered in September and spread to the villages on the right bank of the Nile During October and November the epidemic was fairly brisk the number of cases recorded being 950 In December it declined and by the end of the year had practically died out in these localities Alexandria however became infected late in December Throughout the first four months of 1896 the only cases recorded were dropping cases in Alexandria, but during May the disease suddenly flared up in Alexandria and spread rapidly all over the country, both Lower and Upper Egypt reaching its maximum in July By the end of September it had practically disappeared The number of cases recorded from April to October, 1896 was 19,370 and the number of deaths during the same period was 16,201 The number of infected towns and villages was about 726

In 1902 the disease was introduced at the end of May by returning pilgrims. By the end of July it had spread to Cairo and in the middle of August it had burst forth throughout the country It reached its maximum by the middle of September and by the end of October it had practically disappeared The total number of cases recorded was 40 613 with 34 595 deaths with a gross death rate of 85 0 per cent The number of infected towns and villages was 2 026 There is reason to believe that the actual number of cases is much more than the figures recorded above

From the above findings it is evident that—

1 The point of maximum intensity has always been in the summer or early autumn—between the months of May and October

2 The disease is not endemic in the country and an epidemic is invariably the result of importation of the disease from without

3 Once the disease has been introduced if the factors for its development, especially the season of the year, are not favourable it shows itself in the form of dropping cases until such time as favourable factors occur when it bursts swiftly into a devastating and a widespread epidemic

Third period (1902 1937) —This period signifies the triumph of the Public Health Organization in preventing and safeguarding the country from invasion from outside I only mention here the steps taken by the authorities in 1927 during an outbreak of cholera in Iraq as that will show sufficiently the move of work and efficiency of the Organization

The Official Records state that on July 23 1927 a notification was received from the Quarantine Board regarding the occurrence of five cases of cholera at Basra during the week ending July 23 1927

Outbreak of Cholera in Iraq

The official information received by the department showed that cholera first appeared in Abadan a port in Persia which is situated

near Basra, from there the disease was conveyed to Basra, thence it spread to Iraq Owing to the measures taken the disease did not appear in Baghdad until October 9 1927, when only 7 cases and 5 deaths occurred The disease disappeared on December 23 1927

Routes from Iraq to Egypt

There are four routes leading from Iraq to Egypt—(1) By motor car and railway to Beyrout and thence by sea to Egypt (2) By motor car and railway through Damascas and Palestine to Egypt *via* Quantara (3) By aeroplane (4) By the Red Sea to Suez and other Egyptian Ports The Department in conjunction with the Quarantine Board applied strict measures recorded below, to passengers arriving by the above routes in order to prevent importation of cholera in Egypt

Passengers arriving by Motor car *via* Beyrout or Quantara

The medical officers of the Ports and Quantara examined the passports of passengers arriving from infected districts and any passenger who had not passed five days from date of his departure from Iraq was detained to complete the five days specimens were taken for examination and the passenger was not released until his stools were free from cholera vibrios Passengers unable to prove the date of their departure from those districts were detained and the same precautions taken With regard to the arrival of passengers who had passed more than five days their luggage was disinfected and those travelling first and second class were allowed to enter Egypt if they were found to be in good health Third class passengers who could not give satisfactory and well known addresse were detained and specimens were taken for examination In every case foodstuffs and drinks found in the luggage of passengers were destroyed

Instructions were also issued to Medical Officers to be on the alert and to observe strictly passengers arriving from those districts daily for a period of five days from the date of their arrival those found to be suspicious cases were isolated and specimens taken for examination, such information was reported to the Department by wire

An arrangement was made between the Department and the General Headquarters of the British Army by which British Troops and their families arriving at Port Said, Alexandria Suez and Quantara from infected localities should be detained in the Army hospitals for a period of five days or until it had been proved that they were not cholera carriers The native attendants accompanying them should be handed over to the Public Health representatives the Department and the Medical officer concerned were to be notified of suspected or positive cases occurring among the British troops and their families arriving in Egypt from infected localities

Passengers arriving by Air

The Department agreed with the International Quarantine Board that all passengers and crews of the Imperial Airways line who arrive before the lapse of five days from the date of their departure from the infected localities should be isolated in the aerodrome and their stools examined bacteriologically Parcels registered or otherwise arriving in Egypt by aeroplane must be examined for food stuff and drinks and the necessary measures taken according to their condition and nature With regard to parcels in transit for other countries these were not to be opened but the countries of destination were to be informed that these parcels had not been examined

British Air Force

The British Air Force was asked to stop if possible flying between Iraq and Egypt during the prevence of the epidemic and at the same time to isolate all arrivals of the Air Force in a special camp at Heliopolis This was carried out and a camp was erected for the purpose near Heliopolis aerodrome

Passengers arriving by the Red Sea

With regard to passengers arriving by the Red Sea the Quarantine Board took stringent measures and the necessary instructions were given by the Board to its medical officers in this respect In addition to the above an agreement was made with the Director of Public Security Ministry of the Interior, to the effect that he will notify by wire the Department and the Quarantine Board of names of all passengers coming to Egypt either from Persia or Mesopotamia

Agreement concluded between the Health Services of Iraq Syria Palestine and Egypt

In order to ensure the protection of the country against infection the Department deemed it necessary to keep in touch with the Health Services of Iraq Syria and Palestine, the last two countries are situated between Iraq and Egypt This was arranged and these

services undertook to notify this Department through the Quarantine Board, of passengers passing through the above-mentioned countries on their way to Egypt and of the measures taken against them These services also agreed to take the same sanitary precautions as are carried out in Egypt The Health Service at Baghdad kept the Department informed by wire of the progress of the disease and supplied all information deemed necessary All routes from Iraq to Syria with the exception of one, were closed in order that passengers might be under the strictest control

For the purpose of rendering co-operation between these countries and Egypt as complete as possible the Quarantine Board invited delegates from Palestine and Syria to come to Cairo to meet the delegates of the Quarantine Board and discuss all measures regarding the protection of Egypt and their own countries and the measures which should be taken in case of the appearance of the disease in one of these two countries

Creation of the Cholera Committee

A special committee was formed of the concerned officials of the Department to note the progress and spread of the disease at Iraq, to enforce the necessary measures and to supervise the conditions

Conditions of importation of Foodstuffs and Drinks

The Department agreed with the Quarantine Board that the following measures are to be carried out by the Department of Public Health

Foodstuffs

All dry foodstuffs are to be admitted into the country The action to be taken with regard to fresh foodstuffs depends on their nature and method of packing They must be clean and they must not be contaminated Dates are to be admitted if they are firmly packed and the Department has the right to prevent the sale of dirty or moist dates or those which are found to be in a suspicious condition

Drinks

All non-alcoholic drinks must be examined and they may be refused or admitted at discretion The admission of alcoholic drinks depends on the quantity of alcohol they contain Dates, foodstuffs and drinks in transit are to be examined by the officials of the Quarantine Board and the Department of Public Health, they must not be despatched to the receiving countries except after ascertaining that those foodstuffs are free from any infection

Experiments made on Dates

Owing to a diversion of opinion regarding the period of viability of cholera vibrio in dates, the Department deemed it necessary to make experiments in this respect, the Inspector General of Health, Baghdad, was asked through the Quarantine Board, to send by sea a quantity of dates infected with cholera dijecta for the purpose of carrying out necessary investigations

A sample of these dates was examined in the Quarantine Laboratory at Suez, another sample was examined in the Departments' Laboratories at Cairo The result showed that no cholera vibrio survived in these dates As the infection of dates had been made with peptone water cultures of the vibrio at Baghdad and not with the stools of a patient, that is to say, the normal method of infection, the Inspector General of Health Services, Baghdad, was asked to send another sample contaminated with the faeces of an undoubted case of cholera He sent the required specimen and the result was also found to be negative The Department agreed that the consignments of dates and 'Agwa' imported from Iraq should not be released before the lapse of 21 days from date of despatch

The Termination of Quarantine Measures

As no new cholera case occurred at Iraq after 23rd December, 1927, the Quarantine Board decided to stop the isolation of passengers leaving Iraq after January 7, 1928, and instead to place them under medical observation

Passenger Control

During the year 56 034 passengers arrived at Egyptian ports from cholera infected districts, of these 55 915 were observed and 89 could not be traced, i e, the percentage of those found was 99 84 per cent 23,829 passengers arrived at the country *via* Quantara, of whom 23,697 were observed, i e, a percentage of 99 44 per cent

Pilgrims

During the period from April 11 to June 1927, 15 071 Egyptian pilgrims and 2,262 foreign pilgrims departed from Egypt to the Hedjaz In addition to these 6,064 pilgrims in transit passed through the canal to Hedjaz during this period

Vaccination of Pilgrims

Instructions were issued to vaccinate every pilgrim twice against cholera An entry to this effect is to be made in the pilgrim registers and in the passport of the pilgrim concerned

Measures taken during the return of Pilgrims

The Egyptian State Railways was requested to allot a platform in Cairo Station for the arrival of pilgrim trains The Railways issued instructions to its staff concerned to the effect that they should inform Medical Officers of any pilgrim who breaks the journey at any station other than that to which he has booked his ticket in order to be observed at the localities in which he has detrained The Ministry of Finance approved the granting of a reward of L E 5 (about Rs 66) to every person intercepting any pilgrim returning to Egypt through an unknown route

I have gone purposely into the details regarding the actual procedure taken in 1927 to protect the country from cholera which was raging in Iraq, only because the Egyptian Government is always on the alert regarding the standing menace which invariably reaches Egypt through importation by pilgrims and passengers of which the importation by pilgrim returning from the Hedjaz represent the most constant danger and have been found to be responsible for the last four epidemics in Egypt *i e*, those of the years 1865 1883 1895 and 1902 Then comes the importation by passengers from the near East The long sea voyage between Egypt and the countries of the Far East minimises the ordinary danger to Egypt from these sources

Preventive Measures

The details of the passenger control system both as regards pilgrims and ordinary passengers are very thorough and exhaustive The main object of this system is to discover the first case of cholera as this discovery is of utmost importance in regard to the means of prevention of its epidemic spread

It has been observed that the actual method of conveyance of cholera takes place in the persons of passengers arriving in the country and only very rarely by the importation of infected materials such as water The only known standing danger from the importation of infected material exists in the pilgrims custom of bringing back water from the "Femzem" well of Mecca Arrangements exist for the sterilization of all flasks containing this water by the Quarantine authorities.

The Quarantine measures are also adopted in cases presenting even slight diarrhoea A bacteriological examination of the specimen is invariably done as these cases are regarded to be easily undetected and may be responsible for the importation of the disease It is for this reason the medical officers are so trained that they are thoroughly familiar with the procedure to be adopted in discovering any suspected case of cholera among all classes of persons or an unexplained death among persons still under or just emerged from the passenger control

The passenger control system is becoming more and more extensive as the means of communications are being improved the latest being the motor car and the aeroplane Formerly the means of communication existing between Egypt on the one hand and Iraq and Persia on the other, consisted of sea and land routes only the journey by the former taking 20 days and by the latter not less than 2 months Now, by means of motor car one arrives in not more than 3 days and by aeroplane only a few hours This has greatly increased the danger of importation of cholera in Egypt It has become thus essentially necessary for the Egyptian Government to arrange for uniform measures with the Iraq Government Further all passengers from Iraq must pass through Syria and Palestine in order to reach Egypt So similar arrangements have also been agreed to with the Sanitary authorities of these countries These arrangements are mainly those whereby the neighbouring governments inform the Egyptian Government by cable of all new cases and the localities in which they occur Further, they require all persons leaving for Egypt to be vaccinated against cholera and they are not to take their departure unless five days have elapsed since their vaccination The department is also informed by wire of the names of all passengers coming from Iraq and Persia immediately on their departure from those countries As regards foodstuffs and drinks brought with passengers arriving by aeroplanes or motor cars it was stipulated that these should be destroyed Postal parcels for Egypt arriving in aeroplanes were opened in the presence of a delegate from the Department of Public Health for the purpose of ascertaining that they did not contain foodstuffs If any parcels arrived in Egypt in transit consigned to persons abroad the Department wired to the Postal Administration of the country concerned intimating that the parcel was received from Iraq a country infected with cholera

It is satisfactory to note that the above measures were entirely successful in their object and fulfilled the purpose for which they were laid down They successfully protected the country against infection with cholera

Apart from the source of danger through passengers and the articles carried by them another article the dates of various kinds rather the most important article of food imported by Egypt from Iraq has also attracted the serious attention of the Department The Department has laid down the necessary conditions which ensure that consignments of dates should not be rebased before the lapse of 21 days from the date of their departure from Iraq provided that the dates are properly packed

How a Suspected Case is Detected

The procedure adopted by the authorities is also thorough and is as follows

1 Take a specimen of the faeces and send it for examination to the Public Health Laboratories

2 Isolate the patient First cases or suspected cases may be isolated in the infectious sections of Government Hospitals but if more cases occur other arrangements must be made Disinfect the house and the contacts clothing

3 In all cases in which a specimen is taken for cholera examination the contacts should be put under daily medical observation where there is a definite evidence of a suspicious nature all persons living in the house and immediate contacts must be at once isolated Record the number and character of motions of each contact daily

4 The Medical Officer will go into the history of the case and take any necessary action in view of the facts elucidated If it is found that the case was sick in or acquired its infection in some other part in Egypt, write details for action to the Public Health authority in such place If acquired in the place of residence find out from whom or from what source Inquire for suspicious cases or recent deaths among the family, contacts and neighbours

5 If the original case turns out to be positive, the following action will be taken

(a) All the immediate and remote contacts, if any, who had previously been under observation outside will be isolated

(b) All the contacts, immediate and remote, will be given a saline purge and a specimen will be sent to the laboratories for examination

(c) If any death occurs in the village and the dead person is not medically examined before death, a specimen will be taken for examination unless the cause of death is obviously not suspicious of cholera

The question as to when the patient may be discharged from the hospital is very important in first or early cases in a previously non infected locality so long as it is still hoped to prevent the disease spreading The rule to be followed under these circumstances is that a negative bacteriological result should have been returned for three successive specimens taken after purging at intervals of a week.

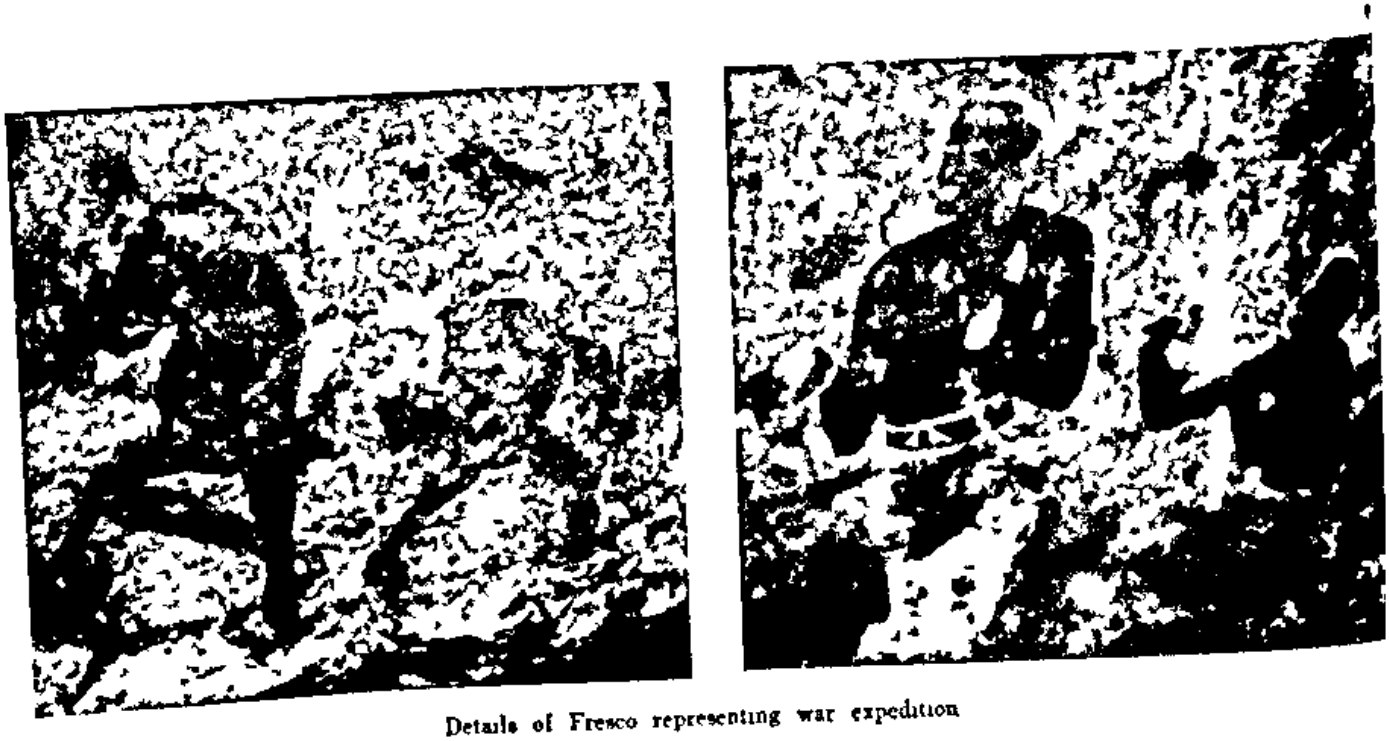
The standing menace to the country is met by the above-mentioned methods to deal with a suspected case It has been found that the danger becomes more acute from time to time Under these circumstances when the country is acutely threatened but not actually infected, precautions in addition to those already described are taken which puts everybody concerned on the alert

The details regarding the anti-cholera measures adopted in Egypt when the country is declared infected form the subject of another report submitted by me to the *Calcutta Medical Journal* for publication





Fresco represent ng war exped tion



Details of Fresco representing war expedition

EXPLORATION OF DENGAPOSHI IN KEONJHAR STATE

By Pandit BINAYAK MISRA,
Lecturer, Calcutta University
AND
Mr. KRUSHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

Credit must go to the enlightened Chhotarai Saheb of Keonjhar for making discovery of important relics of a flourishing civilization that prevailed in a hill recess which is now covered by forest and contains a thin population of primitive Gonds and Savaras It is due to his enthusiasm that Dr. Tamonash Chandra Das Gupta, M.A. Ph.D., was able to notice in brief these relics in a Bengali magazine in 1933 We are also much indebted to him as well as to



Rock-inscription

the Ruling Chief, his elder brother, for the facilities afforded for our visit to the place.

According to the tradition the Ruling Family of Keonjhar has emanated from the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj. It is related that in ancient times the *Bhuyan* population of Keonjhar experienced difficulty in approaching the Ruler of Mayurbhanj for the settlement of disputes that took place among themselves. Thereupon they stole a younger son of the ruler and installed him as their own Ruler in



Mukha linga

Keonjhar. Thus the separation of Keonjhar from Mayurbhanj took place.

The headquarters of Keonjhar is about 72 miles north-west of Jajpur Road Station on B. N. R. and 26 miles south-east of Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja territory. A good metalled road leads and a motor bus plies daily along it from Jajpur Road to the headquarters. From Dhenkikot, a road side village about 54 miles from Jajpur Road, leads a footway of about 4 miles in length to Dengaposhi

the place of antiquities A fair weather road of the same length recently constructed by the State joins Dengaposhi with Katrabedha another road side village about 58 miles from Jaipur Road Dengaposhi lies to the south west of Dhenkia to and south east of Katrabedha

Dengaposhi is a small village situated on the north bank of a hill stream called Sita On



Ravana chhaya

the south bank of the same stream there is another small village called Sitabhanji These two villages are one mile apart from each other Though Dengaposhi has a separate entity its identity is merged in that of Sitabhanji This is probably due to the fact that Dengaposhi grew up later as compared to Sitabhanji

To the east of and at a distance of about quarter mile from Dengaposhi is situated a small hill called *Valmiki-ashram* (the abode of the sage Valmiki) This hill occupies about quarter mile in length from east to west along the north bank of the Sita The distance between the hill and the stream ranges from 200 to 400 yards On the eastern slope of the hill there is a spacious natural cave Again at the eastern foot of the hill are found six unhewn small rocks containing inscriptions Each inscription consists of one line The letters are deep cut and each measures about 2′×2′ The rocks are in their natural positions on the earth and occupy an area of about 30 sq yards By the side of them there lie two brick mounds The bricks are immensely scattered along the southern foot of the hill and each measures about 10″×8″×2″

As there is no rest house at Dengaposhi we had to pay a flying visit So the time at our disposal being short we could not attempt to decipher all the inscriptions We made an attempt to decipher only one inscription

This inscription reads

पुरुध सिस्य मरुत

(Maruta the disciple of Purudha)

The reading of this inscription suggests to us that all other inscriptions record like the Barhut and Sanchi inscriptions the names of some ascetics along with those of their preceptors The cave on the hill was probably set apart for the practice of Yoga mode of meditation

At the southern foot of the hill is found an image of a Mukha linga Four human faces represented on a phallic emblem are distinct On the western end of the southern foot of the hill there stands a gigantic wall like

rock facing south and having on its top a projecting boulder This rock is called *Ravana chhaya* (the shadow of the demon king Ravana) by the local people It is so called probably *on account of* its enormous dimension On the ceiling of the projection are found the precious fresco and writing in brown colour

The ceiling is at a height of about 18 feet from the ground and measures about 2ɔ″×10′ *The fresco represents in profile a row of three* men on foot one on horse back and two on an elephant, all in a marching posture They cover about half the area of the entire plane of the ceiling Except the horse and men on the *elephant other figures are comparatively* indistinct The fading seems mainly due to the earthen nests built on the pictures by the hornets

One line of writing commencing from below the hind legs of the horse is discernible There are faint appearances of other letters to suggest that damage has been wrought on the precious record We therefore draw the pointed attention of the Archæological Department of the Government of India *to give proper advice to* the State as to the preservation of this unique treasure of Indian Art from further decay and ruin

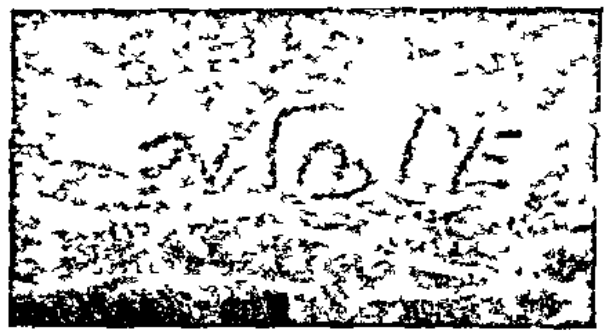
The fresco represents a war expedition The man sitting on the *fore part of the* elephant's back wears a white half pant a loose brown coat a white textile girdle over the coat and a decorated cap on the head. He is tall of stature and holds a dagger in his right *hand His eyes are as large as those of the* Ajanta frescoe He is probably a king

The man sitting behind the king wears a coat and holds a staff probably flying the flag His lower garment is indistinct and the head is bare He is short of stature His forehead is low and the nose at its root is depressed to some extent

At the head of the horse the surface is monochromatic The crest is therefore shown there by thickening the colour On the whole the pictures are life-like and exhibit the excellent artistic skill

As we *are not equal to the task of compar*ing these pictures with those of Ajanta caves we leave it to the connoisseur of art But they are so accomplished in execution and so vivacious in form that we esteem them too highly as Art and say that they are dumb witnesses to the past glorious culture of Orissa They indisputably establish the fact that in ancient times the hilly *tracts of Orissa* were as civilized as any other region in India

It is difficult to read with precision the 1st letter of the writing It looks like ऩ having an additional stroke parallel to the lower part of the right limb The second letter is distinctly रा The third letter can be read as ज *Then follows the word राजा* which is succeeded by the name श्री दिग्ग भञ Here दिग्ग may also be read as दिग्ग Because the आ mark touche unlike that of रा (second and fourth letter) the base of letter and looks like ग It is important to note that the ञ form found in this record is earlier than that



1st part of writing

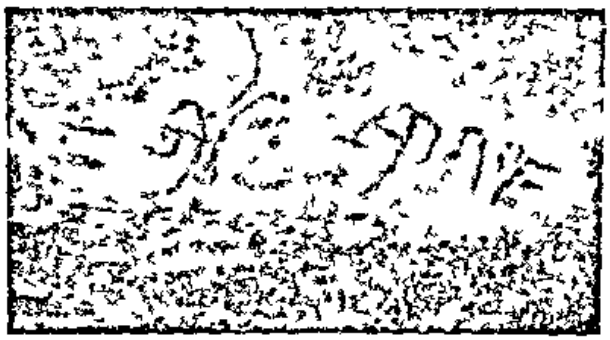
occurring in the Patiakela grant of the 6th century A D (E I Vol IX Pp 283 ff 1 1) The forms of ग, ञ, श and र of the Kushan period are also worth noticing in the present record We can therefore assign the fresco to the 4th century A.D on the palæographic ground This conclusion receives confirmation from a hoard of Kushan coins discovered at Dengaposhi by the coolies engaged in the earth work of the road These coins contain no legend like the other Kushan coins discovered in Orissa Each coin contains on the obverse a standing human figure and on the reverse the representation of a man on elephant

It is now evident that the record bespeaks the past achievements of the Bhanja dynasty Not only the Bhanja family of Keonjhar but also all the Bhanja families of Orissa must feel proud of this unique monument of their past *culture and glory*

It is interesting to note that छिद the Prakrit form of Sanskrit छिन्द्य is found in the rock inscription while in the writing below the paintings the Sanskrit sound of श्री is not Prakritised as सिरि The former record belongs to a religious community who adopted the dialect *spoken by the common people and the* latter one to the ruling family The ancient Sanskrit dramas represent the common people

as speaking the Prakrit dialect and the members of the ruling families as using the Sanskrit language That these dramas represent the true character of ancient Indians in the matter of their spoken dialects now gains support from the epigraphic records at Dengaposhi

A ruler named Digbhanj is mentioned in the copper-plate records discovered in Mayurbhanj This Digbhanj cannot be supposed to have flourished in a date earlier than the 9th century A D Evidently he is not identical with Dishabhanja mentioned below the paintings



2nd part of writing

who cannot be supposed to have flourished in a date later than the 4th century A D With the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine whether this Dishabhanja flourished before or after the separation of the Keonjhar line from the Mayurbhanj family According to the traditional history of Baud a scion of the Keonjhar Bhanja line came to Baud and founded another Bhanja line That the foundation of the Baud Bhanja line antedates the 9th century A D, can be gathered from the copper-plate records discovered in the Baud State Again the traditional history of Keonjhar relates that two brothers—Adibhanj and Jyotibhanj—hailed from Rajputana and founded two principalities Adibhanj the elder brother, at Adipur on the north bank and Jyotibhanj the younger one, at Jyotipur on the south bank of the Vaitarani The Keonjhar Bhanj line is said to have descended from Jyotibhanj All these traditions point to the fact that the separation of Keonjhar line from the Mayurbhanj line took place a short time after the foundation of the Bhanj family in Orissa But they reveal no definite date

To the west of Dengaposhi there stands another hill which contains a large natural cave The local people call it Sita's *antudi-shal* (lying in room) In this cave are found three phallic emblems along with two peculiar bronze figures One of the phallic emblems is worshipped by the local people as Sita wife of Rama and the others as her sons—Kusha and Lava At the foot of this hill lies a beautiful figure of an elephant carved out of stone

There can be no doubt that in ancient times Dengaposhi was a centre of Saivism and contained a flourishing town to which the coins and the bricks found there bear testimony It is probable therefore that the historical data would turn up if the brick mounds are exploited which may help us in filling up the gap in the history of Orissa extending from the extinction of Kharavela's dynasty in the 1st century A D, to the foundation of the Bhauma dynasty in the 6th century A D Not only Dengaposhi but also Sialimal at Anandpur in the Keonjhar State is an important archæological site where are found some excellent Buddhist and Hindu sculptures dating back to the 8th century A D The excavation seems if carried on here, to be profitable to a large extent Again another place known as Patna about 16 miles north of Dengaposhi contains remote antiquities Here another hoard of copper coins has been discovered each containing on both sides *Svastik* symbol These coins are smaller and thinner than Kushan coins and probably the earliest of all the ancient coins hitherto discovered in Orissa

We may be forgiven for adding here a note on the Palace Library at Keonjhar, which has no bearing on the main topics of our report. This Library possesses some valuable palm leaf manuscripts One of them contains some Sanskrit *Slokas* regarding the dates of erections of the famous temples of Orissa The dates concerning the Puri and Konarak temples are in this manuscript the same as known from other sources But the *Sloka* in the manuscript, recording the date of Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneshwar is slightly different from that heard by late Mr M Ganguly and other antiquarians from the temple priests We quote below the *Sloka* from the manuscript

गजाष्टाष्टमिते जाते शकाब्दे कृत्तिवाससः।
प्रासाद कृतवान् धीमान् ललाटेन्दु-केशरी॥

(In the Saka year 888 the temple of Krittivasa was built by Lalatendukesari)

According to the *Sloka* heard from the temple priests the Saka year is 188 which is not worthy of credence from the architectural standpoint Now the Saka year 888 (A D 966) does not militate against that standpoint and as such we can accept it as credible Lalatendukesari seems to be identical with Uddyotakesari

Because the cave in the Khandagiri hill which contains an inscription of Uddyotakesari, is known as Lalatendukesari cave

In conclusion we offer our thanks to Pandit Banamber Acharya Sahityacharya, who is enthusiastically endeavouring to edit the rare manuscripts under the patronage of the Ruling Chief and encouragement of the Chhotarai Saheb for bringing to our notice the *Sloka* quoted above

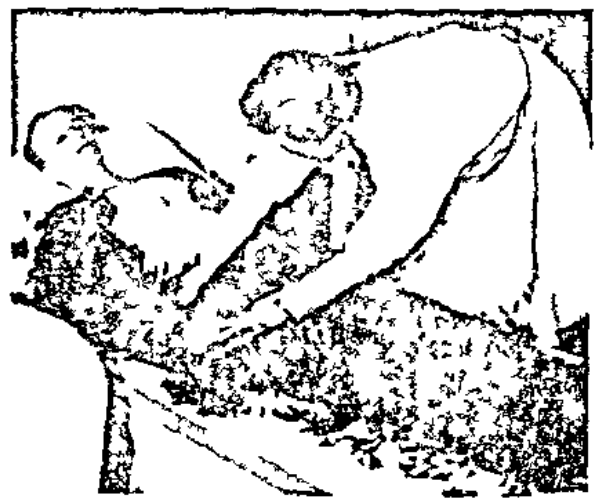
PISTANY—THE BENEFICENT ISLAND

By E SCHENKL

From the Tatra mountains in Czechoslovakia springs the river Waag An island is situated in the river—Pistany the famous bath place and health-resort of Czechoslovakia This country is specially rich in health resorts and Karl bad Franzensbad and Marienbad are today known throughout the world Also Pistany has to be named among them and may be it holds the first place It is a unique place among health resorts From a depth of about 5000 feet rise hot mud and thermal springs which come to the surface on the island and also in the river The mud and water have a comparatively high temperature and have to be cooled artificially so that they might be cool enough for being used The place is known for centuries and has already in ancient times been used as a health resort Already in 1551 A C Georg Wernherus has written a book on Pistany—*Hypomnemation de Admirandis Hungariae aquis* in which he praises the healing power of the hot springs and its wonderful origin



The "Crutch breaker" the symbol of Pistany

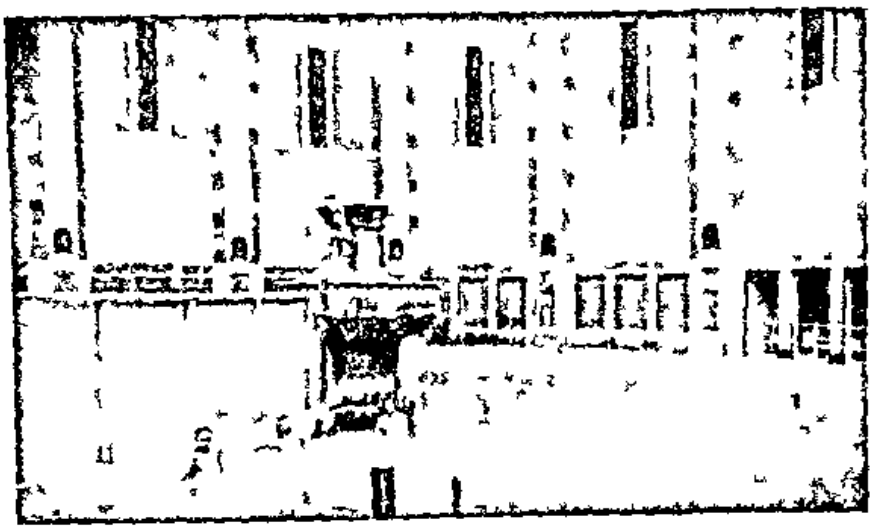


Mud applicat on

At that time people used to come there and pay the settlers and peasants a few coins who would then dig a hole for them in the ground on the embankment of the river This hole got filled in no time with mud and hot water and people used to sit there for several hours daily and benefit by the healing factors of the mud Modern times have not changed the custom much only in so far that modern technique has equipped these bathing holes with luxury and new inventions to make it as comfortable as possible for patients Above the hot springs and mud craters a fashionable Hotel has been built so that patients living there can directly descend inside the building and take the baths

There are different kinds of treatment suitable for all sorts of ailments Specially noteworthy is the big mud basin Its floor consists of very smooth sand through which continuously fresh mud and thermal water can rise and fill the basin Up to the calf or knee the patients stand in mud and above is the warm thermal water reaching the breast The water is radioactive and the mud contains sulphur

Besides the big basin which allows the patients to move about freely during the time of the bath there are cabins for those who cannot move alone and have to be helped by nurses Each of these cabins contains a basin for mud and one for thermal water besides a douche for thermal water A bed is also there for those patients who get partial applications of mud In many cases it is necessary that the patient is covered with mud and then wrapped up in blankets and has to remain lying on the bed for several minutes



The mud basin of Irma Bath which is fed directly by the mud and thermal spring

There are various ailments which are treated and also healed in Pistany Specially gout and rheumatism But also gall bladder trouble kidney trouble bladder trouble inflammations of the joints women's diseases and skin diseases are healed According to the illness concerned the patient will either get partial mud applications or mud bath or simply thermal baths A number of experienced doctors are prescribing treatment of all sorts

But it is not always absolutely necessary to come to Pistany to get the treatment Naturally a cure on the spot is much better and has probably a better effect because all sorts of factors act there together, climate, quietness and water and mud But today all the big clinics and hospitals on the Continent have taken to 'Pistany cures' and achieved very good results The mud is dried and either compressed or filled in linen bags The compressed mud is dissolved in hot water and then applied to the body or the place affected by the pain The linen bags are boiled in hot water to heat the mud and then the particular place is covered with it This might be shoulder arm leg thigh, hip back joint etc Pistany has its bureaus today nearly all over the world Agents are selling the mud compresses so that people can have the treatment even in their homes in case they cannot afford to come to Pistany

For Indian readers it will be very interesting to learn that the late Dr Ansari has discovered Pistany for his countrymen One day he passed it just by chance and stayed there for two days as guest of the Director He was shown round the place and institutions and was greatly admiring everything When he was brought to the river and held his finger into the icy cold mountain water and found that below the surface the water was rather hot in several places he was very astonished and took great interest to get acquainted with all details The next summer he sent several Indian patients who were greatly benefited by the treatment of Pistany The management of the place have therefore decided to celebrate a memorial in honour of the famous Indian physician—Dr Ansari—this summer They want to invite an Indian doctor who will be their guest and get also free treatment so that he might experience the benefiting effect of Pistany on his own body

Pistany is now one of the most fashionable bath places of Europe Big hotels have been built private houses accept guests and there have been made all the necessary arrangements and provisions so that the guests may feel well and comfortable There is occasion for riding and playing tennis and all sorts of out-door games A big swimming pool fed by thermal water is provided for those who can move about freely without being bound to the invalid chair During the season competitions and festivals are arranged One finds all shades of complexions there and hears all languages

The surroundings are also lovely and there can be made wonderful excursions by car or on foot to visit old castles which crown the surrounding hills It is also easy to reach Pistany today From all the European capitals there are very comfortable and good train connections available From the frontiers of Czechoslovakia to Pistany wonderful auto road have been built so that one might easily come *there with his private car And if desired one* may also come by aeroplane for Pistany has an aerodrome which is only a few minute from the centre of the town

Pistany is about 500 feet above the sea level The climate is sunny dry and warm and therefore specially suited for those who are suffering from rheumatism For all these reasons it is worthwhile to visit Pistany—the beneficent island and get relief there from all *sorts of ailment*

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

Mrs Clarence Gasque the International Director of the World Fellowship of Faiths sailed for India *via* Colombo with a party of seven people of different nationalities by S S *Orontes* One of the main object of their visit is to discuss with the leaders of different religions a plan for holding a World Parliament of Faiths in India in 1940 following the International Congress of Faiths to be held in the summer and autumn in 1939 in New York at the time of the great World's Fair and in San Francisco during the Golden Gate Exhibition

Mrs Gasque comes from a wealthy American family and has her residence in London and also a home in Paris She divides her time between the United States and Europe *working for the World Fellowship of Faiths* and other organizations promoting peace and brotherhood

Peace and Progress through World Fellowship the *proceedings of the International* Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faiths recently held in London and Paris under the presidency of the Rt Hon George Lansbury just published It contains inspiring addresses from sixty leaders of many creeds and countries with many illustrations songs and reading

Mr Laurence Housman the distinguished English dramatist is the present Chairman of the British National Council Hon Herbert Hoover is the President and Bishop Francis J McConnell the Chairman of the American National Council Mr Kedarnath Das Gupta and Mr Charles Frederick Weller are the General Secretaries of the World Fellowship of Faiths with headquarters at Savoy Hotel London and Hotel New Yorker New York



Mrs Clarence Casque

SONGS FROM MY VILLAGE

By Prof DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

One day when I was returning to Nai Abadi near Khalsa College Amritsar I heard a *tanga* driver singing a Mahia song *Sone da kull mahia Lokan dan ron akhian sada ron taee dil mahia* The words came straight to my heart Lo here is a nail of gold my love the people's eyes weep but mine is the heart that weeps my love

It is a Pothohari song remarked my friend Prof Mohan Singh travelling from Pothohar Rawalpindi side it has reached Majha the Central Punjab This was of course an indication of the popularity of the Pothohari Mahia songs so dear to my friend This is the type of songs that appeals to me most when some simple boy or girl sings in my father in law's village he commented And you see in the present song how suggestive are the words of the first line Lo here is a nail of gold The nail of gold here is perhaps the symbol of love Love is so golden in appearance but then it is often nail like for it pricks the heart

I knew Prof Mohan Singh to be a representative writer of modern Punjabi poetry but now I realized that he loved folk songs more than his own poems

Mahia is an abridged form of *Mahinwal* (literally one who tends buffaloes) In Hir Ranjha the romantic ballad of the Punjab we find Ranjha engaged as a mahinwal in his beloved Hir's house But as Ranjha was more of a lover than a servant the word *Mahinwal* lost its original meaning and turned into a synonym of lover Most of the Mahia songs are love-songs they are composed extempore Like the fresh flowers of spring they blossom to wither away after a period But they are never really lost There is a sweet music about the Pothohari dialect and *Mahia* forms a valuable chapter of Punjabi folk literature There are other forms of songs in Pothohari but Mahia songs are the most popular The words are simple but some of



A simple village-girl

How sublime she looks when she sings "Come my love, and enjoy the refreshing breeze of home Now bid adieu to remorse Chuna, my love" And she sings of Hir and Sohni



The village swain

He may turn out to be another Ranjha or Mahinwal one day He sings of the romantic tales of Hir Ranjha and Sohni Mahinwal

them are lengthened and accentuated in the tune

Prof Mohan Singh teaches Persian at the Khalsa College Amritsar But he always dreams of the beautiful Pothohar countryside with its songs full of romance A single line of such a song fills him with inspiration and he seeks to express it in his modern poem Within his world of ideas and dreams enter the words of the Mahia singer *Do tappe gauendian Tappe shappe Kujjh ni chana Dil de sar Kadhenian* I am singing a few couplets Don't take them as mere song my moon like man they are just the flames of love coming out of my heart And these words reveal to him the deep silent heart of a country woman He sang to me another of his favourite Mahia songs *Sadke te rudh battia Jhine yari nahion lace Ohne dunian ton ki khattia?* The words got alive with meaning— Roll along the road O stone One who has no sweetheart what has he gained in this world? Just see he remarked The village poet even invites the stone to share the romance in life A country *tanga* driver who sang this song to me explained that the stone rolling rhythmically



A member of the old generation

The wheel of change is there His grandson may perhaps put on a new dress But there must be an anti illiteracy campaign

on should love the road for life without love is meaningless Again and again the words of those songs knock at my heart whenever I sit to compose a new poem in Punjabi I open my heart and offer cordial welcome to them I believe poetry to be great must be impregnated with the life of the people to whom I belong

Let us hope Mohan Singh that your will become another Robert Burn one day in the sphere of modern Punjabi poetry I said And the whole room was full of merry laughter

The language of the songs from my village represents the Malwai dialect of the Punjabi



A village mystic

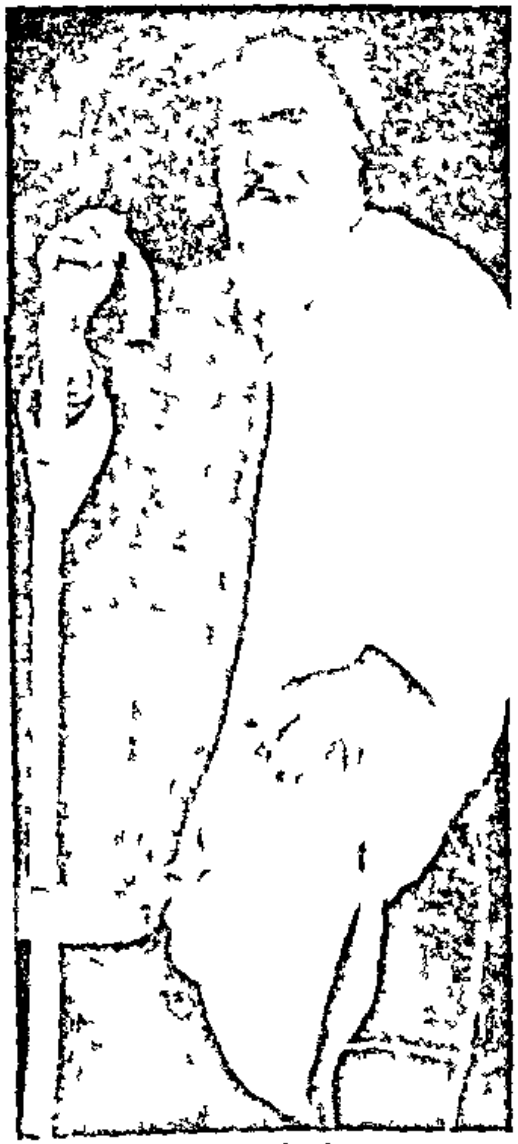
He has the power to give a sublime interpretation of some of the so-called vulgar folk songs

language Sometimes the Malwai pronunciation of certain words is quite strange to the people of Majha (Central Punjab) and Pothohar The dialect of the Central Punjab happens to be the nearest approach to literary Punjabi But then in the language of poetry a touch of Pothohari dialect is always welcome And Prof Mohan Singh being himself from Pothohar most successfully makes his poems alive with the colour and movement of Pothohari dialect

I had decided to pick up necessary knowledge of the Central Punjabi dialect at Amritsar Also I began adding to my stock a

number of Pothohari songs collected from Prof Mohan Singh

"It is true Mohan Singh that Pothohari dialect and songs are sweet" I one day ventured to say, "but do you think that a rough dialect like the Malwai can contribute nothing to Punjabi literature?' And he replied 'No



A village headman

His is more or less an autocratic outlook And you'll not find him joining in the songs of the people However he figures as a character in some of the contemporary folk-songs

dialect should be treated as Harijan in the sphere of literature I use the word Harijan with care for I know that to remove any sort of untouchability we require a change in our mentality rather than a new name for the untouchable And I am not unaware of the genuine character of your native dialect, the Malwai, for I actually lived at Ludhiana in my younger days with my father who was there on his medical service"

I was glad to hear that and I sang to my friend

Na paeen rabba
Na paeen rabba
Mainu jatt di joon
Na paeen rabba

Make me not a peasant, O God
Make me not a peasant
In any future birth of mine, O God,
Make me not a peasant.'

It was a different kind of song and new to my friend inasmuch as it expressed the present-day pathos of the peasant's life He asked me to sing a few more of these. And I sang

—'So poor look my crops (just glance),
O how can I jump in the Giddha dance?'
— They have confiscated my plough and yoke!
And the corn I kept for seed I sold to feed my family
I have failed to pay the revenue-tax!
Where is the profit of a peasant's labour?'

Here I quoted the translation of a song from Muttra countryside

The Ratua insect has eaten up all my wheat crop!
My gram crop is spoiled by the Sundi
Even the field of Arhar is attacked by the insects!
So tragic on all sides, my fate has turned!
All naked my children are going about
But you care not for me, O money-lender,
You can see your own side alone
O sue me in the court of justice if you can,
Don't turn up to my door so often like a horse

At my friend's request I sang a Punjabi song of this kind

Baman ne att chukk li
Sare jatt karzace keete

—'Extremely involved we are in the hands of the money lenders,
All peasantry (suffers) under their debt

Then I sang to my friend another interesting song of contemporary life in my native countryside to the rhythm of Giddha, the popular folk dance

—'Lo! Here arrives the railway train on the station,
And the engine whistles,
Here comes Shamo near the gate
She is the Havildar's wife

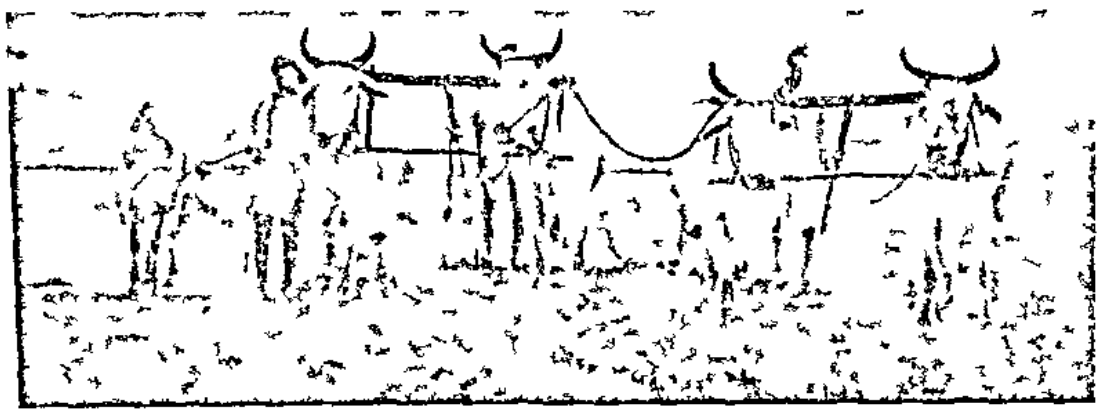
The train has already started
And Shamo is left all helpless
Shedding tears on the platform stands
Shamo the royal hour'

'Why the villager sings this song of Shamo's sorrow to the joyful rhythm of his Giddha? My friend enquired It is not very difficult to answer I said The reason is clear Her husband the havildar has become more or less a symbol of tyranny and oppression to the villager who makes rather a sarcastic remark calling her a royal hour The singer of this song is seen here exactly in the mood of a school boy who enjoys the plight of an unpopular schoolmaster getting into trouble

Through the impact of the outside world when the villager is going to be transformed beyond recognition remarked my friend We should really hurry up to save his songs of joy and sorrow before they are lost for ever For I know that these songs reveal to us much more than the official records and historical documents do of the real life of the people And folk songs I believe can create for us an atmosphere congenial to the growth of progressive poetry

Here is the description I gave to my friend Mohan Singh of a wandering minstrel

With his eyes bowed down over the strings of his *Sarangi* the minstrel goes about from village to village Often he comes to my village And I have known him for the last seven years For the entertainment he offers at every door he receives a formal reward in the shape of corn Someone offers him even a small coin What ever he is given he receives with joy I do not know his original name My friends often call him Sundar I like this name Sundar the beautiful Certainly he is beautiful And he sings beautiful songs He often sings ballads—songs of romance chivalry and fraternal love You can still see Hir the beloved of Ranjha going to the forest where her sweetheart tends the buffaloes And more than of Hir he sings of Sohni the beloved of Mahinwal whom you still see crossing the river Chenab When the unbaked pitcher of Sohni which supports him on the water gives way she is drowned Sundar the singer of Sohni's romance actually sheds tears as he sings But there is one consolation to him He says that Sohni is immortal and that still on the waves of the Chenab her soul swims in search of Mahinwal who lives on the further bank And when he sings of the sister who awaits the arrival of her brother at her father in law's place his song touches the heart of the womenfolk more



Sons of the soil

The peasants will soon be re-born it seems. Some of the contemporary songs show that they are going to understand many things better than before

quickly At once they come out of the Trinjans the assemblages where they spin together with a spirit of competition as the notes of his *sarangi* reach their ears Every countrywoman takes it to be the expression of her own heart for it reminds her of her own brother who must come to her one day to take her to her parental house To show a contrast Sundar sings the song of a cruel sister as well After all this is a strange world he remarks introducing the cruel sister's song and every sister cannot be equally good Nor perhaps is every brother equally good and kind towards his sister However the present song of the cruel sister should warn the daughters of this village against such cruelty Then he sings laying stress on certain words and phrases The story runs thus—A woman had only one son and one daughter The girl was given in marriage and the boy went away to some far off land in quest

of wealth Years passed by before he earned money to his heart's content Then he started for home On his way home he broke his journey for a day at his sister's father-in-law's place Apparently she gave a good welcome to her brother who met her after many years But



A folk gathering

she was a selfish woman At night she went to her husband and suggested that if he murdered her brother it would be very good for his whole wealth would come to them as their share But the husband refused and said Well if I kill him who'll be my brother-in law?' Then she went to her son and suggested the murder of her brother He was a good boy He refused, saying "Mother, I won't do so for thereby I'll lose my only maternal uncle" Then she incited her *Dewar*, husband's younger brother to murder her brother in cold blood The brother's murder took place at dead of night and the dead body, cut into pieces was hid within a Gahira, a heap of cakes made of cowdung or buffalo-dung for fuel Now the soul of the murdered brother appeared in a dream before the old mother and she hurried up to her daughter's place The daughter told her a false story "Yes, mother, brother was here last night He left for the native village very early this morning He should have met you on the way God knows what has happened to him," she remarked As the mother shed bitter tears the Gahira in front of the house cracked and fell down The dead body of her son, cut to pieces in cold blood, was thus revealed to her She cursed her daughter for such an act of cruelty So far the song runs all tragic but then in the end we find the brother's body being brought out of the cowdung cakes by the villagers Every part of the body is put in its proper place The whole village joins the old mother in her prayer to the Almighty Father to restore life in the dead body Thus the song ends with a miraculous touch of folk-genius And we actually see the brother standing up before our eyes

But I prefer Sundar's shorter songs to his longer ballads He once sang to me a couplet with a peculiar touch of the love of the Punjab countryside "Come, my love, and enjoy the refreshing breeze of home Now bid adieu to remote China, my love' And in another song I found him addressing the railway train

> ' Run hurriedly, O railway train,
> For I yearn to enjoy the refreshing air
> of my village "

This was, perhaps, first sung extempore by some villager who happened to live in Calcutta, Bombay or Lahore as a labourer and then leaving the place for his native village he thus sang of his yearning Sundar, perhaps, gets into the mood of the original singer when he sings it again and again thrilled with joy And



Nature at home

Such beautiful scenes in the countryside fascinated the author in his younger days

I find him on the poet Walt Whitman's ground
'My tongue every atom of my blood formed from this soil born here of parents here from parents the same and their parents the same'

Sundar's aim not too high and falls not too low He is a villager first last and always I love his turban over his broad forehead And as he touches the strings of his *Sarangi* his song vibrates with life And he possesses a peculiar receptivity Sing him a new song today tomorrow he will reproduce it before you He may sometimes visit the neighbouring small towns but he says that he feels more at home in the countryside He loves the men who live by the sweat of their brow and he sings to them songs nurtured in traditions of long standing Somehow he imports to his listeners his own receptivity and with Sundar by your side you respond more to the joys and sorrows of the people

Mohan Singh perhaps would like to meet Sundar one day and one day I must take him to my village

* * *

Seeing my flowing hair and beard some of the people in my village take me for a mystic, but soon they are disillusioned when I ask them to sing romantic songs

The wheel of change is there The peasant will soon be reborn it seems Like the peasant all the world over he must put on his new garment even in my village Some of the contemporary folk songs show that he understands many things better than before But who will lead the anti-illiteracy campaign? However the old proverb *Jatt machla khuda nu lai gai chor*— outwardly the peasant looks a simpleton, but actually he understands you 'what is it to him even if God is stolen away'—is going to have a new meaning when he will be blessed with primary education

But will this wheel of change transform one day even the songs of the peasant? Certainly many of the old songs will have to give way to those which will be born tomorrow That is why I am so particular about recording as many songs as possible from my village

TO RABINDRANATH

On reading 'Prantika'

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

O Bird of Fire enskied above
Whose voice is a dream a song
Pilgrim of loveliness and love
A guest of the starry throng

You warble of our ancient quest
Of bloom and bell and musk
In the dark of sleep you cannot nest
Your flame wings burn the dusk



A fair Tarak Basu

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW But reviews of *all* books sent cannot be guaranteed Newspapers, periodicals school and college text books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc, are not noticed The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered No criticism of book reviews and notices is published —*Editor*, THE MODERN REVIEW

ENGLISH

WORLD PRODUCTION AND PRICES 1936 37 *League of Nations, Geneva. 1937 II A 14 India League of Nations Indian Bureau 'Zainab Manzil" Churchgate Reclamation, Bombay The Book Company, Ltd 4-4A, College Square Calcutta Pp 136 Price Rs 5, Sh 1.25*

This annual volume, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations is an authoritative review of the situation as regards world *production of* both primary and industrial products, as well as of price movements of such products both wholesale and *retail A section of the volume is devoted to* world trade and shipping which deals with quantum changes in national trade and *the situation in the* freight market An important feature of the volume is the attention given to stocks of primary commodities A comprehensive index of such stocks has been prepared for the volume as a necessary link between the revised *world index* of primary production and the new world index of industrial activity which were published in the last *edition of the volume*

A summary of world indices of production and stocks as *well as the quantum of international trade* shows that

World productive activity continued its upswing during 1936 Total *primary* production reached and passed the level of 1929, the previous peak Stocks of raw materials and foodstuffs continued to decline, the *industrial* production of the world exceeded considerably the peak level of 1929 The rise in commodity prices continued at an accelerated pace But the production of primary commodities per head of world population was lower in 1936 than in 1929 Industrial production in the world excluding U S S R was below the 1929 level The quantum of world trade in 1936, although it increased again, only reached the level it had attained ten years earlier World *agricultural* production, which had remained remarkably stable at about the level reached in 1928, increased slightly in 1936 Consumption continued to rise and farm income increased in most countries The *isolation of* the national markets, however, was not relaxed World production of foodstuffs (excluding China) more than made good in 1936 the temporary decline which occurred in the preceding year The *improvement* was mainly due to animal foodstuffs. World production of raw materials of agricultural origin experienced a *sharp increase* in 1936 World production of non agricultural raw materials continued in 1936 the vigorous upswing *which started in* the middle of 1932, and reached a point 5 per cent above the 1929 level

Total production of raw *materials, including* those of agricultural origin, was about 5-6% above the 1929 average in 1936 The *growth of raw material output*, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the increasing *requirements of the industry* which drew upon stocks

World industrial production 1936 averaged some 10% higher than in 1929, in the world excluding the U S S R, it fell short of the 1929 level by 4-5%, but was larger than in 1928 Industrial production in Europe, apart from the U S S R, was just about the same as in 1929, but in North America, it was still some 10% smaller The rate of *growth during 1936 was exceptionally* rapid By the end of that year, the average for 1929 *was exceeded by over 20% in the world as a whole*, and by over 5% in the world, apart from the U S S R

The quantum of international trade in foodstuffs in 1936 was about 15% below that of 1929 The quantum of trade in raw materials is estimated to have been only 4-5% below the 1929 level while the trade in manufactured goods was about 25% below

The revival of international trade in 1936 was very marked during the second half of the year and continued *during the first half of* 1937 *Whereas the* tonnage of laid up ships reached in 1932 20%, from the *middle of 1936 there was a shortage of tonnage and a* brisk increase in freight rates which continued unchecked during the first *half of 1937*

In most countries, the general level of wholesale prices rose appreciably during 1936 There was a marked advance in the prices of many important staple commodities in the world market, especially in the second half of the year, the rise continued in the first quarter of 1937, but was followed by a fairly general set back in the second quarter Wholesale *prices rose*, in general, more than retail prices during 1936 Prices *of raw materials rose more than those of manufactured* products. The disparities which had developed in the *price structure during the depression period were thus* further rectified, the price-relationships existing before the depression were in many cases re-established by the beginning of 1937, and a general improvement was observable in the terms of trade of agricultural countries

S

ELYSIAN FIELDS *By Salvador de Madariaga George Allen and Unwin Ltd P 110 Price 3s 6d*

Sr Madariaga has rightly earned for himself the title of citizen of the world There is a vein of quixotism in his brilliant writings His idealism will be sneered at by some matter of fact realistic people of today, just as his forerunner, Don Quixote, was laughed at by some, while others, like his Sancho, fail completely to understand him He spoke as it were a different language *No wonder then that the Sanchos of his day and* the Sanchos of all time, the men who claim to face the

realities of life, men, who like Garvin in *The Observer* preach in season and out of season the gospel of realism, will deride and sneer

Elysian Fields is a brilliant dialogue, a fitting instrument used by Madariaga with the perfection of an artist, to convey abstract and ideal teaching of great value The dialogue is well sustained, the characters are made to reason out and to think according to the convictions they are known to have upheld in their life time Napoleon is the uncompromising defensor of militarist Imperialism Voltaire is the sceptic and derider of religion, Washington as the builder of the United States is surprised that his country should decry a Union of all the States of the world Karl Marx is the apostle of class war and finally Goethe the philosopher discourses admirably on the organic unity of all mankind The dialogue moves rapidly and is strewn with witticisms and penetrating remarks keeping in tension the mind of the reader The modernity and up-to-dateness of the discourse is cleverly maintained by the introduction of a film star and a witty criticism of the radio and television. Goethe concludes by emphasising the influence of radio in maintaining the organic unity of mankind "the marvellous medium which puts all men into touch with all men instantaneously" The three main currents of political thought and opinion Hitlerism Communism and Fascism are thus reviewed and criticised.

The dialogue will give to the reader not only a delightful hour of amusement but will challenge his political and social convictions forcing him to think them out with greater logical accuracy

P G Bridge

THE HINDU MUSLIM PROBLEM IN INDIA By Clifford Manshardt George Allen & Unwin Ltd Pp 123 Price 5sh

In appraising this little book on a great subject one should bear in mind what the author attempts and the limitations under which he works. The author is an young American, who has been in Bombay for ten years before he makes "an attempt to analyse some (stakes ours) of the causes of Hindu Muslim tension in India." The problem is a vast one, extremely complicated, and becoming more complicated day by day in the political sphere owing to the shrewd policy of the British statecraft in creating an imperium in imperio by pandering to the Muslim claim of 'political importance' as past rulers of India, oblivious of the basic fact that ninety per cent of them are descendants of converts, who lost the political independence as well as their religion, and due to the whining attitude of the Indian National Congress in trying to placate them by 'giving a blank cheque' by way of political privileges so that they may join the Congress in its fight against the British Government It also differs from province to province

The problem has been approached from three different angles of vision socio-religious, economic, and political The discussion by the author is general, good so far as it goes but often sketchy and one is tempted to add, superficial, more descriptive than analytical For example the author has failed to discuss the mentality which prompted Sir Abdur Rahim to say that he feels more at home amongst the Turkomans and the Afghans than amongst his next-door Hindu neighbours, and his significant silence when his car was riddled with bullets by the Frontier tribesmen the mentality which prompted the late Maulana Muhammad Ali to write to the British Premier that "the Mussalman ruled over India from the beginning of the eighth century to about the middle of the nineteenth in one way or another which no other community can claim in the same manner The Sikh rule for a generation in the solitary province of the Punjab the result of an accident ," and yet the same mentality does not go, dares not go against the Britishers to the same extent the 'slave' Hindus go The author does not discuss the question why the Indian Muslims were loyal, ultra loyal during the World War despite the fact that the Sultan Caliph issued a formal summons to a Holy War and even fought against him in the Holy Land of Mesopotamia and Kerbala and why they started the Khilafat agitation supported by Gandhiji at the close of the War? The author unfortunately leaves upon the reader an impression of over-cautiousness and timidity perhaps well meant but a study like this—however brief it may be cannot be helpful unless it faces the several issues squarely and expresses definite opinions even running the risk of appearing to be dogmatic For an opinion from a foreign student situated like the author is expected to be thought provoking and leading to self analysis even when it is ultimately found to be wrong

In his constructive statement the author lays great stress on the need and value of "Intelligent Goodwill" as providing the best solution The author condemns the narrow communalist, and says —"Though the communal solution to the political problem now holds the field the national solution must be held up as the future goal" In his penultimate concluding paragraph he says — 'The outstanding need in India is for political parties which will appeal for the support of the people upon the basis of merit, instead of upon the basis of religious prejudices Parliaments of Religion have their place, but legislatures should be political bodies. The Catholics in the United States and Great Britain have strong religious sentiments, but when it comes to political affairs they think in terms of politics As long as politics are on a communal basis there is very little hope for alternate Governments which come into being or fall upon national issues. Under the present arrangement the Muslims are practically doomed to remain a political minority and to accept such favours as they can secure The Party System is working at the present time in the Presidency of Madras, where the Justice Party and the Congress are already strengthening their political fences in anticipation of the new Constitution (the book was published in 1936) And in Madras communal trouble is much less prevalent than in other sections of India An extension of the Madras System would go far towards clearing the atmosphere in other parts of India"

The Chapter "Communalism Run Wild" should have been treated as an appendix, in its present place it disturbs the unity of the essay

J M Datta

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF MSS. IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES Vol II Part II, Section I Nos 1-533, pp xx+1168 (Stationery Office London, 193")

The India Office, London possesses a vast collection of MSS in European languages (mostly English with a few in French and still fewer in Dutch), which are of the utmost value for Asiatic (especially Indian) history These are being constantly added to by purchase and gift Very scholarly and elaborate catalogues of these are being published. Volume I in two parts deals with the Mackenzie Collection (Madras and Mysore), and Vol II in three parts describes all the other sections. The first Part of Vol II (Home Miscellaneous Orme Collection, by S C Hill) is a work of outstanding importance and the present reviewer remembers with gratitude how it has helped him in his historical inquiries The second Part of this Vol II is now before us It was prepared by

the late Mr Kaye and well maintains the high standard of Hill's work, while going into far greater detail than Hill and therefore proving even more helpful to distant investigators. The elaborateness of the editor's work can be judged from the fact that two Mutiny MSS —Ed A Reade's letters (Agra) and the Memoranda of the Chief of the Staff (Mansfield) 1857 1859—are calendared letter by letter in 18 and 25 pages respectively

As an indication of the importance of this collection we may mention that it embraces the MSS of Fowke (W Hastings), Sir Philip Francis Buchanan Hamilton C Forbes Abbe Dubois Sir Stamford Raffles (Java) Rich, Moorcroft, Sykes (Burma) and Brian Hodgson (Nepal) besides others There are also MS translations of several Persian histories by well known Orientalists in the E I Co's service Of special interest to Bengal is the original draft of the Rev James Long's *List of Books Printed in Bengal* (p 1123) and to Maharastra the original of what Forrest has printed namely the English translation of the Raigarh life of Shivaji (90 Kalami) made by R Drummond from a copy lent by Lt Frissell (p 756), and also the account of the painter Wales's illness and death (p 575) The following corrections have been suggested by a friend P 15 in the foot note read *donquery*—d Ouquery i e, of Ikeri in Western Mysore P 1099 for *Kunuk?* read Kuruk i e Kharg Singh. P 480 the survey work of Reynolds is described by Malet in Poona Residency Vol II ed by G S Sardesa

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL *By Mukul Gupta, M A, Personal Assistant to the Director of Industries Bengal Bengal Government Press Alipore Bengal Pp 62 Price annas six only*

It is an interesting publication giving as it does a clear and precise idea about the origin and development of cotton mill industry in Bengal supported by up to date statistics as far as it has been possible for the writer to collect Cotton mills have immense possibilities in Bengal and it is time that attention of the people who possess the enterprise and necessary resources should be drawn in this direction A perusal of the monograph drives home the unhappy fact that in spite of obvious advantages Bengal is dependent on foreign and outside sources of supply for her cloth' requirements to an unreasonable extent It may be pleaded that it may not be advisable to endeavour to be independent of extraneous sources of supply irrespective of considerations of comparative advantage But Bengal stands today in such a position that it will be long before her cotton mill industry is so developed as to outrage this economic principle Even then there is no reason why should we not make every effort to take our legitimate share in one of our most important industries

Those who are interested in the cotton mill industry will find this monograph useful The merit of the publication lies in the fact that the writer has made a subjective study of an industry exclusively from Bengal's point of view and there is need for such studies indeed

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHART *By Swami Yogananda Published by Yogada Sat-Sang Ranchi Price annas six only*

This chart has been framed with a view to enabling teachers and guardians to have a comprehensive knowledge of the mental traits of their pupils and wards

VEDANTA IN DAILY LIFE *By Sri Swami Sivananda Sarasvati, Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh (Uttra Inyar) Price Rs 5 only*

This book, as its name suggests is not intended to be a systematic exposition of the philosophy of the Vedanta, relevant topics of the monistic Vedanta have been discussed in it not however from the standpoint of the scholar, but from that of the Sadhaka, and it is also for his benefit that two minor works of Acharya Sankara have been incorporated in the book The practical hints on Sadhana are well worth trying

IMAN CHANDRA RAY

HISTORY OF HOOGHLY COLLEGE *By K Zachariah Government of Bengal Publication Price /11/ as only*

The social and cultural history of Bengal as well as the history of education in this province in the last two centuries are yet to be written When they are written it will be found how the history of education can explain to a great extent the social and cultural trends in Bengal in the last two hundred years Materials for such history remain scattered in the archives of the Government departments in contemporary literature and elsewhere Principal Zachariah has done a great service to students of education and also of social and cultural history by publishing this very valuable and remarkably well written history of Hooghly College on the occasion of its centenary celebrations While dealing with the actual history of the College, he has presented us with a panorama of the life of generations of students in Bengal from the early thirties of the last century to our own times, a panorama which will be of great interest to all students of the cultural history of Bengal Students of education too will find here much that is interesting and illuminating The printing as well as the get up of the book is good, but unfortunately there have crept in a large number of printing mistakes, for instance in the date of the foundation of the Calcutta School Book Society, which I hope will be corrected in a subsequent edition

MIRABAI *By Nalinimohan Sanyal Published by Ramnaram Lal, Allahabad Pp 44 Price six annas*

It is a pamphlet on Mirabai the famous poetess saint of mediæval India and her songs. The writer has taken pains to collect the various accounts current about the life and story of Mirabai He has also discussed the relative historicity of these and has given what he considers to be a true account of her life in the light of modern research with a discourse on her bhajans ' He has rightly rejected the current accounts which connect Mira with Maharana Kumbha of Mewar It has now been conclusively proved that Mira could not have been married to Kumbha But while removing certain erroneous popular misconceptions about Miraba the author has tried to justify one gross misconception with out sufficient proof Relying on a poem by Tulsidas he has tried to show how Mirabai corresponded with Tulsidas and how he was influenced by him to make Tulsidas contemporary of Mira, he has gone so far as to push back the commonly accepted birth date of Tulsidas! And all this for a poem which might have been addressed by Tulsidas to anyone! On similar reasons Rabindranath might also be suggested to have been a contemporary of Mira for he has numerous poems which a facile imagination may attribute to have been addressed to Miraba Every anecdote is not history

I am not also sure if the writer has done justice to Mira when he says that Mira made a "boastful display of her rebellious temper and disregard for public opinion.

in many of her poems" (pp 19ff) I am afraid Mr Sanyal has absolutely failed to catch the spirit of these poems These are humble statements of a woman who was anything but boastful about her religious and spiritual experiences

In spite of these shortcomings this pamphlet has value inasmuch as it contains a much needed collection of materials out of which a more accurate life history of Mirabai can be constructed

THE NEW MENACE TO HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN BENGAL *By Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri Published by Messrs Chuckerverty Chatterjee & Co Calcutta Pp 127 Price not mentioned*

Of late the system of education in Bengal specially that of secondary education has come for a good deal of criticism by the Government of the province It is as if the Government has suddenly woke up and found that the system of secondary education which it had been fostering with tender care for the last one hundred years and for the development and the present state of which it is not a little responsible is rotten beyond words and it needs must be changed and reshaped without any delay One would think that the Government is showing almost indecent haste in trying to effect these changes Perhaps behind this haste there is the idea that the present condition of secondary education is responsible for the major evils infecting our body politic and that a reform of secondary education will cure among others the evil of unemployment Education is no doubt a potent factor in shaping the national life but one is yet to see an example of education remedying the evil of unemployment which is essentially due to economic and political factors

The problem of secondary education in Bengal is vast as well as complex There can be no hasty reform of this problem There is no short cut to the solution What we need today is a well planned and comprehensive and coordinated policy of secondary education a policy which will be evolved by the joint efforts of the Government and the people of the province

Mr Chaudhuri has boldly laid bare the chief defects of the secondary schools and he has spared none He has shown how lack of funds absence of a continuity of policy in the administration of secondary schools excess of Government control, foreign medium of instruction failure of the present system to enrich the character and spiritual life of the pupils and others have been responsible for the futility of the system in achieving what should properly have been its objectives. But the remedy lies not in curing the defects and not in stifling the patient, for that Mr Chaudhuri suspects to be the real objective of the Government behind the measures advocated by them.

One may not agree with Mr Chaudhuri in everything he says one must listen to what he says in this well-documented and thought provoking study of the problems of secondary education in Bengal I commend it to all who desire a happy solution to these problems

It is a pity that the book could not be reviewed when it first came in my hand. But the proposed Secondary Education Bill has once more brought the problems in the public limelight and it is opportune to place the book once more before the public

A N Basu

YOU *By C S Arundale Published by The Theosophical Publishing House Adyar, Madras Pp 331*

This is a fairly comprehensive exposition of the Theosophical point of view regarding the individual's birth in this world his life and the various relations in which he has to live his life The birth of an individual in a particular family in a particular nation, and in particular circumstance is explained according to theosophical principles The proper relation to be maintained between the human sub-human and superhuman kingdoms is also discussed The problem of war and peace and the prevention of war also receives attention At the end of the book we have a summary of the chief tenets of Theosophy according to the author of the book According to Theosophy there is life everywhere and life is one life is a movement and there is an hierarchy of life

Some of the theories are quite interesting Thus we are told (p 45) that one's father in this life has probably been a relative many times before, and certainly a comparatively close friend The same applies to one's mother "Relatives in this life have during the long past filled every possible kind of relationship"

As to our relations with the sub-human kingdom, we are reminded that "the life we now cherish in ourselves has had to pass through both vegetable and animal kingdoms" (p 96) Therefore we should not kill animals except in self-defence (p 94) nor pluck flowers and plants "to provide satisfaction for our decorative and so-called artistic instincts" (p 96) Besides sub-human beings, there are *super* human personages who "form a Company a Brotherhood organized to direct and guide the world's evolution (p 104)

Whether one accepts all the conclusions of the author or not the book provides interesting reading and fully deserves study

ICH DIEN *Published by Kevalram Dayaram Karachi*

It is a pamphlet in which an account is given of the various organizations through which Theosophy seeks to benefit humanity Persons interested in the movement will find much useful information in it.

ANNIE BESANT AND THE CHANGING WORLD *By Bhagavan Das D Litt Published by the Theosophical Publishing House Adyar, Madras*

This booklet contains an account of the life and character of Annie Besant from the pen of one who knew her intimately It is well worth a perusal

IT HAPPENED IN INDIA *By Fred Barnie Published by Messrs Waterloo Publications Ltd., P O Box 306 Mount Road Madras Pp 198*

The book consists of fifteen chapters containing fifteen short stories. The stories deal with Indian life or that aspect of Indian life in which Englishmen also sometimes enter and life of English India or what is less euphemistically called Anglo-India The scenes and events are depicted with insight and with a touch of sympathy and good humour which make the stories delightful reading It is a fine little book which will allay the anguish of many a tired and work worn soul

U C Bhattacharjee

THE HIMALAYAS—IN AND ACROSS *By Nityanarayan Banerjee The New Book Stall, 9 Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Pp 135 and 38 illustrations*

The author presents us with an account of his pilgrimage to Mana arovar Badrinath and other places in the Himalayas. His account lacks colour and movement but this has been chiefly due to his unhappy choice of a foreign tongue as the medium of expression

The book is disfigured by a profusion of printing mistakes.

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH *Fourth Annual Report Kingsway, Delhi*

This report of about a hundred pages contains a detailed account of the Social, Educational and Economic activities of the Harijan Sevak Sangh It contains much useful information about the present state of untouchability in India and of the organisations working for its removal

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PATHS TO DISCOVERY *By C T Philip M A with a Foreword by Sir C V Raman Kt Published by Malayala Manorama Kottayam (Travancore) Pp XI+210 Price Re 1-8*

The book under review is a narration of scientific discoveries and inventions written in a novel and charming manner The public is often ignorant of the particular circumstance which led to a discovery or of the toils and ordeals that the discoverers have to face before success is achieved These have been vividly described in simple and lucid style. We are thankful to the author for the book, a perusal of which should arouse an interest in the young generation for scientific studies and research

NOREN DEY

SANSKRIT

VARADAMBIKAPARINAYACAMPU *Edited with an Introduction by Lakshman Sarup M A D Phil (Oxon) With a commentary in Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya Giridhara Sharma Chaturveda and Hari datta Sharma. Motilal Banarasi Dass Publishers and Booksellers Said Mitha Bazar, Lahore*

There is reference to a good many women poets and scholars in Sanskrit literature But very few works by them are known to have survived and fewer still have been published Congratulations are therefore due to Prof Lakshman Sarup for the discovery and critical edition of this historical romance composed by Tirumalamba a queen of King Acyutaraya of Vijayanagara hero of the work It was subjected to a critical study for number of years since its discovery in Tanjore by the learned editor in 1924 A number of papers were contributed by Prof Sarup drawing attention of the world of scholars to the varied importance of the work and a tentative edition was published in 1932 in the Oriental College Magazine of Lahore A Hindi translation was issued at the instance of the Professor by Panditas Giridhara Sharma and Purushottama Sharma An English translation is also stated to have been prepared by one of his pupils But a handy and scholarly edition of the work was a desideratum which has happily been removed by the present publication The introduction of which a Sanskrit version is also appended gives a detailed account of the poet and her work the poetical excellence of which is fully described It is unfortunate however, that no description has been given of the manuscript of the work though it is the only manuscript so far known The brief Sanskrit commentary will be found useful in following the text, which not unlikely the texts of other works of the type is occasionally difficult The concluding verse of the commentary gives Hari as the name of its author though it is stated in the title page to have been composed jointly by Panditas Giridhara Sharma and Hari Datta Sharma.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT-HINDI

BHARATA PARIJATAM *Author and Publisher Swami Bhagavadacharya Taheripura, Baroda Pp 38+532 Price Rs 3/8/*

This imposing and rather surprising work is an epic in twenty six cantos which gives, in good Sanskrit verse with Hindi translation, a fairly accurate account of Mahatma Gandhi's life and work right up to the assumption of ministerial offices in the provinces. Here and there the author interposes long descriptions in true Sanskrit tradition perhaps only to meet the requirements of the *mahakavya* The book is a monument to the dexterity and virtuosity of the author and is likely to interest those for whom these qualities are the essence of literary composition Others too may delve in it as a literary curio.

S H V

BENGALI

CHAYANIKA OR SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE *Demy 8vo., pp xii+488+viii Price paper cover, Rs 2 12, cloth, Rs 3-8 and Rs 4*

This book of selections has been printed twelve times up to date It was first printed twenty-eight years ago Some time before its publication, all readers of Tagore's Bengali poems were asked publicly to submit a list of what each reader regarded as the best poems of the author Many readers sent such lists The most popular poems were then selected according to these lists This is the origin of this book of selections In subsequent editions and reprints, fresh lists were not called for But additions have been made repeatedly

When the poet made his own selection, and the poems chosen by him were published in the form of a volume named *Sanchayita*, which has been noticed in a previous number of this Review he wished that *Chayanika* should no longer be reprinted But the latter has been so popular that the publication department of Visva Bharati has gone on reprinting it

In its present issue the volume contains poems published so long as fifty four years ago as well as poems published so recently as the year 1938

I have no doubt this enlarged reprint of the Selections will be welcomed by all lovers of Rabindranath's poems

BANGLAY BHRAMAN OR TRAVELS IN BENGAL

This is a Guide Book published by the Eastern Bengal Railway The size of the page is about that of *The Modern Review* It contains 164 pages and is profusely illustrated The get up is excellent The price is only eight annas It contains descriptions of the history, arts and crafts and cultural achievements of the principal places of which accounts are given in it

Though it is called "Travels in Bengal" it *omits accounts of the Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions, which are not served by the Eastern Bengal Railway* But as it includes many places in the province of Assam, many of which are in *geographical and linguistic* Bengal I think the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities should include in the next edition the Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions and districts like Manbhum in the province of Bihar which are really parts of *linguistic and geographical* Bengal and this they can easily do by arrangement with the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway

D

HINDI

SAMKSHIPTA JAINA ITIHASA VOL. III PT I *By Kamta Prasad Jain Published by Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Proprietor, Digambar Jain Pustaka laya, Kapadia Bhaban, Surat*

This Hindi work on the history of the Jains, of which four parts—each complete in itself—have been published since 1926, is a storehouse of Jain mythology and folklore chiefly on the basis of which, supplemented by epigraphic records and other sources of information, a vivid account has been given in these pages of various saints and kings who helped in different ways in the propagation of Jainism The part under review deals with Jainism in South India and describes the association of some of these great men with this side of the country It is divided into two parts—Mythological period and Historical Period, the latter running up to the 5th century A D, the subsequent period being put off for the next part Copious references have been given to original sources so that readers may be able to verify the statements of the author and gather additional information where necessary The present part maintains the reputation of the author whose contributions on the history of Jainism are varied and important We hope the learned author will deal with the literature, philosophy and rituals of the Jains in some of the subsequent parts of the series The publisher owes it to himself to improve the printing and get up of this useful series of publication

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

VIJAYANAGARA SMARAKA GRANTHA *Edited by D P Karmarkar and R V Oturkar Published by the Bharatiya Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala, Poona Pp 402 Price Four Rupees*

This book, the forty fifth in the Indian Historical Research series published by the Bharatiya Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala of Poona, is the Marathi Edition of the memorial volume issued on the occasion of the 6th centenary of Vijayanagar celebrated in December 1936

The volume comprising papers contributed by the leading historicals and scholars of western and Southern India, provides a detailed picture of the Vijayanagar Empire The cultural and literary achievements are treated as exhaustively as the political and economic conditions, and a short history of the empire adds to the usefulness of the book There are a number of illustrations a map, chronology and several appendices.

TELUGU

ROOM TO LET (Six Short Stories) *By P Bala Krishna Sastry Yuva Karyalaya Series No. 3. Pp 101 Price As 4 Can be had of Yuva Karyalaya, Pathapet, Tenali*

Mr Sastry reserves a decent future for himself among the Telegu story writers, with his keen insight into the student world He is commendable at certain places with his subtle humour

KANTAM KAIFIAT (Ten Short Stories) *By Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao Yuva Karyalaya Series No 4 Pp 107 Price As 4 Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam Pathapet, Tenali.*

Mr Munimanikyam's facile pen presents Kantam, the heroine of these stories, in better situation than he placed her in these series previously

R S BHARADWAJ

GUJARATI

GUJARATI SAHITYA, ITS MANAN AND VIVECHAN *By Ramchandra Damodar Shukla, M.A., LL.B Dohad Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad Pp 303 Price Rs 2 (1936)*

The title of this collection of articles published in different publications between 1924 and 1936 fully justifies itself as the contents disclose both cogitation (*Manan*) and criticism (*Vivechan*) of the present Gujarati Literature The strong point of the writer is distinctly an intense and deep study of the literature, made from several viewpoints, and as such commendable The views however formed in 1924 or 1926 should not be regarded as unchangeable but open to revision For instance, *Milestones* and *Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature* were never meant to be works of criticism, they were to show to non Gujarati knowing readers certain outstanding features of old and new Gujarati literature and therefore called "Milestones." They were written at the desire of an Englishman who wanted to know what sort of literature Gujarati had got Those humble efforts were not meant to be pretentious works of criticism All the fourteen articles furnish a very intelligent guide to the works of those authors who are discussed there

SARTHA GUJARATI JODANI KOSHA *edited by Maganbhai P Desai and others of the Gujarat Vidyapitha Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir Ahmedabad Thick Card Board Pp 616 Price Rs 4-0-0 (1937) Third Edition Revised and Enlarged*

One of the abiding salutary results of the working of the Gujarat Vidyapitha founded by Mahatma Gandhi would be this dictionary in Gujarati composed in the most approved standards of spelling in the language For short and long vowels each one spelt as he liked In fact chaos prevailed and no one was concerned to remove it Several attempts have been made to standardise spelling but they failed for lack of authority to enforce the standard Gandhiji felt it to be a stigma on the language and set about to remove it with the help of some scholars of his Vidyapitha and the result is this very valuable volume The spelling of each word is based on the greatest common factor obtaining in the different views till now prevailing and is based on reason or rational lines. The attempt has been well received, and the University of Bombay has adopted the system. It would work down at least to the Secondary or High schools from there and thus ultimately reach primary institutions. After Narmadashankar's monumental Kosha published in A.D 1873, nothing equally valuable and authoritative has come out till now, and the very fact that a third Edition has been called for during a course of eight years testifies to its great utility We congratulate the authors heartily

PRACHIN BHARATVARSHA *Part III by Dr Tribhuvandas L. Shah Published by Shashikant & Co Baroda Cloth Bound Pp 405+40 Price As 8 (1937)*

This excellent history of ancient India deals in this part, with the decline and fall of the Maurya dynasty, the rule of the Shungs and the invasions of India by foreigners, such as Yons, Scythians, Parthians &c Incidentally the author traces the origin of Porwal (Dis Oswals and Shrimalis, import out sections of the Hindu inhabitants of Gujarat and throws also in the origin of the word Gujarat (Gujarattra) itself It continues its admirable feature of basing every statement

on some authority or other and the index at the end serves a very useful purpose

K M J

HIRAK BADODRA By Chimanlal Magandal Doctor, M.A., LL.B Editor, Nava Gujrat Baroda 1936 Re 1 12

His Highness Maharaja Sri Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III ascended the throne in 1875 and the event was commemorated in 1935 on the happy occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations The book under notice beginning with a brief sketch of the life of His Highness goes on to show to what good use the Gaekwad has put the fruitful years of his life—religious and social reforms educational measures (including physical exercises for boys and girls Oriental Institute and the Central Library) village uplift district assemblies municipal and road improvements, taluka administration state produce trade and commerce sanitation and hospital arrangements police and army organization etc Next follows an account of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations etc The two appendices giving a chronological list of events during the reign and the genealogical chart of His Highness' dependants, will be useful for reference The reader will find in this a convenient account of the progress of Baroda one of the most progressive states of Modern India

P R SEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

DRINK IN INDIA SOME FACTS AND FIGURES By The Rev Herberst Anderson (Late of Calcutta) Indian Conciliation Group New series No 1 Obtainable from the Friends Book Centre, Euston Road, London N W 1 Pp 8 Price One Penny 1937

UNEMPLOYMENT By J C Kumarappa. The India Today series Published by The Hindustan Publishing Co Ltd., Rajahmundry S India. Pocket book size Pp 27 Price As 2 1938

POTTERY FOR HEALTH AND POTTERY AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY By R I Lakshmi Ratan (Senior) With introduction by Dr I Subrahmanian To be had of the Author, 316, Thambu Chetty Street Madras Pp X+26

THE SPEAKER AND HIS PARTY

BY PROF NARESH CHANDRA ROY M A Ph D

MR Purushottamdas Tandon the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces, has created a hornets nest around his ears by making some outspoken statements about his connection with the Congress organisation in his province Mr Tandon has always been noted as a vigorous and self-sacrificing nationalist His contribution to the Congress movement in the U P and for the matter of that in the whole country is enormous Some years back when in consequence of the unfortunate death of Lala Lajpat Rai he was chosen to be the President of the Servant of the People Society, Lahore, the Society was congratulated from far and near on this election

It was but a foregone conclusion that a man of his traditions and disposition would never entertain the idea of effacing himself completely within the Speaker's chair When he agreed to be set up as a candidate for the Speakership it was taken for granted by those who happened to know him either directly or indirectly that his acceptance of the position would not result in his banishment from the political arena The expectations have now come true Mr Tandon has given it out as his deliberate opinion that to preside over the sittings of the Legislative Assembly is not inconsistent with his old position as a political gladiator He tells us definitely that it is not difficult at all for a strong just and honest man to hold the scales even between different groups in the Assembly Chamber and simultaneously to participate directly in the national movement outside

Those who usually swear by British practice and tradition, have been shocked by this unorthodox attitude of the Speaker of the United Provinces. For about a century a tradition has crystallised in Great Britain to the effect that a member of the House of Commons once elected to the Speaker's chair, sheds his party colours and gets rid of his party ties He no longer receives the party whip and never attends a party meeting Henceforward he becomes the chief officer of the House and nothing more As a servant of the House he serves this chamber and acknowledges no other allegiance The Speaker is expected to regard his duties as judicial in character and consequently he must be above politics As concomitants of this tradition of divorcing the Speaker from his party, two other practices have also grown in Great Britain The first is that when the Parliament is dissolved and a general election is held

the Speaker seat is not contested[1] He is returned unopposed to the House Secondly on his return to the chamber he is re elected automatically as the Speaker in the new House This process continues so long as he wishes to remain in his position When however because of old age he decides to retire he is given the handsome annual pension of £4 000 and a peerage if he is not opposed to it on principle

While this is the British practice and while this practice has been very closely followed in the British Dominions as well France and the United States have developed traditions in this respect entirely opposite in character In France the President of both the Chamber and the Senate is elected on party basis and never ceases to be a party man His seat never goes uncontested and at the time of the general election he wooes the voters of his constituency as a party man and on his return to the House his re election to the presidentship is neither automatic nor certain He may be re elected but not necessarily Secondly it is to be noted that as President he is not expected to discharge functions of his Office with judicial impartiality He is rather expected to issue his rulings in favour of his group and to show preference to speakers of the same party allegiance as his own Thirdly it should be remembered that the President as President is a great political figure He is called upon at times by the President of the Republic to inform him as to the numerical strength of different groups in the Chamber and as to the possibilities of coalition between several of them He is also called upon to offer him advice as to the person who should be invited to form the Ministry either after a general election or at the moment of a Cabinet crisis Further it is important to remember that the President of the Chamber may himself be called upon to form the Government and may actually undertake the task In fact there have been many occasions when he left the President's chair to become the head of the Cabinet In England also it is true that such a translation from the Speaker's chair to the office of the Prime Minister was at one time not unknown In 1801 Addington who had been the Speaker of the House of Commons for some years was transferred straight from the Chair of the House to the office of Prime Minister' In the previous centuries the practice was more startling still A person would preside over the deliberations of the House of Commons and at the same time occupy the office of a Minister of the Crown Sir Edward Coke combined the office of the Speaker with that of the Solicitor General Sir Edward Seymour similarly combined the offices of the Speaker and the Treasurer of the Navy Robert Harley Earl of Oxford was while occupying the Chair of the Speaker appointed Secretary of State He combined for some time the two incongruous offices and at the same time led the Tory Party[2] Of course in Great Britain such a practice has now become obsolete Not only the combination of the office of the Speaker with that of a Minister of the Crown is unthinkable today but even the translation from the Speaker's chair to a Cabinet Office will now meet with no toleration at the hands of the public But in France the latter practice is not only tolerated but often encouraged by public opinion

In the U S A the Speaker of the House of Representatives was originally expected to be the prototype of the Speaker of the House of Common But the traditions of the two offices were developed subsequently on different and even opposite lines While the Speaker of the British House of Commons became gradually a semi judicial functionary and became on that account increasingly divorced from party affiliation the Speaker of the House of Representatives was required more and more to be an avowed party man and become steadfast in his party loyalty After every general election in the U S A the two parties concentrate today all their energy and all their forces on securing the election of their own nominee as Speaker For long the Speaker apart from his normal duties of presiding over the deliberations of the House had some other privileges and powers which made his position an all important one This would explain why election to his office became emphatically a party issue

In Great Britain the business of the legislature is largely dominated by the Cabinet But in the U S A the Cabinet is neither responsible to the Legislature nor has it any place in either of its chambers Legislative business is therefore very largely regulated and determined by the Committees For long it was a part of the prerogative of the Speaker to constitute these Committees His position therefore was crucial and pivotal in the legislative organisation of the federation It is intelligible on this score why the two parties fought so doggedly for the prize For over two decades of course

1 The practice is not so very uniform as it is often represented to be Exceptions are cited in a later stage of the article

2 These facts have been taken from Redlich's *The Procedure of the House of Commons*, II

the privilege of forming the Committees has been withdrawn from the Speaker and vested in the House itself But although the Speaker has been deprived of this power, he is still today elected on party lines and is expected while in office to grind the party axe He is not expected to be impartial in his treatment of the two wings of the House He is on the contrary expected to pass over the claims of those members who belong to the opposite party and show preference to those aspirants who belong to his own group

Mr Tandon has in his statement pointed out that although his attitude is not supported by British convention it is on all fours with the French and American practice This statement is not exactly correct He has done himself an injustice by such a comparison From the contents of the previous paragraphs it will be patent to all that Mr Tandon is departing no doubt to some extent from English traditions but he is not thereby wholeheartedly accommodating himself to the French and American custom As we have seen in both these two countries the Speaker is not only an active participant in politics but he does not exercise impartiality even within the House On the contrary he is expected by his party colleagues to show preference to them during the debates in the Chamber Mr Tandon however is definitely of opinion that inside the Assembly he must hold the scales even between one group and another and show partiality to none It is only outside the House that he will break away from British tradition and take part in political affairs The position of Mr Tandon is therefore midway between the position of the British Speaker on the one side and that of the President of the French Chamber and the Speaker of the American House of Representatives on the other

We should now see whether the position taken up by Mr Tandon is correct or not and whether it can be justified by the circumstances of the country Those who are putting Mr Tandon on the pillory for his divergence from British practice ought to bear in mind the fact that this practice in England is only little more than fifty years old As late as 1870 we find the Speaker of the House of Commons frankly giving expression to his views on political questions which were before the House In the committees which were not presided over by the Speaker he used until then to express his opinions very freely on all topics which came up for discussion In the first quarter of the 19th century Catholic emancipation was a live question in Great Britain To express an opinion on this subject was tantamount to active participation in controversial politics But in 1813 we find Speaker Abbott expressing himself very strongly against a Bill introduced by Grattan for the relief of Catholics In 1821 and 1825 his successor Mr Manners Sutton similarly spoke against the repeal of Catholic disabilities In 1856 the Speaker Mr Shaw Lefevre spoke in a Committee of the House of Commons on the management of the British Museum and 14 years later Speaker Denison similarly expressed himself definitely in a committee meeting against an unjust item of proposed taxation These facts would show clearly as to how short is the present practice of divorcing the Speaker from all connection with politics

The Speaker again may be asked to cut away from all his party ties only if he can be absolutely made sure of re election both to the House and to its chair None however, will possibly be able to guarantee in India such double re-election time after time In Great Britain itself the tradition in one respect has not been uniform and unvarying In theory it is expected that the Speaker's constituency should not be contensted and that he should be returned unopposed to the House Actually however during the last 50 years twice his election to the House was contested In 1895 the Speaker Mr Gully was opposed, though unsuccessfully by a candidate put up by the Tory Party in his constituency of Carlisle Similarly in 1935 the Labour Party set up a candidate to oppose the election of the Speaker by his constituency to the House of Commons On this occasion also the contest was unsuccessful and the Speaker had an easy walk over to the Parliament But still the fact stands that in course of half a century the convention was twice broken We need not pause to discuss the reasons It is the fact of the opposition which is really relevant

In England there is a tradition of one man remaining in one office for long There are many persons in the House of Commons who have enjoyed several terms of membership at a stretch There are even more than half a dozen who could claim membership of the House for well nigh half a century If in a country with such traditions the Speaker's re-election cannot be made absolutely sure it can be imagined what hope there is in this respect in India where such a tradition is unlikely to strike root Here the people may not exactly welcome the principle of rotation in office which finds favour in the United States But all the same it may be assumed that very long membership of a legislative chamber will always be

a rare exception in India At present in the Legislative Assembly at the Centre there is only one gentleman who has been a member of that House continuously since 1921 and it should be noted that he is a nominated member In the provincial legislatures also continuous membership is rather rare In the city council of Calcutta long membership has been actually discouraged by the Leader of the Congress Party Mr S C Bose gave it out as his opinion on the eve of the last general Corporation election that those who had already served in the Council for 9 years should not seek re-election In other words it may be said that there is a definite opinion in the country to the effect that a person should not be returned term after term to the legislature or for the matter of that to any other public assembly That being the case it is unlikely that an exception will be made in favour of one member of the House, the member who will be occupying the chair of the Speaker He also after one or two terms of Speakership may be discouraged from seeking re-election to the house In that case he will be without any occupation

Secondly it should also be borne in mind that the office of the Speaker is both a responsible and a lucrative one It is unlikely that such an office will be allowed in the present situation of the country to be permanently occupied by a person belonging to one particular community Already the principle of rotation has been accepted in some provinces in respect of the office of the City Mayor Such a convention may be accepted before long in regard to the election of the Speaker as well In case such a convention is actually acted up to what will be the position of the Speaker who has cut off his connection with the party and has not been re-elected to this office?

In India the assemblies are constituted on the principle of the representation of communities and interests A particular member represents not a territorial constituency consisting of all its inhabitants and certainly he does not represent the whole province He represents only a particular community belonging to a particular part of the province or he represents a particular economic or cultural interest Now in case a member of the house representing one community or one interest is elected to the Speakership to all intents and purposes he is lost to the interest or to the community which he happens to represent For one term his constituency may forgive him this neglect on his part of its interests in the Legislature But it cannot be expected that term after term he would be elected by a particular constituency although he would render to it no service as a representative In Bengal, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury was returned by the landholders constituency of the Dacca Division to the Legislative Council But when he was elected the President of the House, he could no longer act as the mouthpiece of the landholding class of that division When, therefore the general election was held in 1937 his seat was successfully contested by another landholder and he was thrown out from his seat in the legislature and consequently from the Speaker's chair as well What happened in the case of the Maharaja of Santosh may happen in most other cases as well The principle of allowing the Speaker an uncontested return to the house may be difficult to respect in this country

Nor should a principle of conduct on the part of an Indian Speaker be regarded as undesirable only because it does not exactly conform to the House of Commons practice A parliamentary practice in fact cannot be transplanted from one country to another irrespective of the circumstances of the two countries Political conditions in India may be too different and may be too uncongenial for a British tradition to thrive in Indian provinces We must also see to it whether the duties which the Speaker has to perform cannot be impartially discharged by him although he may participate in political work outside the Assembly It may be conceded at once that the Speaker who takes active part in the affairs of his own party outside the chamber may develop some prejudice against people who belong to rival groups and factions But even if a Speaker may be prejudiced to some extent against those members of the house who do not belong to his own side it is not likely that he will not give them full opportunity in the house In the first place no Speaker will think it worthwhile to incur an unnecessary unpopularity by refusing proper opportunity to the members of the opposition Secondly the work in the Assemblies is done according to a procedure which leaves to the Speaker very little scope for showing undue partiality to his own side Usually it is globly assumed that when a subject is to be discussed the Speaker may accommodate a member of his own party in preference to a member of the opposition In this way the voice of other groups may be stifled and that of his own group may be topmost in the chamber In the British House of Commons however it is a practice to give opportunity alternately to the members of the two sides of the House to speak on certain subjects Similarly in our Assemblies also it

is a practice of the Speakers to give opportunity to all the groups in the house to have their say on a subject which may claim the attention of the Assembly for the time being This practice is too deep rooted to be overthrown by any Speaker, however partially disposed he may be

It is true that individual members may often suffer because of their not catching the eyes of the Speaker He however sees to it all the same that according to its numerical strength every group gets an opportunity of speaking out its mind on any topic which is on the anvil of the house In Bengal so far as the present writer is aware every group was given an opportunity of speaking on the Tenancy Bill which was passed by the Assembly in the last Autumn Session Similarly in the matter of the Budget which is now before the Assembly, the Speaker has divided the subjects among different groups and every group will be required to concentrate on some particular subjects Not that the members of the coalition group would not be entitled to speak during the Budget debates on a subject which has been assigned to the Congress Group or *vice versa* but for the sake of convenience it has been arranged in consultation with the leaders of different parties that some subjects would be mainly taken up by one group and some subjects by another It is likely that the procedure followed in the Bengal Assembly is in all essentials and principles followed elsewhere as well In this arrangement it is impossible for the Speaker to show preference to one group and do injustice to another Then in case of Rulings which are not covered by definite standing orders the Speaker has some scope no doubt of promoting the interests of the Government that be or of the opposition in the legislature for the time being But it should be known that the Speaker first of all is to maintain his own reputation and popularity with all groups in the house and consequently he is unlikely to give any ruling in a manner which may be unacceptable to the general opinion of the house and which is inconsistent with justice and fairplay

In view of what has been put in the previous paragraphs those who are now decrying the attitude of Mr Tandon may reconsider their own standpoint They need not think that simply because he has decided to maintain his party connections outside the house, his impartiality within the chamber will become out of the question He may act justly and impartially as the presiding officer of the chamber without foregoing his party affiliations There is in fact no practical inconsistency between the two

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE AS A JURIST

By MATILAL DAS

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is revered as a great seer, admired as a prophet of Indian nationalism loved as the creator of the Bengali novel and adored as the greatest exponent of the renaissance in Bengal

British rule gave to Bengal the light of modern life and with British goods came also British thoughts The East and the West met —as they had met in ages before and out of the conflict came the new awakening

Rammohun Roy was the first to feel the force of the impact and as a pioneer had to make his way in the midst of uncongenial surroundings

Rammohun Roy, the great fighter, had to take to literature for propaganda—for giving out his message and gospel of life He had no time for artistic and aesthetic excellences

After him came Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar His services were great but he too was no original creator

Bankim Chandra won his laurels on the path made by the Raja and Vidyasagar and a host of other literary men

But we forget that literature was a second mistress to Bankim though he gave his heart's love to this queen as is done by the proverbial King in all the folk-tales of Bengal It is inspiring to note that many of the greatest figures of the Bengali renaissance were public servants and even in the midst of arduous and exacting official duties they could make time, at the sacrifice of their health to serve the cause of their mother tongue

To name a few Bhudeb Mukherji was a School Inspector, Dinabandhu Mitra was a

Postal Superintendent Romesh Dutt was a Magistrate, Nabin Chandra Sen was a Deputy Magistrate and so also was D L Roy Times are changed Bengal's educated middle class counts legions of intellectuals in its fold but alas, the zeal and the love of the pioneers are no more!

There is a decadence in Bengal's outlook and achievement Let us fondly believe that it is a temporary lull forecasting the birth of a greater and nobler future This year is the centenary of Bankim Chandra and I believe the message of service and work preached by Bankim would inspire the soul of Bengal with a new heroism to go forward in life's path and to achieve greater things in days to come

Bankim Chandra was in the executive service from 1858 to 1891 the best period of his life but there has been no attempt as yet to know him as an official and to judge him in his official capacity

It would be wrong to think as many fondly believe that he could not apply his mind fully to his official duties It is farthest from the truth He was renowned for his meritorious services and his name topped the list of the uncovenanted officers of his grade whose services were recorded for commendation in the administration report He was made a Rai Bahadur and a C I E for his distinguished official career He was given the highest honour of his day He was made an Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal

So to know and understand Bankim we *must know him as an official* and we must gather materials as far as are still available to write a *full and detailed life of Bankim* which is yet to be written

The Members of P E N took up the idea of celebrating the Bankim centenary and Dr Kalidas Nag inspired me to do a little research for Bankim I took up the idea as one of the fondest admirers of Bankim

I am glad that I have been able to find in the Record room of the Hooghly Collectorate 4 foolscap pages written by Bankim on the 20th September 1880 These are notes on *Phanridari* lands and I believe that this would be interesting even to the layman I am thankful to Major C H Nicholas Collector of Hooghly who himself has the greatest love for historical researches for the great favour of permitting me to have a copy of this writing He has agreed to hand it over in the original to any registered society and I am sure that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad would perform its centenary celebration by opening a museum for Bankim and if the Parishad would apply Mr Nicholas would be glad to forward the application for favourable orders by the Government

To understand his note, one ought to know a little of the history of service tenures called *Chakran* lands Under the old system of the village community public officers and servants of the village were paid by grants in land instead of payment in cash This practice still lingers in distant and remote villages in the shape of payment in kind where the barber, the washerman and such other common workers get a certain quantity of paddy for their yearly services

1765 is a memorable year For in this year the East India Company got the grant of the Diwany from Shah Alam the titular emperor of Delhi It was a grant of the right to collect the revenue of Bengal Bihar and Orissa and to exercise judicial powers in all civil and financial causes arising in those provinces

The zamindars during the Mogul rule had to defend the country against foreign enemies as well as to administer law and maintain peace and order within their district For this purpose they used to keep not only armed soldiers against hostile inroads but also a large force of *thanadars* or a general police force and others called *choukidars paiks* etc

These people used to enjoy lands free or at a very low rent in consideration of their *services These are service-tenures (vide* W R 1 Py cases 26) I add below a verbatim copy *of the notes on the subject prepared by Bankim* Chandra This will explain this intricate *subject and will give some idea of the* legal acumen and forensic insight of the author

It has nothing extraordinary about it, and is based on the case in W R referred to by him, but it gives us an insight into the clear intellect of the writer He grasps the subject accurately and expresses his views clearly as a shrewd administrator

"PHANRIDARI LANDS

'The question for determination is, I believe whether these lands on the occurrence of a vacancy which is not filled up are at the disposal of Government

'I believe they are subject to the restriction in Section 8 Cl 4 Reg I of 1793

The only other party who may possibly advance any claims to them is the Zemindar There is no question of the heirs of the late occupant having any claims

"The Zemindar can lay claim to the *disposal of these lands only on two grounds,*

(1) if the land was included in the land assessed at the Decennial Settlement or (2) if the law gives him any right to claim even in the absence of such inclusion

(1) There is nothing to show in the records generally that these lands have been included in the assessment on the Zemindaries If any Zemindar can produce positive evidence on the point he will of course be held entitled to resume them

(2) The law itself is against the Zemindars claims The effect of the Decennial Settlement was to divide all service lands into two classes

1 Thanadary lands which by Regulation 1 of 1793 Section 8 Clause 4 were made resumable by Government because the Government took upon itself the maintenance of police duties

2 Other Chakran lands which by Regulation VIII of 1793 Section 41 were to be annexed to the Malguzari lands This includes Chowkidari Chakran

The words held in lieu of wages used in this Section may possibly be found misleading unless this Section is read with Clause 4 Sec 8 Reg 1 of 1793 Both Regulations it must be remembered were passed on the same day

In the leading case on the subject of Chakran lands (*Joy Kissen Mukerjee* vs *Collector of West Burduan*—W R I p 26 Py C D) the Zemindar was held to possess a certain right in connection with these lands because they belonged to the Second Class those falling under Sec 4 Reg VIII of 1793 I contend that Phanridary Chakran lands differ from Chowkidary Chakran in this matter and come under Cl 4 Sec 8 Reg I of 1793—viz lands resumable by Government

'The Choukidari Chakran lands were held to fall under the former class because the Choukidar performed in addition to the police duties *Zemindari duties* i e personal service to the Zemindar But the Phanridars were never found or accustomed to perform any Zemindary duties. Their functions were and are entirely police functions and therefore they fall under the head of Thanadari or Police lands, resumable by Government

If in any case the Zemindar succeeds in showing that the Phanridar had Zemindary duties also to perform his claims must be recognized But in each case the onus will be on him

If again as already stated the Zemindar succeeds in showing that Police or Thanadari lands within the estate in general or the particular land sought to be resumed were included in the land assessed as *mal* his claims must also be recognized But here also the onus will be upon him

What I suggest is that we should recognize it as a general rule upon which we can act that Phanridari lands are resumable by Government but we must be prepared to admit of exceptions when good cause is shown in particular cases

The 23rd September 1880

Sd Bankim Ch Chatterji
Dy Collector'

I am preparing a little sketch of Bankim's life His life and character should be made known to the outer world Materials of his life and work may still be available It would be a real pleasure to gather up some of his judgments I appeal to the people of Jessore Khulna Midnapore Howrah Hooghly and Alipur where he worked in different periods of his life to send me any reference to my address at Chinsurah

Bankim was a many sided genius There is a big library round about Shakespeare's life It is a pity that there is still no life of him in English The Bankim centenary would be a meaningless celebration unless we do something solid to perpetuate the memory of this great son of Bengal

Chinsurah



GOGONENDRA NATH TAGORE : THE GREAT INDIAN ARTIST

By O C GANGOLY

A CENTURY hence it would not matter how many bales of jute or cotton crossed the Bay of Bengal or how many seats were allocated in a Legislative Assembly to Mohamedans and how many to non Mohamedans but it would indeed matter what records contemporary cultural life inscribed on the tablets of history In any segment of a nation's history the problem of bread and butter and the equable distribution of material resources have tremendous consequences on the standard of life and the quality of living Yet no manner of pleas of poverty can wholly explain away the lack of impulses for cultural life and spiritual living It is indeed the moral and spiritual degeneration that precedes a period of political subjection And it is the return to the moral cultural and spiritual ideals that can alone provide the panacea for political ills And it is a fallacy to think that cultural emancipation can wait until one has achieved complete political independence or attained absolute economic salvation Where life is contaminated at the sources of spiritual energy—it is futile to expect success in any department of life And in the delicate duty of nation building—the part of a poet of an artist of a scientist is as much an essential as the leader of labour troubles or the voice of the politician And when the time comes to write a true and balanced history of India's struggle for *Swaraj* those who have toiled and battled for cultural autonomy will claim a large area of the canvas of that history Indeed those who have fought with their brushes and their pen and pencil to protect the integrity and autonomy of India's cultural possessions and spiritual ideals from the domination of foreign aggressions have not deserved less than those who have struggled for political powers or economic freedom

One such valiant and courageous soldier has passed away in the demise of Mr Gogonendra Nath Tagore—the eldest brother and invaluable collaborator of Dr Abanindra Nath Tagore—in the struggle for re establishing the independence of India's National Art It is very little known what valuable service the elder brother rendered in building up the great movement of India's aesthetic autonomy—which from a small beginning has now swelled into a mighty current which has swept over the length and breadth of India and has assembled the finest forces of national life under the banner of Indian National Art It is Mr G N Tagore, who with his indefatigable energy, built up the Indian Society of Oriental Art—the great and inspiring centre of a new national awakening in an understanding of the ideals and basic principles of Indian Art—which has now flowered out in exquisite blossoms in all parts of India That India had a great past in her spiritual achievements in Art and has an equally great destiny in the future—had to be demonstrated by actual contributions of the present And this was the bold and inspiring programme that this leader of the modern movement in Indian Art set before him about 40 years ago The banner that he helped his brother to unfurl reared up its head in Indian cultural firmament with a big query *Art in India should it be Indian or should it not be so?* It is a matter of great gratification that the challenge that the pioneer threw out decades ago was accepted and answered by numerous groups of Indian Artists who in different parts of India have preached and practised the message of *'Indianness in Indian Art'* The movement has indeed helped a self forgetful nation to find itself and to recover its spiritual soul

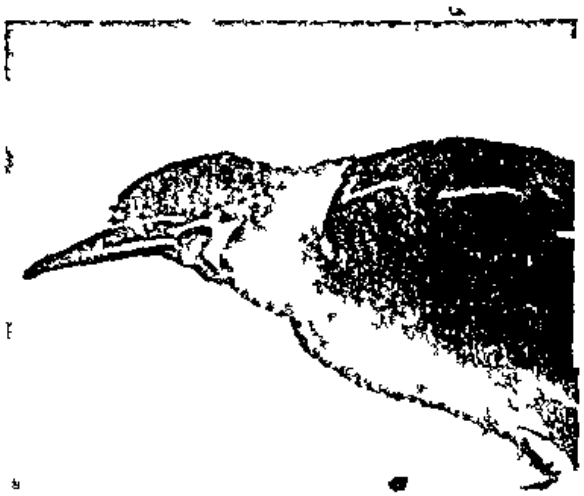
To people outside Bengal Mr Gogonendra Nath Tagore has been known as a prolific and versatile artist—of daring originality and the products of his brush have prominently figured in all exhibitions of Indian Painting in and outside Bengal for over 24 years Indeed he was undoubtedly an artist of great eminence and a devoted practitioner of his craft in diverse materials and technique and the solid output of his works stands today as an invaluable and staple part of the contribution to the building of the New School of Indian Painting—the contemporary achievement of India's National Art While his younger brother sought to study to interpret and to revive the lost threads of old artistic traditions—and to find new ways to make the ideals and technique of the Mughal and Rajput schools Mr G N Tagore from the beginning of his career abjured the paths of old tradition An Impressionist to his finger tip he sought for a time,

inspiration from the Far Eastern ways of looking at nature He found in the works of Japanese painters a cognate outlook And his earliest studies were a series of daring brush drawings of Indian crows a beautiful garland of



A brush drawing by G N Tagore

memory drawings of exquisite charm and of novel and fascinating realism These attracted the immediate appreciation of a group of European critics—and Mr Tagore's artistic talent leapt into fame as far back as 1911 In 1914 the famous Exhibition at Pavilion Marsan in Paris brought him another triumph in winning the hearts of the most exacting critics at the centre and vortex of European Art The writer had an humble part to play in selecting and organizing the Indian Pictures for this European show which was opened by the President of the French Republique and in making a rigorous selection—few artists could be represented by more than two examples Mr G N Tagore's pictures mounted up to six in number The Collection crossed the English Channel and was shown in London where also they won admiring appreciation from the best of critics This European appreciation drew Mr G N Tagore's attention to the Cubistic phases of modern European Art and he started experiments in Indian Cubism with remarkable success in original contributions It is very little known that Cubism in European Art came as an inspiration from Eastern sources—from a study of Negro Sculpture and its emphatic delineation of the facets of forms Mr Tagore sought in the forgotten masterpieces of obscure Indian paintings the methods of his new forms of Cubism which was not an imitation of the European experiments Picasso the earliest pioneer in his so-called analytical attempts began by breaking up the Crystallization of Form—and made his facets slip and lose their places in the structure leading to deformations particularly in his principles of simultaneity —that of simultaneous presentation of different facets of an object in the same picture—in a manner so abstract as to seem nearer to geometry than representation Mr Tagore never yielded to this temptation of breaking up Forms but stuck to an original method of Synthetic Cubism in which the diverse facets of a subject were skilfully woven in intriguing and dynamic patterns But the greatest contribution of Mr Tagore's Cubism lay in his dynamic rendering of *light* by skilful manipulation of diverse values of dark and white surfaces of cubes from which emanated a forceful presentation of the phenomenon of light with an actuality and realism which has never been attempted by any Western artist consciously except occasionally by Braque Tagore's dynamic presentation of light gives one a real feeling of light—its vibration and illumination its pulsating power and its suggestion of heat together with a feeling for space



A brush drawing by G N Tagore

without the formula of perspectives His was indeed a valuable contribution to the principles of Cubism His experiments in abstract methods never seduced him from the paths of realism—a peculiar realism of the Impressionistic brand For in numerous imaginative presentations of romantic and realistic scenes of proces

sions of Royal pageants or of 'Coolie's Funeral,' the Casting of the Image in the river,—in Street Scenes of Calcutta in rain or shine— Diwali Nights or Buckland Bridge —the artist never lost his grip on the actuality of life around him which he incessantly wove into fascinating patterns of lights and shadows by the wizardry of his brush His daring black and white sketches on gold backgrounds at times reached the heights of Ogata Korin In spite of his romantic presentation of themes he always remained a realist in the most modern sense of the term and the most daringly modern of Indian painters Indeed when his pictures were exhibited in Berlin and in Hamburg in 1923 the German critics praised his modernistic outlooks and some of them admired the expressionist tendencies of his nature studies and his dynamic presentation of Space And when in a group of 65 Indian paintings that the writer had the privilege of sending to the United States in 1927 for a circulating Exhibition through 68 cities three of Mr G N Tagore's pictures were included and they easily scored over their companions by the quality of their original presentations of Indian scenes and subjects In the India Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art held at the New Burlington Galleries in London in 1934 Mr G N Tagore's pictures in the words of the *Times* critic (10th December 1934) excited the greatest interest"

Yet Mr Tagore's achievements were not confined within the four corners of his little pictures His artistic talent found diverse expressions and applications As an original designer of Indian Furniture and the pioneer of modern Furniture making his contribution were unrivalled and the push that he has given to this much neglected aspect of life has put into it a new and galvanic activity and has restored a truly Indian atmosphere to modern Indian life All the furniture and appliances of the School of Indian Society of Oriental Art were designed by him and executed by a talented *achary* from Madras named Dhanuskodv Achary His genius found congenial scope in numerous productions of Indian Drama principally inspired by the poet Rabindranath Tagore and the innovations that the artist introduced into stage craft and dramatic productions have set the Indian stage on a new pedestal His production of Tagore's *Phalgoon* in the Hall of 'Vichitra in which he himself played the role of the King was eulogized by Mrs Annie Besant, who remarked that it surpassed anything that she had ever seen in Europe In an obituary notice there is no room for an elaborate analysis of his life work but the impromptu sketch of his busy career will be incomplete if one omitted to pay a tribute to his magnetic personality and the part he took in the social life of the City of his



Astrologers
By G N Tagore

birth and activity to which he so richly contributed not only by his artistic gifts but by the more material resources of his bounty and magnanimity For there was hardly an artist in Calcutta deserving of encouragement that he did not help with substantial gifts and material assistance For the poor and the needy his purse strings were always open In spite of the rich contribution of his life he deliberately avoided publicity of any manner or kind and has left to the world a volume of pictures from which to recover the lineaments of his personality After all the artist is best studied in his pictures And the pictures that he has painted have rendered signal service to the cause of national progress and national life

THE ART OF GAGANENDRA NATH TAGORE

By NIRAD C CHAUDHURI

Gaganendra Nath Tagore's death removes a figure in contemporary art whose achievement will rank high among Bengal's many notable contributions to modern Indian culture He was a remarkable painter in many respects a great painter, although his work does not yield the quintessence of its quality to the most obvious line of investigation This is due to his style which more often than not has served to put the public as well as the critic on a false scent Roger Fry once wrote that every work of art comes to us with a letter of introduction This remark may perhaps be supplemented by saying that the letter of introduction is almost always an irrelevance In Gaganendra Nath's case at any rate there seems to be no doubt that this is so While he lived and worked he was affiliated on the one hand with the school founded by his brother Abanindra Nath Tagore and on the other with the Cubist school of Europe These two schools approach the art of painting with moods and methods so irreconcilably opposed to one another that it is difficult to imagine a painter attempting to combine them except as a *jeu d'esprit* Gaganendra Nath Tagore was too serious an artist to adopt mere displays of cleverness as his life work

The truth has to be admitted that the apparent character of his style is an accidental rather than essential feature of his pictures Every thoughtful observer of his work must have noted with surprise how soon he ceased to be conscious of the convention or call it mannerism of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's art A knowledge of the 'Six Limbs of Indian Painting' or the dogmas of the Cubist and Futurist schools is not really an indispensable and distracting preliminary to an enjoyment of his drawings In fact to appraise Gaganendra Nath by means of the labels attached to him by current opinion would be wholly wrong He was another example of the real artist who adopts any convention that happens to be ready to his hand or catches his fancy yet always contrives to rise above it Had he not been the brother of the founder of the new school of Indian painting nobody it may be presumed would have thought of Gaganendra Nath as a figure in that revivalist and archaistic art movement On the contrary it is a mark of the vigour and genuineness of his artistic impulse that he was able to keep his work free from the influence of the new school to the extent he did, even while living so close to its founder and inspirer In spite of the eclecticism of his outlook, his vision and technique was very individual, and his inspiration was always direct and robust enough to override the adventitious features his alert and experiment loving mind was introducing into the pictures

If this is true of his relationship with the modern Indian school it is truer still of his affiliation with Cubism Notwithstanding popular belief to the contrary his connexion with Cubism is no more than surface deep It is not a marriage It is not even a dubious liaison It is simply a snare and a delusion for the art critic who is out to class and label him Perhaps the fact should not be disputed that the idea of composing his pictures in squares and rectangles came to Gaganendra Nath from Cubism But in the process of being filtered through his mind for his own purpose it underwent a strange sea change which is as different in its results from Cubism as Cubism itself was different from Impressionism which preceded it in time It is not often realized that a painter who employs rectangular *motifs* for creating decorative patterns is no more a member of the extremely dogmatic Cubist brotherhood than a painter who sketches in single minded devotion his visual impressions is an Impressionist The core of the Cubist dogma was to lay bare the abstract geometric structure which lies under visual appearance It very often went to the extreme length of superimposing abstract geometrical structure on visual appearance by disrupting the latter This conflict between abstract form and ocular experience, which was stridently revealed in Cubism has also been present in greater or lesser degree in every school of painting since the origin of the art It has at times pushed representation into the background and at others discounted abstract beauty of form But it never was manifest in such a disconcerting manner as in the case of Cubism The Cubists were the most uncompromising practitioners of abstraction of form in painting Gaganendra Nath Tagore's mind on the contrary worked in the reverse direction A master of beautiful geometric composition as he was, his work should yet be



The millstone of Caste
By G N Tagore



The obedient son persuaded to marry again
By G N Tagore

characterized not as aesthetic in the absolute sense but as emotive In diametrical opposition to the doctrine not only of Cubists but of even far less uncompromising adherents of the formal in painting, Gaganendra Nath Tagore's mind was fixed on creating psychological values through visual forms rather than on creating forms for their own sake

The proposition just put forward is worth pursuing a little further as it seems to cover the basic quality of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's art It needs however to be placed against a definition of the normal appeal of great painting in order to be fully intelligible Purely decorative pattern and pure representation as in a photograph stand at opposite extremes of graphic art Both are equally common and both stand on an equally crude plane so to say considered as works of art The really great painting is that in which representation combines with decorative appeal to form something which partakes of the quality of both and is yet a new thing Those who believe that there can be great painting without the representational element have only to look at decorative patterns even such lovely decorative patterns as borders of shawls or *kinkhwabs* or *pietra dura* work in a Mogul building in order to realize the relative superficiality of their appeal As a matter of fact the aesthetic instinct of man has been profoundly right in assigning to pure decorative pattern a subsidiary place the position of an adjunct or auxiliary to another great art, for decorative art as such does not possess that explosive quality, that deeper and larger significance, which is the hall mark of great art In so far as painting is concerned this explosive quality, this deeper and larger significance comes in only with the introduction of the representational element

This is not to say that great paintings make their appeal through their subject-matter that is to say, the story told in the picture On the other hand the stirring of the soul produced by great paintings seems to be quite distinct and different from the emotions roused by the memories and experiences of actual life and by the representation of such experiences in pictures To be quite explicit this implies three things first, that real appeal and value of a painting is quite independent of its illustrative content yet is not independent of its representational content, secondly, that great paintings have the power to speak directly to our innermost being by short-circuiting our ordinary psychological reactions to sensations and thirdly, that the enjoyment of works of art is a special kind of experience undergone through a special disposition of the mind It is quite possible that such a theory of the art of painting will be attacked as irrational, as substituting the woolliness of metaphysics for the clear light of reason It has also to be admitted that such a theory is not easy to demonstrate except in the case of absolute music and architecture Nevertheless a hypothesis of this kind seems to be imperatively called for in order to explain the effect on us of a work of art Without proclaiming the unrelatedness of the real appeal and the illustrative content of a picture it is impossible to understand the irresistible attack made on our sensibilities by an interior by Vermeer or a picture by Raphael, for Vermeer's canvasses depict nothing but commonplaces of Dutch home life while in almost all of Raphael's pictures, the illustrative content is of an order which touches the lowest depth of sentimental triviality

It is necessary to place Gaganendra Nath Tagore's work against this background in order to define its precise feel In discussing his relationship to the Cubist school it has already been stated that he did not seek to create abstract decorative beauty by interweaving form and colour Nor did he attempt to move us to emotion by the illustrative content of his pictures In point of fact the absence of the illustrative content was the most puzzling feature of his work so far as the average lover of pictures was concerned At the same time, in clear contrast to the work of the masters just mentioned and of others not less great he did not abandon the psychological channel of approach to our minds In contemplating his drawings one after another the impression gathers volume that all the subtleties of geometrical pattern shading of colours and representational suggestion in them converge towards one object, that of inducing a romantic mood in us On account of sheer facileness of execution this quality sometimes degenerated into sentimentality in his later work But there is no trace of this in his best productions They are all suffused by the veriest essence of romance the sublimation of even dreams and fairy-tales whose spirit passes before us in ethereal and disembodied emanation

One question however remains What relationship do such wistfully evocative works bear to the art of painting in its more abstruse and plastic aspect? The sole parallel that I can think of to this relationship is the one between absolute music on the one hand and programme vocal and operatic music on the other And the explanation is also perhaps the same in both cases Discussing the link between absolute music and the other kinds of music just referred



The Riddle
By G N Tagore

well as places They invariably embody values which are independent of time and place and personal associations In them as in all his other drawings Gaganendra Nath shows himself to be an instinctive master of the psychological implications of visual form It is by virtue of this faculty that he could lay bare the spiritual physiognomy of a man or place with the utmost economy of brush strokes

This in its turn is connected with another quality of his genius as painter He was a true painter not only in the originality and intenseness of his vision and the ease with which he could transform any conventional form into a virile and significant composition but also in his rigid adherence to the possibilities and restrictions of his chosen medium of expression In his works there is no irrelevant call for help to poetry, legend or sentiment Though he was no purist of the formal school, which he could not be by reason of his preference for psychological values in him the profundity of the psychological content owed nothing to extraneous non-pictorial elements His drawings were invoked as inspired visions and appeal through the eye alone This is a hard test for any picture All of Gaganendra Nath's work come through it triumphantly

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION EXPERIMENTS AT SRINIKETAN

By C F ANDREWS

More than a quarter of a century ago in the year 1912 I was with Rabindranath Tagore in a suburb of Western London named Ealing when a transaction was made with Major Sinha of Raipur the brother of Lord Sinha in the course of a few moments conversation whereby this old house and its surroundings at Surul were purchased I can still recollect how easily the whole matter was settled between the two friends The price offered was immediately accepted It seemed to come like a flash to our Founder that here on this very spot something great was going to happen and today after a quarter of a century we see how right he was Little did I realize at Ealing that in that transaction what is now likely to prove an important event in the history of Bengal had occurred For out of that small beginning notable things have already come to pass

In the next year 1913 when I first came to Santiniketan one of the teachers took me over the upland across the moor to Surul in order to visit the house where this new venture was to be made and where our agricultural work was likely to begin My heart sank within me as I noticed the dilapidated state into which everything had fallen Indeed the land all round the great central house had gone back into the jungle It was clearly a deadly breeding place for malarial mosquitoes

When the Poet himself came back from Europe I told him how I had marvelled at his act of faith and openly expressed to him my own misgivings but he simply brushed them aside and remained quite resolute about the future He seemed already to have foreseen in his wide vision what was going to happen

As we all fully expected malaria became from the start our most relentless foe Nearly every one who went over to live at Surul especially after the monsoon rains were over was stricken by a malignant fever We soon began to realize from our own painful experience why the whole building and courtyard had thus fallen to ruin For the place was a hot bed of mosquitoes and no one could live there for long with safety

Yet we had one singular advantage in carrying on our anti malarial campaign For Santiniketan itself standing on a rising ground was out of the danger zone and comparatively free from malarial infection This was due to the fact that its soil differed entirely from that of Surul which was on the alluvial mud soil of the Ganges valley Possibly, at one time Santiniketan had been a sand bank jutting out into the sea for the sandy soil seems to go down more than a hundred feet and the heaviest monsoon rains always dry off in a few hours

So it was possible to conduct a great part of the anti malarial campaign in the earliest days of the experiment from Santiniketan, though from the very first there were those also who had to live at Surul all the year round Little by little the thick undergrowth was cleared away the great tank was cleaned, new houses were built and things were put in order Some of these early workers such as Santosh Mozumdar have passed away but others are with us and there are a few stalwart veterans, who after more than twenty years' devoted service are still carrying on the work!

At one time under the East India Company nearly a hundred years ago this very place where Sriniketan now stands had been entirely free from malaria Indeed so salubrious had been the climate that people had come all the way up from Calcutta to "take the air The fact that large houses like 'Cheap's Kothi and the Surul house had been built in such a costly manner proves how healthy the spot must have been and how pure the air in the olden times For these massive walls, which were built in the old 'Company' days, are still standing They have even been utilized as parts of our reconstruction scheme If these walls could speak what a tale they would have to tell of old Bengal!

But as I have said when we took over possession all this healthy period had gone by The lord and master of everything was King Mosquito and we were living in Mosquito Raj

I can well remember the strenuous years that Leonard Elmhirst passed living in the upper storey at Sriniketan struggling to find a solution for this almost insoluble problem We owe to him and his wife more than to any one else the means whereby we have been able to get through the very worst times of all and to come out at last with the remarkable success that has now been achieved

Dr Muzumdar at the Science Congress in Calcutta has described the difference with regard to malarial infection between East and Bengal In the former with its



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath on Gandhi

'Mahatma Gandhi has shown us a way which, if we follow, we shall not only save ourselves but may help other peoples also to save themselves' Writes Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly*

Politicians plume themselves on being practical and do not hesitate to ally themselves with the forces of evil if they think that evil will accomplish their end But tactics of this kind will not pass the audit of the Dispenser of our fortunes, so while we may admire their cleverness, we cannot revere them Our reverence goes out to the Mahatma whose striving has ever been for Truth, who, to the great good fortune of our country at this time of its entry into the New Age, has never, for the sake of immediate results advised or condoned any departure from the standard of universal morality

He has shown the way how without wholesale massacre, freedom may be won There are doubtless but few amongst us who can rid our minds of a reliance on violence—who can really believe that victory may be ours without recourse to it For even in the Mahabharata, not to speak of the "civilized" warfare of the West, we find even *Dharma yudda* to be full of violence and cruelty Now, for the first time perhaps, it has been declared that it is for us to yield up life not to kill, and yet we shall win! A glorious message, indeed, not a counsel of strategy, not a means to a merely political end In the course of unrighteous battle death means extinction, in the non violent battle of righteousness something remains over,—after defeat victory, after death immorality The Mahatma who has realised this in his own life, compels our belief in this truth

As before, the genius of India has taken from her aggressors the most spiritually significant principle of their culture and fashioned of it a new message of hope for mankind There is in Christianity the great doctrine that God became man in order to save humanity by taking the burden of its sin and suffering on Himself, here in this very world, not waiting for the next That the starving must be fed, the ragged clad, has been emphasised by Christianity as no other religion has done Charity, benevolence, and the like, no doubt have an important place in the religions of our country as well, but there they are in practice circumscribed within much narrower limits, and are only partially inspired by love of man And to our great good fortune, Gandhiji was able to receive this teaching of Christ in a living way. It was fortunate that he had not to learn of Christianity through professional missionaries, but should have found in Tolstoy a teacher who had realised the value of non violence through the multifarious experiences of his own life's struggles For it was this great gift from Europe that our country had all along been awaiting

Wardha Educational Scheme

In the course of the Presidential Address of the last All-India Educational Conference held in Calcutta, extracts from which have been published in *The Indian Journal of Education*, C R Reddi Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, remarks

As regards the Wardha Educational Scheme formulated by Mahatma Gandhi it contains four essential points, namely (1) withdrawal of state support from University and higher education, (2) leaving Universities and technological institutions to be organised by private corporations or the industrial firms concerned, (3) making elementary education up to the age of 14 compulsory and universal, and in order to find the finances and teachers necessary to give it a directly industrial basic turn so that salable commodities could be produced and thus education be made self supporting, and (4) to conscript educated men and women so that they might serve as teachers for a stipulated period

It must be said that the Wardha Educational Scheme is splendid as a whole

Who can deny admiration for the wonderful way in which all the parts are combined into a harmonious whole Mahatma Gandhi is by no means a fanatic about his ideas like most other people He does not only invite criticism but encourages them Whatever may be the defects of the scheme it cannot be denied that it has been produced by one of the most dynamic personalities of the world When Mahatma Gandhi invited my opinion as to the Wardha Scheme I pointed out to him that he was going to transplant "Ashrama" education in the place of the system of education set up by the modern civilised world I am glad to note that the scheme has in a large measure been modified to suit modern conditions as a result of criticism advanced by the educationists It is true that Plato's *Republic* or Moore's *Utopia* cannot be adopted in practical life But who could deny the contribution they had made to human progress?

In the report of the Committee it has been clearly pointed out that the formation of a non-violent, and non-aggressive society was to be the ideal of education

People may ask themselves if such a society was possible All historical developments it has got to be remembered, have tended towards the increase of the strength of the society To become strong has been the aim in every society Consciously or unconsciously, production of power or development of strength has been the motive of all civilization Ideally it is no doubt very good but how are people going to create a non violent society? If desires are not limited if men want to enjoy in an immoderate measure, if wants are not minimised naturally, there can be no non violent society If men minimise their wants, if their wants are satisfied easily if they are to produce only what they can consume naturally, there can be no motive for aggression or competition which is prevalent in every sphere today Throughout the original scheme there has been talk of

doing away with sciences and applied sciences In fact exploitation today of one by another is carried through sciences But the applied science can be made fruitful in another way, by employing it to the development of men, now being used for purposes of aggression and destruction. If these can be put into practice, a new age will be introduced putting an end to all violence and aggression It may be that some of the advocates of the schemes may be able to introduce this new development in the world For prophets came not to accept existing conditions but to create something new

Freedom of Reason

Justice M R Jayakar's Convocation Address at the Lucknow University is reproduced in *The Progress of Education* In conclusion he observes

In the patriotic desire to popularize and reform their schemes of education there should be no interference by the new Government with the intellectual democracy of our colleges and universities It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic Government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State Their ideals of education are as the poles apart The one aims at ungrudging subservience the other at freedom An authoritarian Government, putting a premium on obedience aims at producing citizens who will be serviceable in the propagation of its political views—mere cogs in the wheel The democratic State, on the other hand, demands that its citizens should be dynamic forces to mould a new order Rebellious enterprise in thought and action will be its watchword Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless enquiry will be the ideal it will set before its youth "A thinking man is the worst enemy of the Prince of Darkness," said Carlyle, and this is ever true of all autocracies, religious or political, and often times they are masked under the guise of democracies.

It is therefore necessary that this spirit of freedom, this triumph of the human reason must be maintained at all costs within the precincts of our colleges, the nurseries of the future citizen Freedom must be fully preserved for the youth to use his own reason, to think for himself, to develop on his own lines, without the slightest interference from any one, except in the interests of discipline and corporate life. Freedom of association and discussion, methods of persuasion and argument must be strictly preserved and the individual must be left untouched by any desire on the part of the State to become a nation wide schoolmaster. The aim should be to produce extreme flexibility of mind—an intellect able to grapple with the complex problems facing the community—able to form its mind and express it without reserve or equivocation Doubt and questioning must have their due place in the mental apparatus of the youth "In his own breast" said Mathew Arnold, "every man carries about with him a possible Socrates in that power of a disinterested play of consciousness upon his stock notions and habits." This possible Socrates must be revived and set free from the debris of ready made thought

Is India Over-Populated?

In an article in the *Financial Times* Dr H L Dey deals with the above question He says:

What is the optimum population? It is that size of the population where the productivity per head is at its maximum, such that if the population were more or less than that ideal size, the productivity per head would be less than the maximum possible This is the view that is finding an increasing measure of acceptance among the leading economists of the world The theory of optimum population is the only valid theory that exists But, it must be confessed that it is a pure theory or abstract theory, logically perfect but difficult of application to the practical problems of life It does not enable us to say of any country at any particular moment whether the population is below, above or at the optimum

According to him, the greatest tragedy of the present age is not that there is poverty because of society, but that there is poverty in the midst of plenty He observes:

It, then, comes to this that we have a perfect theory of population free from the flaws and inconsistencies of the old Malthusian theory The only inference of a practical nature that we can draw from it is that there is no limit to the size of optimum population, provided knowledge, organization and capital grow as fast as, if not faster than, population In the light of this theory, one will not be justified in making a statement to the effect that in 1950, for example the optimum population for India would be, say 380 millions, and that, therefore, through the education of public opinion or through legal compulsion or regulation of marriages, etc, we ought to control the birth rates in such a way that 380 millions may be the size in 1950 And even if such an estimate were possible, it would be impossible to regulate the reproductive activities of such a huge mass of population representing every stage of culture and education

The proper attitude for us to take towards the question of population would be, not to be awed and dismayed by the vast size of our population, but to apply our intelligence and energy to the discovery of ways and means for augmenting our national income through proper inventions, organization and adjustment, and a rapid accumulation of capital

There are good reasons for suspecting that those who are always raising the spectre of over population and advocating large-scale birth-control are either suffering from some sort of Freudian complex or are persons who have developed a dismal outlook or are such people as are interested in inculcating the wrong belief in the public mind that all the ills of India are due to over population and over population alone and to nothing else. Poverty, unemployment, class struggle, communalism, diseases—the responsibility for all these evils should be laid at the door of the phenomenon of over population; nothing else can be blamed for these We can only suggest that the nation should think not twice or thrice but at least a hundred times before believing these prophets or accepting their advice For in reality, the ill founded fear of over population has arisen out of a lack of courage and energy It is the counsel of despair It bespeaks a defeatist attitude of mind And it is one of those dangerous illusions which would have us believe that there is in every case a short cut to greatness and prosperity The sooner we get rid of them, the better for us

An Early Portuguese Account of Bengal

The earliest Portuguese account of Bengal is probably to be found in a letter, addressed by

Dom Joao de Leyma, a Portuguese nobleman serving in India, to His Highness the King of Portugal from Cochin on the 22nd December, 1518 Dr Surendra Nath Sen publishes the letter for the first time in *The Calcutta Review*

"Dom Joao, my Lord spent the last cold season in Bengalla, where he wintered being always in desperate war, without concluding any treaty of peace with them

"We are told that silver coral and copper are highly prized there but still no one wanted to buy any of these things the reason my Lord was that some Guzara boats were there and they caused all possible hindrance The country is very rich, ten *fardos* of rice sell for a *pardao* of 320 *reis*, there being three *alqueires* in each *fardo* and the rice is *giracall* twenty hens and as many as sixty ducks sell for a *tanga* and three cows per *pardao*, shells are the coins of this country for none but the king can own gold or silver The people are short and speak almost like those of Goa this is because the coast of the Bay of Bengal is opposite to that of India Bengal lies 20 degrees to the north which is the altitude of Diu A slave is worth six *tangas* and a young lady double that sum At the bar of this river my Lord, there are three fathoms of water at low tide which swells from there to six fathoms at high tide The city is said to be two small leagues from the bar The city is big and populous but very weak. Here was Dom Joao for five months awaiting the monsoon for returning to India

Dr Sen remarks

It is interesting to note that the early Portuguese visitors should observe the linguistic affinity between the people of Bengal and those of Goa though their explanation is not worthy of serious consideration The Saraswat Brahmans of Goa claim to be the descendants of Bengalee immigrants. Like the Bengalees they rub their body and head with oil and, unlike their neighbours of Maharashtra freely partake of fish One of their holy places Chandranath the mountain abode of Shiva, naturally reminds us of a hill of the same name in the Chittagong district which is still frequented by thousands of Bengalee pilgrims The most popular deities are Shanta Durga and Nava Durga and the original image of Shanta Durga was, according to a popular tradition transported by thirteen Brahman families from their old home in Tirhut to their new settlement on the western coast The Saraswat like the Bengalee, is noted for the broad pronunciation of vowels and in stature and look they are so alike, that of the Saraswat differs his *pagota* (turban) or cap or the Bengalee dons it a stranger will find it extremely difficult to distinguish one from the other The Konkani language or dialect shares many words, expressions and idioms in common with Bengali The story of Saraswat migration may not therefore, be entirely unfounded and Dom Joao de Silveira and his companions were quite right when they observed that the "people of Bengal are short and speak almost like those of Goa"

The Rise of the Himalayas

In the introductory portion of his lecture which appears in *Science and Culture* delivered at Allahabad on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Allahabad University, D N Wadia says

At a period in the geological history of our earth which to compare earth history with the known human history since its earliest dawn, would be as recent as the closing years of the Moghul dynasty, the geographical outlines of India were of the haziest description and it was not separated from Eurasia by the present formidable mountain ranges which so effectively barricade it from the west, north and east One of the most closely established facts of geological science tells us of a sea, which girdled India along its north face through vast aeons of time—a true mediterranean sea which divided the northern continent of Eurasia (known as Angaraland) from a southern continent of more or less uncertain borders but which united within its compass the present disjointed peninsulas of Africa, Arabia, India and Australia (kown to geologists as Gondwanaland). Between the Deccan and the Siberian lowlands as far as the Arctic Ocean, there was then no mountain barrier of any importance, save the stunted and broken chain of the Altaids of Eastern Turkestan, and there then prevailed an oceanway which provided in the beautiful words of the hymn "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand" an uninterrupted intercourse and migration of marine animals unknown in the world of today

The rise of the Himalayas from the floor of this mediterranean sea is an epic of the geological history of Asia All the relevant facts of this event are well dated and documented in the rock records of these mountains

The Civilization of China

Prof Tan Yun-Shan of the Sino-Indian Culture Society, Nanking and Santiniketan, points out in his article in *Prabuddha Bharata* the antiquity and richness of Chinese culture

The European scholars often make the grave mistake of looking upon the Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations as the two oldest in point of time This mistake is occasioned by their almost complete ignorance of Chinese history and misunderstanding of Chinese culture I venture to suggest that the Chinese civilization is much older than either of these two civilizations The Egyptians and Babylonians have long vanished away, and the relics which have survived the onslaught of time are also few But as to China, her old chronicles are almost complete and the numberless historical records of the country point to the great antiquity of her civilization

According to old historical records You Tsao first invented houses to teach the people to live safely Sui Jen invented fire by drilling wood to teach the people to cook These discoveries took place more than ten thousand years ago Fu Hsi taught the people to catch fish with nets, animal with snares and he also taught them to sing to the accompaniment of guitars. He also laid down the formal rules of the wedding ceremony, this is the inauguration of social marriage in human society He created the Eight Diagrams which were the origin of the written characters He found the way to measure time, which is the prelude to the almanac Shen Nung invented spades and ploughs and taught the people to cultivate corns. He established a kind of market and taught the people to exchange their products. He experimented with the curative qualities of various plants, roots and leaves and thus laid the foundations of the science of medicine He also reformed the system of calendar It is to be remembered that all this took place more or less than ten thousand years ago Since then many great sages, one after another have laid the world under a great debt of gratitude by their inventions and discoveries Huang Ti or the Yellow Emperor ruled over the country about 2700 B C He was a

successful king but we remember him today most for some of the vitally important inventions connected with civilized life Amongst his *numerous useful inventions*, mention should be made of (1) cap and dress, (2) vehicle and boat, (3) mortar and pestle (4) bow and arrow, (5) compass, (6) metallic coins and (7) coffin Apart from his direct personal inventions, he had reformed and improved upon many of the things already in current use Astronomy and the system of determining the seasons, studies into the solar system are only a few of the fields he had enriched with his genius

Periodical Publications

The *Indiana* of Benares, writing editorially in its notes, observes

Some of our magazines publishing two volumes a year, call them two halves of the year or volume *Prabasi* is a typical example of those magazines For purposes of reference to their volumes we *have introduced two* symbols D and D, the former being used to denote the first half (*purvardha*) and the latter the second half (*uttarardha*) Two other magazines issued from the same *Prabasi* press, namely, *Modern Review* and *Visal Bharata* do not however call their six monthly volumes as halves of one and the same volume, but number the six monthly volumes serially from the very start Thus the current half yearly volume, for January to June 1938 of *The Modern Review* is vol 63 the magazine having completed 62 volumes in the la 31 years In our opinion it is a better method of numbering volumes so long as the two half yearly volumes of the same year are not two component parts or sections. *Prabasi* which is going to complete its 37 years of existence, in a couple of months more, having published 74 volumes (double the number of years) may very well *begin to call its next volume* as vol 75 treating the previous 37 years volumes as the first 74 volumes. The conductors of magazines would, we hope find this method to be more suitable both to themselves and to their constituents

As regards sewing and wire-stitching of publications and binding cases for volumed journals, it remarks

Sewing is always preferred. When however stitching has to be done wire stitching, by brass or copper wire rather than iron, is preferable to thread stitching unless the rough hammer strike by the bindery boy on nails spoiling the publication can be avoided Iron wire gets rusted in damp weather and disfigures and decays paper

A number of foreign periodicals supply lettered binding cases *at the end of a volume together with the title* pages contents and indexes We do not know if some Indian periodicals, also do the same If a case (or cover) seems to be too costly, a lettered title label for the back of a bound volume supplied together with the title pages, etc., may even be appreciated by a number of subscribers

Indian Christians in Bengal

Dr H C Mookerjee's Address delivered in Calcutta at a joint meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference and the Bengal Christian Conference, and published in *The National Christian Council Review*, begins with the following remarks

According to the last census, the total number of Indian Christians in Bengal is approximately 1,32,000 Of these about 26 000 live in towns and 1 06,000 in the country There are 93 towns of various sizes in Bengal. About 14 000 Indian Christians are permanent residents of Calcutta and Howrah while the rest of the Indian Christian urban population numbering approximately 12,000 live in 41 towns Thus the majority of our *community live in the country where they earn their* living as unskilled labourers agriculturists, etc Very few of them, in fact so few that they are negligible in number, own the land they cultivate Those of them who are not on the verge of destitution, share in crops raised by them with owners or leaseholders of land

These 1,06 000 Indian Christians are scattered in 27 districts of Bengal and in the two States of Cooch Behar and Tripura, the total area of which is 82,955 *square miles They live either in single families*, or in very small groups in predominantly non Christian villages scattered over this wide area. It follows therefore that Christian children of the rural areas will either have to go without education or be educated in non Christian institutions

Dr Mookerjee points out that the revival of the national spirit has not only manifested itself in politics but it has also assumed a religious form

Islam, like Christianity, has all along been characterized by an aggressive spirit The same propagandist spirit *has at last made its appearance in Hinduism*. Whereas formerly, the ascetic was content with working out his own salvation by pilgrimages fasts prayers and meditation, he has now come to realize his duty as a religious teacher and is organizing societies for the propagation of Hinduism When I was penning these lines, I had before me the Annual Report of one such society of Hindu ascetics, vowed to poverty and celibacy, one of the declared aims of which is to preach and to convert to Hinduism all classes of men as well as to *engage in social service* work, such as starting schools outdoor dispensaries indoor hospitals, etc., in out of the-way corners of this country where facilities of this kind are not available. What is more, controlled as this body is by educated *sadhus* who have developed leadership the society is doing really useful work.

The value of the propaganda *carried on* by these Hindu *sadhus* is recognized even by the Moslems In one of his books, Dr Stanley Jones says how a Muhammadan Maulvi came to a Christian friend and said, 'I hear that funds are being cut off from your mission work, and that you must close a good deal of it Why don't you come to us? We will contribute and help you rather than see this work closed, for if it is closed many of the Christians will go back to Hinduism, and we Muhammadan Maulvis have lain down on the door step of your co-religionists so that they would have to walk on our prostrate bodies in order to go and be re-converted to Hinduism.'

WORLD AFFAIRS

India's Foreign Policy

A POLITICAL philosopher anxious to find a satisfactory definition for a state, once concluded that it is the authority which possesses a foreign office and has foreign relations of its own with others The merit of the definition may be questioned But a foreign policy of a people without a state would be no less intriguing a sight for political thinkers Yet just at this hour we the people of India are presenting the world with a very curious thing—a statement on the foreign policy of the Indian people voiced through the Indian National Congress, the mouthpiece of a nation which is yet to be born, of a people who possess no state of their own—though there are so many 'Indian States' At Haripura the Congress is expressing its sympathy with China and defining its position with regard to the world situation

"In view of the grave danger of widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world the Congress desires to state afresh the policy of the Indian *people with regard to foreign relations and war* The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them Striving for their own freedom and independence *as a nation they desire to respect the freedom* of others and buildings up their strength on the basis of international co-operation and goodwill Such co-operation must be found on world order and free India will gladly *associate itself with such order and stand for disarmament* and collective security But world co-operation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remain and one nation dominates over another and imperialism holds away In *order therefore to establish world peace on an enduring* basis imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end During the past few years there has been rapid and deplorable deterioration of the international *relations Fascist aggression has increased and* unabashed defiance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of the Fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East and must therefore largely shoulder the responsibility for progressive deterioration *of the world situation* That policy still seeks arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain It is helping in the drift towards an imperialist world war

India can be no *party to such an imperialist war and will not* permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people *The Congress therefore entirely disapproves* the war *preparations* being made in India and the large scale manoeuvres and air raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India In the event of an attempt being made to drag India in the war this will be resisted"

So, the Indian people at last admit that through the inexorable logic of events they find themselves in the tangle of the times to be inalienably linked with other peoples near to the home or far away Even the Indian legislature is waking up to this consciousness Foreign relations are the close reserve in this country for foreigners They are shaped and re-shaped in secrecy according to the policy of Westminster So, it may sound rather unreal for us to talk of a foreign policy, still the talk started sometime ago, and did not start a day too soon A people seriously aspiring after independence must look around itself, as every student of public affairs or of the international affairs would recognize, if its resolve is not unreal

The Underlying Principle

The foreign policy of the Indian people as defined above lacks, however, definiteness It only states its line of approach to international questions, and, under the present circumstances, it can do little more "What would India wish—Japanese imperialism to conquer China and grow into a real menace to the British imperialism in the East? or China to beat the imperialists and remove the future menace of Indian liberty?" put an eminent American journalist to one of the Congress leaders It was difficult to answer The Congressman admitted this "Well, as the under dog we are always in sympathy with under dogs But the question would be simplified for us if only the Britishers put down their feet on any of these sides We would then jump over to the other" Perhaps the problem is not so simple India would hardly in her present mood rob China of her liberty But nonetheless her foreign policy is negative—she would refuse to further the interests of her own opponents *In her present political status this is quite understandable and probably wise, for, a people whose very life is blighted by negation of rights can have only a negative policy of resistance and challenge*

India and the Far East

In international politics sympathy counts for little—especially in these days Abyssinia had had enough of sympathy, and indeed the

Negus was deceived by it to an audacious resistance which ended so miserably The Spanish republicans get more sympathy than help China has none of the latter and the very sincere expression of the former from all quarters except Italy and some others as was seen at the Brussels Conference But, to quote Professor Shelley Wang in the *Labour Monthly* (November, 1937)

She has learnt that sheer sympathy will not stop the Japanese invasions On the contrary the failure of translating sympathy and protest into concrete action has merely emboldened Japan to go on with her crimes, impervious to universal condemnation which she holds *in utter contempt* Sanctions, (advised the writer) can stop the war Continued supplies of oil cotton and other materials *help Japan to go on with the slaughter* of Chinese men women and children Loans help Japan to carry on her undeclared war on China *All trade* with Japan means assisting her in getting the means of taking heavier toll of lives in China. But the full application of sanctions, if they were enforced rigidly and faithfully, will bring Japan 'down to her knees'

But, while we Indians have been talking of boycott or sanction, Indian cotton that was to find its way to Japanese factories is lying in stock unsold and the Berar cotton-grower is feeling what the boycott may mean This crisis in cotton market incidentally, has only served to give the Bombay mill owner an additional advantage Busy with manufacture of armaments Japan has even to import Bombay cotton goods from him His 'patriotism' and his cry of 'boycott Japanese' will not prevent him to avail of it fully whatever be the plight of the cotton grower, the worker or the consumer of the Swadeshi or of China

Meanwhile Japan is advancing through the very heart of China, and, the ruthless march is laying low every opposition of the Chinese The only hope of China lies in her bulk and number, and perhaps in a long continued resistance by guerilla warfare But the Japanese know that well enough and are prepared for it So far none of their plans has miscarried in spite of the dismal predictions of her critics *The Living Age* (January 1938) reminds its readers editorially

In its sympathy with China the world has not yet grasped the phenomenal efficiency of the Japanese military machine in the art of invasion Liaison between the Navy Army and Supply Departments has been excellent Even allowing for the Chinese collapse after the Hang chow Bay landing the Japanese Staff seems to have made no mistakes of consequence Operations of a similar kind in the past have invariably been badly bungled, the American landing in Cuba the British campaign in South Africa, the ill fated Dardanelles and Mesopotamian expeditions and Sarrail's exasperating postponements of his push at Saloniki This proficiency of the Japanese in conducting vast operations overseas without delay may well become a perpetual night mare to the Philippine Commonwealth, to Australia and to the European Powers which have possessions in the Far East

Japan's objectives were sketched by the Tanaka Memorial as clearly as ever in 1927 It stated

"*In order to conquer China, we must first conquer* Manchuria and Mongolia In order to conquer the world *we must first conquer China If we succeed in conquering* China the rest of the Asiatic Countries and the South Sea Countries will fear us and surrender to us than the world will realise that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago Asia Minor Central Asia and even Europe But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step if the Yamato race wishes to distinguish itself in continental Asia."

Even to us Indians this is no secret, only we need take no alarmist view of a possibility that as Pandit Jawaharlal reminded at Haripura was yet remote,

A Japanese or German or Italian invasion of India is to forget the realities completely and to live in a world of fantasy Japan is further away from India for all practical purposes, than England is The land route is entirely closed and impossible of passage even for aircraft The sea route is very long and terribly dangerous and cannot be negotiated till Japan is master of the sea and air and Britain and the United States have been wholly disabled Japan cannot think of coming to India till she has absorbed the whole of China, a task almost *certainly beyond her competence and resources. Even* after that the next countries on the list are Australia *and Philippine Islands and the Netherlands India.*

It is equally fantastic to think in terms of a German or *Italian invasion of India Both these countries will* have their work cut out for them in Europe and their objectives lie in Europe or North Africa. But if by any chance the Fascist Powers gain an overwhelming victory in a world war and the world lies prostrate before them then of course anything might happen. Even so, India will not go as a gift to anybody She will resist the invader to the utmost and in spite of lack of military and such like resources she has developed enough strength and technique of her own method of struggle to make an invasion a terribly burdensome operation We have to struggle today with an entrenched system which has dug itself deep into our very soil It will be far easier to deal with a new-comer who comes with hostile intentions.

—(*A B Patrika*)

But Sir Ian Hamilton who knows the Japanese from the days of the Russo-Japanese War told recently an English audience

How monstrous it will seem to posterity that through out 1937, the European nations should have been quarrelling like dogs over a bone about Spain which has not the least intention of allowing itself to be gnawed by any outsider

The Emperor is marching from the Island of the Rising Sun. His fighters drink up the great rivers of China The smoke of their bombs makes dark the air

His road is clearly marked—Hankow Hong Kong Singapore, Bhamo, Burma, Assam Bengal That is the prospect if nothing is done Nothing less than Europe united can definitely hold up that army

The Far East and the European Powers

Europe may herself be the theatre of war by no less rapacious powers So, the European powers who have interests in the Far East have to be satisfied with their diplomatic protests and the Japanese diplomatic expression of regrets This saves the face, though it does not save Britain's or France's interest or prestige

Britain at any rate must not be drawn in in this phase of the struggle for supremacy in the East She is to arm herself at this hour thoroughly, before the Japanese conquest and assimilation of the vast country is completed so that when the hour of decision comes she may be found fit and ready for it The Singapore Base was recently opened Yet Singapore is now outflanked as an eminent English military correspondent reminds us

> Let us examine Japanese policy apart from her desire to wield influence on the North East frontier when complete control of China is obtained The Japanese will never forgive us the severance of the alliance after she had served the Allies in the War Our decision meant the building of Singapore Base and brought in its train the policy of neutralizing the Base Japan's first essential is to creep down the coast of the South China Sea and take up a position between Hongkong and Singapore An extension from that position would outflank Singapore and there are indications that the scheme is to obtain a concession from Siam to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Kra about 700 miles north of Singapore A glance at the map will show how she would get behind the new gateway base and touch right in to Victoria Point Burma France wanted to make this canal some years ago as a safeguard for Indo China but did not proceed with the idea and the Japanese at once began to establish influence in Siam A waterway through the 55 miles of land would take Japanese ships from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean out of range of Singapore To be sure we are fortifying Penang but even that is distant from any northern cut through the Isthmus. Developments on these lines could only mean an ultimate Japanese squadron in the Indian Ocean and perhaps considerably increase the flooding of India's markets with cheap Japanese goods In the long view there is the possibility of Japanese power being felt on the land side of India where China touches the frontier, and by way of the southern waters

The Far East and America

A clear indication of the American intentions in solving the Chinese puzzle would perhaps be helpful for Britain But after the refusal of the Stimson offer by Sir John Simon during the Manchurian crisis in 1932, the U S A are not going to move away from their "peace and neutrality policy" and throw themselves again into the arms of the "perfidious Albion" This attitude got further support from the recent turn in British foreign policy Of course America has her own interests on the Pacific—the Phillipines, the fishing interests disregarded by the Japanese, and lastly, the old policy of Open-door in China" and "the territorial integrity of China' For the present her answer to all Japanese challenge is a big navy and a gigantic armament programme, and, a demand in company with France and Britain to know the plan of Japanese naval building Japan necessarily refused it, but she cannot stop the U S A from building a formidable fleet

The Far East and the Soviet

The only other factor in the Far Eastern politics is the Soviet Russia—an incalculable force which may again favour China by her alliance as a result of the understanding between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang But the U S S R did not appear to be very vigorous when they were challenged on the Amur by the Japanese Russia is no doubt busy preparing feverishly on the Baikal which has been characterized as the key to Asia by a correspondent in the *News Chronicle*

> In this part of the world history and geography are both in the making To understand why Baikal is a potential storm centre we must look eastward.
>
> On the East, Outer Mongolia borders upon Japan's puppet State of Manchukuo, and upon Inner Mongolia. The Trans Siberian railway, which skirts Lake Baikal, continues through the Buryat Republic and then for a thousand miles runs close to Japanese territory, at some points only a few miles distant But it does not run in a straight line At Khabarovsk, the headquarters of the Far Eastern Red Army the line turns southward down Russia's Maritime Province to Vladivostok And Vladivostok is only a few hours by air from Japan's great industrial centres
>
> There is no doubt that Japan has her agents among these people She has, indeed confessed to harboring a scheme for an 'independent' Mongolia which should unite the 2 000 000 Mongols living in Manchukuo the 1 500 000 Mongols of Inner Mongolia the 750 000 of Outer Mongolia and the 500 000 in the Buryat, who are at present Russian citizens.
>
> Japan has even promised the feudal lords of Inner Mongolia the whole Province of Hsingan if they will further this scheme The stakes in this mighty chess game are enormous and are not all political Siberia as a whole is the richest region in the world still largely unexploited
>
> Outer Mongolia which Russia must continue to control if she is to hold her Eastern Empire is also not negligible economically
>
> The strategic importance of Outer Mongolia however, is the dominant factor To the Japanese Outer Mongolia is the key to Baikal and the cutting of communication between Moscow and the Far East To the Russians Outer Mongolia is the corridor to China and the still unexploited parts of Asia
>
> Nothing is certain but the sands appear to be running out from the Japanese hour glass Time favours the Russians To begin with the Far Eastern District is rapidly becoming impregnable from the military view point No longer is it an army 6 000 miles from its base which could be cut off and starved out

Twenty years of solid economic and social reconstruction lends to the credit of Moscow and the recent purge however astounding and distasteful to the world at large are said to have left it strong in morale so as to enable Stalin himself to refer to the anti Comintern pact and to accept the challenge if it comes from Rome and Berlin and Tokyo Naturally Stalins eyes are sharp and watchful even though to his Communist compatriots they may appear to have lost their revolutionary dreaminess and fire and brilliance He must save the U S S R from the counter revolutionary forces that surround her and thus keep Communism in saddle in Russia so that international Communism in other lands may in that success find hope and courage for itself The enemies of Moscow at the moment are too many Poland Greece Rumania (with or without the short lived Goga regime) are almost at a striking distance while the arms of Hitler are long enough to strike her even in her heart the Ukraine *Europe is in the grip of* Fascism

Nazism in Triumph

Around Hitlers totalitarian Germany and Mussolinis corporative Italy revolves today the politics of all Europe This Fascism bound Moscow and Paris together Prague to Moscow and brought London nearer to the two The Spanish tragedy drags on its barbarous course in which Fascism and Republicanism with Communism as its ally are contending—a prelude as the ideologues hold to the real war under the shadow of which the world lives today Meanwhile Hitler has indulged in a slorter purge The military heads of the General Staff General Von Fritzch and Marshall Von Bloemberg are gone—one imprisoned the other removed—and the top of the army Nazized at one stroke Even in their wildest dreams the Hohenzollern would never think of challenging the Prussian militarists in this way Yet the army has yielded and Germany though voiceless looked probable vengeance But the Fuehrer was ready with his trick of external success to appease the Germans Quick came his invitation to Schuschnigg the Austrian Chancellor and an eleven hours talk and marshalling of forces on the Austrian border *made that* unreasonable man see reason in Hitler proposal to give the important post of the Ministry of Interior and police administration in Austria to Hitler nominee an approved Nazi The Fuehrer now can turn to Czechoslovakia He triumphantly talked of his achievements and even of 'not tolerating a free press in Britain In a day Austria has been reduced to vassalage—and the good Catholics of Austria no more can count on Mussolini to move his soldiers on the frontier nor on the allies who pledged Austrian sovereignty opposed in the pre Hitler days even an Austro German trade agreement and resisted the Austrian wish for a restoration of the Habsburg House Il Duce is silent now probably sullen or more probably he was sounded beforehand by the Berlin dictator Any way it remains to be seen how the Berlin Rome axis works on after Hitlers triumph in Austria and Britains recent attempt to please Mussolini

British Policy

The outstanding event of the month in political affairs is the split in the British Cabinet Mr Anthony Edens resignation has advertised clearly the the rift that existed within it over the question of its foreign relations The autograph letter of the British Premier to Mussolini and Lord Halifaxs visit to Hitler showed the mind of the British upper classes who in spite of the rebuffs from the two dictators and their professed faith in the democratic principles recognise that in the inevitable division of the world in coming days into rival ideological camps their fate was bound to be linked with that of the Fascist powers Mr Chamberlain has therefore to break with his Foreign Secretary though the Italian press was still continuing its Radio war in Arabic in the Near East against Britain and shows no signs of agreeing with Britain on the Spanish or any other question For the present the retreat from the League policy will be covered up by an admission of the claims of *Realpolitik—in* advantages of Anglo Italian understanding by a recognition of the Abyssinian conquests of Italy and granting of a large loan to Italy to balance her budgets by Great Britain and the withdrawal in return of volunteers from Spain by Italy These are calculated to buy a safe Empire route in the Mediterranean and politically at the moment when Hitler has just got Austria under his virtual sway against the will and interest of his dictator partner Mussolini drawthese two anti British partners a little apart Of course Berlin is already noting that and the Nazi would never allow the Berlin Rome axis to weaken Now that Eden is off they would rather ask this Anglo Italian negotiation to broaden into an Anglo-German Italian negotiation on the basis in addition to the above of a return of the old German colonies Can Britain agree to that? She has to, if Mussolini

and Hitler stand together and the British upper classes, who are behind the Chamberlain cabinet and its policy of appeasing the Fascist dictators, remain in power. The return of the German colonies is not an academic question with the German or British diplomats today. Lord Lothian hints in the *International Affairs* (Nov.-Dec. 1937) that a return of the former German colonies is not a bad bargain to buy off Hitler though Mr. Wickham Steed may compare it to the Danegeld. The question is examined by Harold Nicholson in the *International Affairs* (Jan.-Feb. 1938).

Are we correct in assuming that Germany would be "satisfied" were we able to return to her those colonies which she possessed in 1913? Even when she possessed those colonies in undisputed and unconditional ownership she was still clamouring for her place in the sun.

"What Germany wants is power." She knows very well that the return of her former colonies (even if that were feasible) would diminish rather than increase her power. I regard Herr Hitler as a most consistent man. I believe that what he himself desires is contained in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. What he desires is *Grund und Boden*, or in other words territorial and economic acquisitions in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Such acquisitions might lead him into conflict with Russia. If he is to succeed in that conflict he must assure that he is protected in the rear, that he has the necessary *Rückendeckung* as against France. In order to sterilise France he must sterilise England. Yet what does he possess wherewith to purchase our neutrality? He has no real assets at all. Therefore he creates an artificial asset, the Colonial Propaganda. He can now offer us the abandonment of his claim for the colonies in return for a free hand in the East. If we take his colonial demands at their face value, then he at least obtains some colonies which will please his people. If we refuse his demands, then he can claim in compensation our neutrality in his European ambitions. It is for this reason so important that we should not surrender one inch of colonial territory without obtaining in return precise assurances in regard to Germany's European ambitions. To restore the colonies in return for German 'friendship' would be to exchange a substance for a shadow. It is for this reason that I am opposed to any colonial concession except as part of a general settlement.

Yet, if Italy and Germany hold together, the present British Cabinet will have to yield on this question too, for the combined forces of the totalitarian states are too strong to be challenged by Britain. The only hope of asserting himself, the Britisher knows as a practical man who does not talk much of *Realpolitik* or *Machtpolitik*, is to re-arm thoroughly and win over suitable allies. If only America could be persuaded to see that Britain means to 'make the world safe for democracy'. Mr. Wickham Steed undertook this on a mission to America and in the Chatham House spoke of his American experiences. The extracts to follow show how an adept British publicist woos a country with a draft policy.

This draft policy has not yet been made public in Great Britain but it has been agreed to by some members of all parties and I will quote its main lines.

The aim of British policy should be to uphold and defend the vital interests and free civilisation of Great Britain and the British Commonwealth and in co-operation with other countries, to safeguard peace. The methods of attaining this aim are (a) to ban aggressive violence from international relations, to restore respect for treaties and covenants and for this purpose (these are very important words) to raise and to keep the armed strength of Great Britain and the Commonwealth up to whatever level may be needed, (b) to co-ordinate through the League of Nations and otherwise political, economic and military strength so as to deter and if need be to resist armed aggression, (c) to discountenance and counteract aggression in the form of propaganda, (d) to promote impartial inquiry into international grievances and peaceful redress of proved wrongs.

While recognising that all civilised peoples are entitled to choose their own political and social systems, British policy must nevertheless seek to support at all times the positive principles of responsible individual freedom under representative democratic government, upon which the British Commonwealth is founded. Among these principles are respect for individual human rights, toleration of racial, religious and political differences and free association between the members and sections of the community, all of which are essential conditions of the establishment of peace. British policy, therefore, must oppose in the international sphere intolerance and recourse to arbitrary violence. It must favour methods of impartial inquiry and peaceful adjustment and the willing acceptance of a common law of nations and it must be ready to join others in withstanding breaches of this law as the only way to diminish armaments and to create peace.

I spoke in public in the United States only once or twice but I spoke confidentially to the Council on Foreign Relations, to the Foreign Policy Association, to the New York Jewish Committee, to the Harvard Club, and various other gatherings. I met also some responsible executive officers of the United States. In all quarters I was assured that our draft policy is in accord with American ideas and I was asked whether I could give them the assurance that it was or would be British policy. I said "I cannot. I can only tell you what some of us are trying to do."

The speaker of course noted the Chicago speech of President Roosevelt. But certainly the Chamberlain Government as the move to open negotiations with Mussolini proves do not share his hope or faith in "democratic front" and America knows British foreign policy is in the hands of Mr. Chamberlain and not of Mr. Steed.

World Economics

A survey of the world affairs today thus leaves no doubt in the mind that the world appears to be 'deeper in cynicism and disorder, more tangled in intrigue than ever before'. Even the economic facts hold out no great hope. There has been, no doubt, a slow emerging from out of the slump that overtook the world in 1929 but how far this is based on permanent

and really firm foundations, and how far this prosperity itself reflects the disease of the world a result of its maddened hurry to re-arm—is a question that remains yet to be seen Already America is said to be facing another slump which is to overtake others How the world fared economically before this can, however, be seen from a League of Nations publication *World Economic Survey*, Sixth Year, 1936-37 (summarised in the *International Affairs*, Jan Feb , 1938)

World industrial activity continued to recover, and is now back to its 1929 level, even when the U.S.S.R (*where industrial production has quadrupled*) *is* excluded On the other hand, it is far lower than it would be had the normal rate of expansion of at least 3 per cent per annum been maintained since 1929 One important stimulus at least since 1936, has been rearmament, which is estimated to affect 60 per cent of industry The world spent two and a half to three times as much on armaments in 1936 as in 1933 But the relative importance of armaments expenditure varies widely in different countries In Japan it represents one-fifth of the national income, in the United States one-fiftieth

International trade continues to lag behind industrial production, although if the U.S.S.R. is omitted the gap is not very wide, trade having recovered to 98.3 per cent. of its volume in 1929, whilst industrial production has reached 107 1 per cent of its 1929 level On the other hand, the recovery in trade is primarily accounted for by increased demand for raw materials Trade in manufactured goods in 1936 was still only 75 per cent of its volume in 1929 The crisis barriers to international trade remain even though the factors which may have justified their erection, exchange instability and falling prices, have disappeared.

World unemployment at one time three times as great as in 1929 was only twice as great in the middle *of 1936, and falling rapidly Social legislation proceeded* apace a striking example being the law securing four weeks' paid holiday annually for agricultural labourers in New Zealand.

In discussing the recent "gold scare," the *Survey* argues that "the glut of gold in some countries and its scarcity in others reflects, not a superabundance of gold *in general, but an international disequilibrium* based upon fundamental economic and political rather than monetary, causes Only by a greater rise in prices in the gold receiving than in the gold losing countries, coupled with freer imports into the gold receiving countries, could the flow be reversed and the stock of gold be more evenly distributed" Elsewhere it is pointed out that the inflow of foreign capital into the United States throughout 1935 and 1936 amounted to "over $3 500 000 daily including Sundays and holidays"

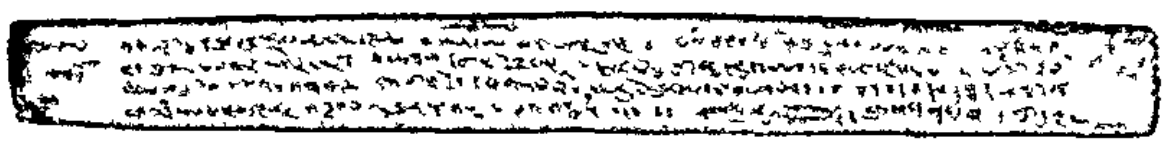
Are we again approaching the end of the cycle?

Economists have often put faith in their own science for a solution for the present troubles They prophesy a break-down for Germany (Herr Shacht is no more the Economic dictator), an exhaustion for Japan, a *failure of the Abyssinian investment of* Mussolini But we should remember that a people, which is in a mood to suffer privations for the sake of any vision, true or false, can put up with incredible difficulties The Bolshevists proved it for long years, the Italians did the same during the Abyssinian campaign and are still doing so along with the Germans and the Japanese Until the ship of state founders on some rock—probably a first class war—economics does not play the role that economists attribute to it

And is the world drifting towards that cataclysmic fate? Or, will nations, fully conscious as they are of the strength of their opponents, wait and wait, in spite of every temptation to plunge themselves headlong until the mad heat will be passed? There is no guessing where the forces lead the world today

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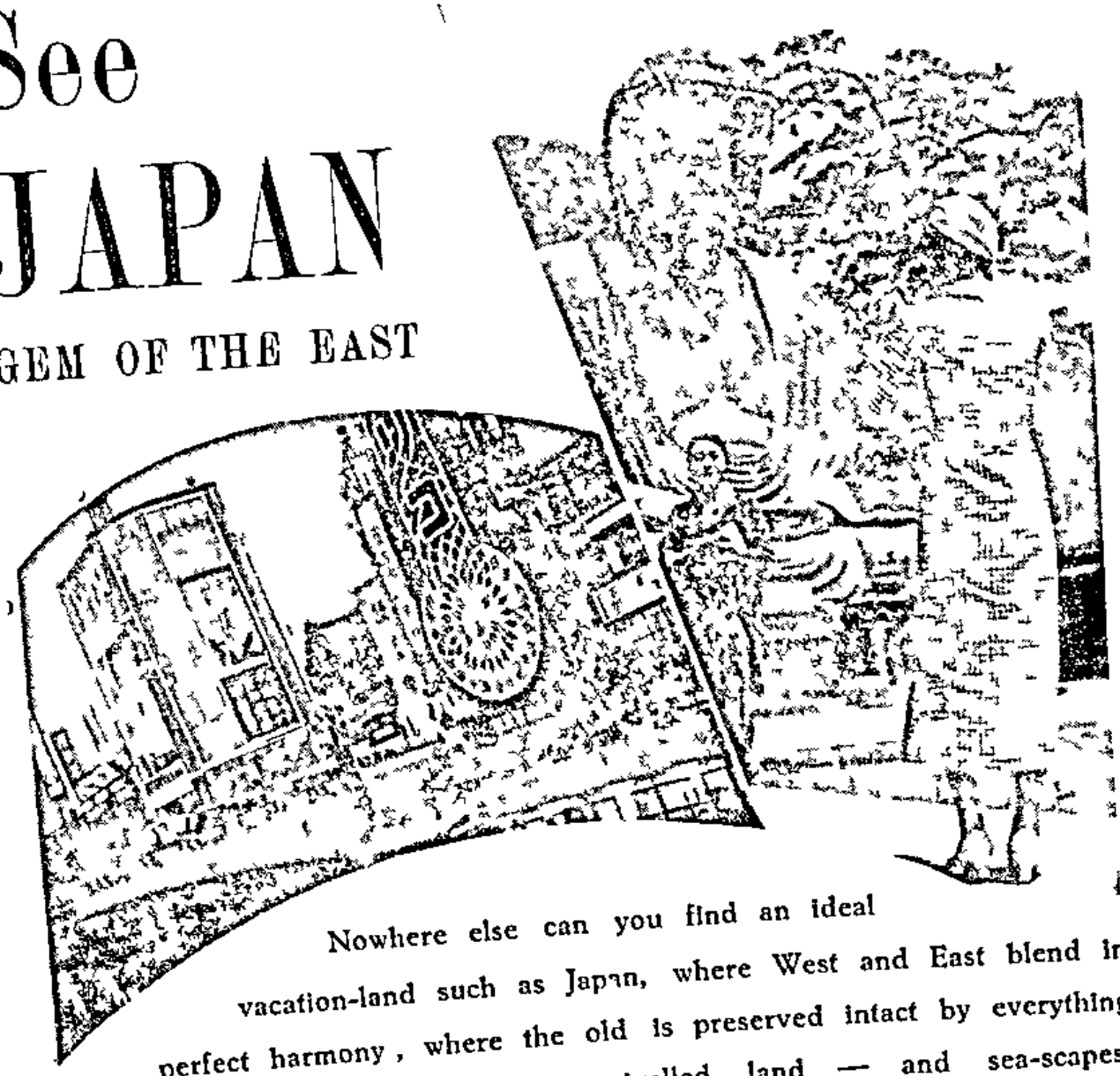


Kushan and Scythic coins Bronze figures

[See Exploration of Dengaposh in Keonjhar State, p 303]

See JAPAN

GEM OF THE EAST



Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony, where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land — and sea-scapes

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

Notes

Mahatma Gandhi To Be Proposed For Nobel Peace Prize

A cablegram, dated Oslo (Norway) February 14, 1938 has it that the Norwegian organization of the Friends of India states "Mahatma Gandhi will be proposed as a candidate for this year's Nobel Peace Prize."

No worthier name can be proposed. It ought to have been proposed long ago. But better late than never as the proverb goes.

Among those who have received the Nobel peace prize up to date there was no one who got it for having actually established peace in the world. They got it, because their work and influence were believed to make for peace.

The Nobel Peace Prize should go to one who works for world peace and who is absolutely opposed to war on any account, if such a person can be found. Mahatma Gandhi is such a man. He believes in *ahimsa* or non-violence not as a mere policy, but primarily as a spiritual principle which is also binding in the political and economic spheres.

If any wars be defensible and justifiable, they are those waged for freedom, liberation, independence. The question, therefore, arises if all wars are to be condemned and avoided what is the effective substitute for wars of independence which is morally justifiable. Mahatma Gandhi believes that *satyagraha*, of which soul force, civil disobedience, passive resistance are approximate free renderings is such a substitute for war.

But is it an effective substitute, so far as the attainment of freedom and independence is concerned?

To have recourse to *satyagraha* for the attainment of freedom and independence and to take up arms for the same purpose are as poles asunder as means to an end. A sufficiently long period of time must be allowed for demonstrating the efficacy of the new method. Mahatma Gandhi has been doing all that is possible to ensure its success. Many a time he has risked his life in the pursuit of *satyagraha*. Many co-workers and followers of Mahatmaji have likewise done so. The result so far obtained is not unpromising.

One of the most potent causes of war is imperialism. Pacifism and imperialism cannot, therefore go together. Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to imperialism. His pacifism is sincere. If a citizen of an imperialistic country wants to sincerely oppose war he must become an anti-imperialist. For imperialism promotes war either directly or indirectly. Without war no empire can be built up, and the preservation of an empire also necessitates war. Nor is this all. The very fact that a nation owns an empire and is in consequence wealthy and powerful, incites other nations to exert themselves to build up empires by means of aggressive wars. The last great world war, Italy's war in Abyssinia and Japanese aggression in China are examples.

Capitalism is nearly allied to militarism and imperialism. The capitalists of all industrial nations produce more manufactured goods by power-driven machinery in their big factories than are required for home consumption. Therefore they require foreign markets. If the foreign countries where these goods can be sold are their dependencies which are prevented directly or indirectly from remaining or becoming industrially self-sufficient that is considered very lucky for the industrial nation. Hence all powerful industrial nations wish to have dependencies or subject countries, miscalled colonies, both for obtaining raw materials at cheap prices for manufacture and for the sale of manufactured goods. The obtaining of dependencies and keeping them in subjection involves war.

No means have yet been thought of and no steps taken to control and restrict the manufacture of goods in factories to such an extent as to obviate the evils of capitalism pointed out above. Unrestricted manufacture leads to

economic war, which may lead and has often led to actual war

All this shows that pacifism and capitalism as it exists today can not go together

Mahatma Gandhi is for obtaining all the service to humanity that he can from all classes of men, including the wealthy As he said in a speech at Quilon on the 16th January, 1937

> If all the princes would call themselves servants of God they would be correctly describing themselves but they cannot be servants of God unless they are servants of the people And if zamindars and monied men and all who have possessions would treat themselves as trustees and perform the act of renunciation that I have described this world would indeed be a blessed world to live in

Though Gandhiji has never declared himself in favour of any class war and has not denounced capitalism and capitalists in the way some other leaders of men have done, the very great importance which he attaches to spinning and hand weaving and other village industries (which are all cottage industries) shows that he has discovered a key to world peace which many other pacifists have not perhaps done

It is not our object here to discuss whether big factories and capitalism can be entirely dispensed with In some places in India cotton mills cannot meet even provincial demands, and therefore whatever other evils may be due to them, they cannot lead to dumping and war We wish only to show that Gandhiji's ideals and activities are all conducive to world peace

As Gandhiji is against political and economic imperialism, so is he opposed to religious imperialism Religious imperialism—the belief of some religious communities that their religion is the only true religion or that it is the best and that all other communities must be converted to their faith, has in the past led to many wars, and may again, indirectly and in a disguised form, do so in the future Gandhiji believes in the equality of all religions is against proselytizing and is in favour of all men living according to the best ideals of their own religions and at the same time learning from other religions He is thus against religious imperialism which has been and may again be directly and indirectly the cause of many wars

Here again it is not our intention to discuss whether it is right to rule out all conversions Our object is merely to point out that Gandhiji's belief in the equality of all religions is calculated to promote peace and goodwill among the followers of all religions

Racialism and racialists have caused many wars and may do so again Mahatma Gandhi is not a racialist He does not believe in the innate superiority of some races and is not guilty of fomenting race hatred He is a lover of man The life, character, idealism and words and deeds of a man like him are calculated to promote peace and goodwill among men

There is at present no man living in any country who enjoys to a greater extent the love and respect of a larger number of men of his own country and of outsiders That itself makes for peace

Britain's power and wealth, due directly and indirectly to India's subject condition, have roused the envy and jealousy of many nations leading them to aggressive attempts at similar self aggrandisement Therefore, one principal condition precedent to world peace is the liberation of India Among men now living no one has been doing more for India's political freedom and independence than he This is Mahatma Gandhi's last but not the least, claim to recognition as the greatest living promoter of world peace

How India's Subject Condition Menaces World Peace

More than a decade ago the late Dr J T Sunderland of America, than whom there never was a greater friend of India in any foreign country, pointed out in *The Modern Review* that it had been repeatedly declared by European statesmen that the real cause of the world war of 1914-1918 was India's subject condition Great Britain's possession for more than 150 years, of so vast and rich an empire in Asia as India is, had been all the while kindling jealousy, envy and lust of conquest in the breasts of the other leading nations of Europe They had looked on with envy and said If Great Britain holds her vast and rich Indian possessions as the result of conquest, why should we not also conquer rich and lucrative possessions?

Herbert Adams Gibbons writes in his book *The New Map of Asia*

> "No one can understand the foreign policy of Great Britain which has inspired military and diplomatic activities from the Napoleonic wars to the present day who does not interpret wars diplomatic conflicts treaties and alliances territorial annexations extensions of protectorates all with the fact of India constantly in mind

This is true For the larger part of the wars which England has fought during the last two centuries have been directly or indirectly caused by India And perhaps England fought more wars during this period than any other nation

Lajpat Rai on Subject India As A Menace to World Peace

Lala Lajpat Rai wrote to a foreign friend of his

"The problem of India that is, the problem whether great India is to be bond or free is not only an important problem to Great Britain but it is one of the gravest possible concern to the whole world It is a question upon which more perhaps than any other whatever the future peace of Asia Europe and the whole world *depends*

"India is such a huge slice of the earth and contains such an immense population that no person interested in world affairs can ignore its importance India's human potentialities of all kinds are very great Commercially it is strategic for nearly half the globe It is the key to the Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger *part of the Orient This is why militarism and* imperialism have always looked upon it with eyes of greed This is why India has inspired Alexanders Tamerlanes Napoleons Wellesleys Czars and Kaisers with visions of world-empire This is why for two centuries Great Britain has shaped her foreign diplomacy her military plans and her imperial policy with a *constant eye to strengthening her hold on India*, her richest province her greatest source of wealth and prestige This is why she has carried on so many wars to guard the borders of India, to keep open her road to India to weaken any nation that might endanger her possession of *India*"

As regards the future the patriotic Lala went on to add —

"Nor will India in the future be any less an apple of discord among the nations a source of endless plottings, jealousies, intrigues and wars so long as she remains a subject *people*—a rich prize *to be coveted* sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety and the only promise of peace and safety for the Orient or for Europe lie in her freedom in her ceasing to be a pawn on the chessboard of the world's diplomatic imperialistic and capitalistic plottings and in her power to protect herself a power which she will abundantly possess if free In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can ensure peace to the world so long as a great civilized nation, located in the very centre of the world's greatest continent and possessing one-*fifth of the entire population of the globe, is in bondage* We see therefore why the problem of India's freedom or bondage is not only a world problem but a problem more fundamental to the world's peace and safety than any other whatever"

Consequence of the Subjection of India

Ever since the eighteenth century the subjugation of India by Great Britain has stirred up perpetual rivalries jealousies strifes plots hatreds and wars among the nations of Europe That is but another way of saying that India held in subjection held as a rich prize by one European nation and coveted by the rest has been the leading influence in turning all Europe into an armed camp and thus making inevitable the terrible conflict which began in 1914 Nor can things be permanently better so long as India remains a subject land, that is, so long as this prime cause of the plottings, jealousies and hostilities of nations continues

If about a quarter of a century ago Britain had admitted India to partnership within the British Empire making her a self-ruling *Dominion like Canada Australia, etc, Germany* would never have dreamed of her Berlin to Bagdad *railway project Germany* went into the great war—which became a world war—believing that India was the British Empire's weak spot and that the Indian people would take the war as an occasion to revolt against their British rulers Who knows whether Japan also is not labouring under some such misconception? This mistake would not have been made by Germany if India had been a free country or at least a contented partner in the British Empire and in consequence there would not probably have been the last great world war

On July 14th 1917 Mr Lloyd George then the prime minister of Great Britain sent *a telegram to the prime minister of Russia* saying

"There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established *from one end of Europe to the other*"

He did not add what was quite as true and quite as important There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established *from one end of Asia (including India of course) to the other*'

The Allies in the world war all saw plainly and declared that there could be no permanent peace in Europe unless Belgium was helped to remain free and Serbia and Poland were given freedom Why could not they all see the same with regard to Asia especially India? A few *of them who saw this were overruled' All of* them ought to have realized that a peace settlement *with India still in subjection would leave* her as in the past one of the principal danger *spots if not the danger spot of the world* And perhaps more than in the past for India has *risen to a new self consciousness to a new sense* of her wrong and her humiliating condition to *a new determination to be free*

Key to World Peace in "Isopanishad"

In some of his speeches in Travancore last year Mahatma Gandhi gave lucid expositions of the first *mantra* or verse of *Isopanishad* The last part of that verse *'ma gridhah kasyasvid dhanam,"* means do not covet anybody's wealth or possession" Referring to this and

other precepts contained in the verse, Gandhiji said "The moment you carry out these precepts you become a wise citizen of the world, living at peace with all that lives' The injunction, not to covet anybody's wealth is meant for individuals as well as for aggregates of individuals, such as classes castes communities nations and races

Ban on "Bharat me Angrezi Raj" Lifted

The Bombay Congress ministry and perhaps some other Congress ministries have lifted the ban on some books proscribed by the provincial governments concerned in previous years One of the important publications thus proscribed was the Hindi book Bharat me Angrezi Raj by Mr Sundarlal of Allahabad For the preparation of this work Mr Sundarlal asked the late Major B D Basu I M S to permit him to translate the latter's monumental work "Rise of the Christian Power in India' The permission sought was given and Mr Sundarlal utilized it to very great advantage Major Basu gave Mr Sundarlal other books and material also from his library Mr Sundarlal collected some material himself It is to be noted that the ban has been lifted unconditionally and without any reservation The author will now be able to present the book again to the Hindi reading public if he chooses to do so We are glad those among the Hindi reading public who do not know English will now become acquainted with some of Major Basu's historical researches

Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress

When the Indian National Congress was given its present constitution in supersession of the previous one, it was perhaps intended, by limiting the number of delegates, to prevent the assemblage of delegates from reaching unwieldy proportions Naturally that object has not been gained For Congress being a growing body, the number of its delegates must go on increasing Further limits must be imposed—and perhaps from time to time

Another object was perhaps to make the holding of a Congress session less expensive than before This object, too, has not been gained It is said the arrangements for holding the session at Haripura cost Rs 7½ lakhs And it is also said, Gandhiji asked in consequence rebukingly "Where was the necessity to get things from Bombay Ahmedabad and Paris?" Was plaster of Paris for the sculptures obtained from Paris? Or was something else imported from Paris?

But another and a very important object has been gained Our village people—particularly in the province in which a particular session of the Congress is held and more specially those in the vicinity of the village where it meets—have been brought into greater and closer contact with this national organization And the mass of our people live in villages In the construction of the temporary town constructed for the session mostly material available in villages has been used The labour of village artisans and craftsmen has been utilized Village women have played as great a part in the construction of the town in keeping it clean and sweet and in preparing and providing food for the delegates and visitors as village men Conservation is women's special function in social life When once the new political and economic message of India has been brought home to the humble women dwellers in village huts one may be sure it will bear enduring fruit

India's two principal news agencies the Associated Press and the United Press have sent to the dailies a vivid description of the opening of the 51st session of the Indian National Congress at Vithalnagar, Haripura

The fifty first session of the Indian National Congress opened today at Vithalnagar in a vast amphitheatre the open grandeur and simplicity of which easily mark it out as the piece de resistance of the whole Nagar

With ten foot bamboo 'thatti' walls skirting all round and its six huge gates the amphitheatre presents the spectacle of a vast fortress with menacing battlements from a distance

On a nearer approach the gates particularly the two main ones opening on the Jhanda Chowk reveal glorious examples of art with a distinct Oriental stamp about them Stepping into the arena past the tri-colour curtains which hide the view of the interior through the gates one suddenly comes upon the vastness of the area which bamboo 'thattis hide from public view

To Accommodate Three Lakhs

Oval in shape the amphitheatre which has been planned to accommodate more than three lakhs must have entailed the organisers the least labour for all its immensity The natural lay of the ground makes it immensely suitable for the purpose of a gigantic gathering Sloping gradually from the river side the ground suddenly rises in the opposite direction towards the leaders dais on the opposite side Neatly marked out enclosures for delegates from different provinces, visitors the press a spacious dais with galleries on either side of it for the Reception Committee members and crowning all a brilliantly lighted rostrum with its artistic outlines marked out by multicoloured lamps present an unforgettable spectacle of grandeur and orderliness

A Picturesque Crowd

A seething mass of humanity besieged all gates to the vast amphitheatre where the open session is being



President Subhas Bose being taken in procession from Haripura to Vithalnagar (Congress Camp)

Congress the Reception Committee had granted concession to peasant and Kisan visitors from the interior and taking advantage of this offer nearly one lakh of them were present today Besides these another one lakh of delegates visitors and Reception Committee members also attended while over two lakhs of people, mostly villagers were outside the pandal The entire area was fitted with loud-speakers and every word from the rostrum was distinctly audible from the farthest corner

Presidential Procession

Just at 5-30 p m the presidential procession glided to the rostrum preceded by a band party of volunteers The procession was in the following order —Chairman of the Reception Committee Durbar Gopal Desai and then in order of two Sj Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mrs Sarojini Naidu Mr Bhulabhai Desai and Acharya Kripalani Mr Jairamdas Daulatram and Mr Sanker Rao Deo Mr Narendra Deo and Mr Achyut Patwardhan and Mr Sarat Chandra Bose

Lord Samuel who was present was seen enthusiastically taking snapshots of the mass of humanity present in the enclosed natural amphitheatre

Homage to the Mother

The 'Bande Mataram' song was sung in rich melody by a party of girls from Bengal The spell cast by this sung was marvellous and it was broken only by an equally soul-enthralling song, "Jana gana mana adhinayaka" of Dr Rabindranath Tagore As soon as the Bande Mataram was set to tune the huge assembly rose silently to one man

On the pedestal stood garlanded President Bose having Mahatma Gandhi to his right and Sardar Patel to the left

The Chairman of the Reception Committee thereafter came to the rostrum and addressed the gathering through microphone In pindrop silence the gathering heard the Chairman's welcome with rapt attention His reference to Bengal's contribution towards the development of Indian nationhood in India and the compliments to Sj Bose were applauded

President Bose then proceeded to the rostrum and slowly mounted the stairs amidst vociferous cheers and cries of Bande Mataram and Subhas Bose Ki Jai'

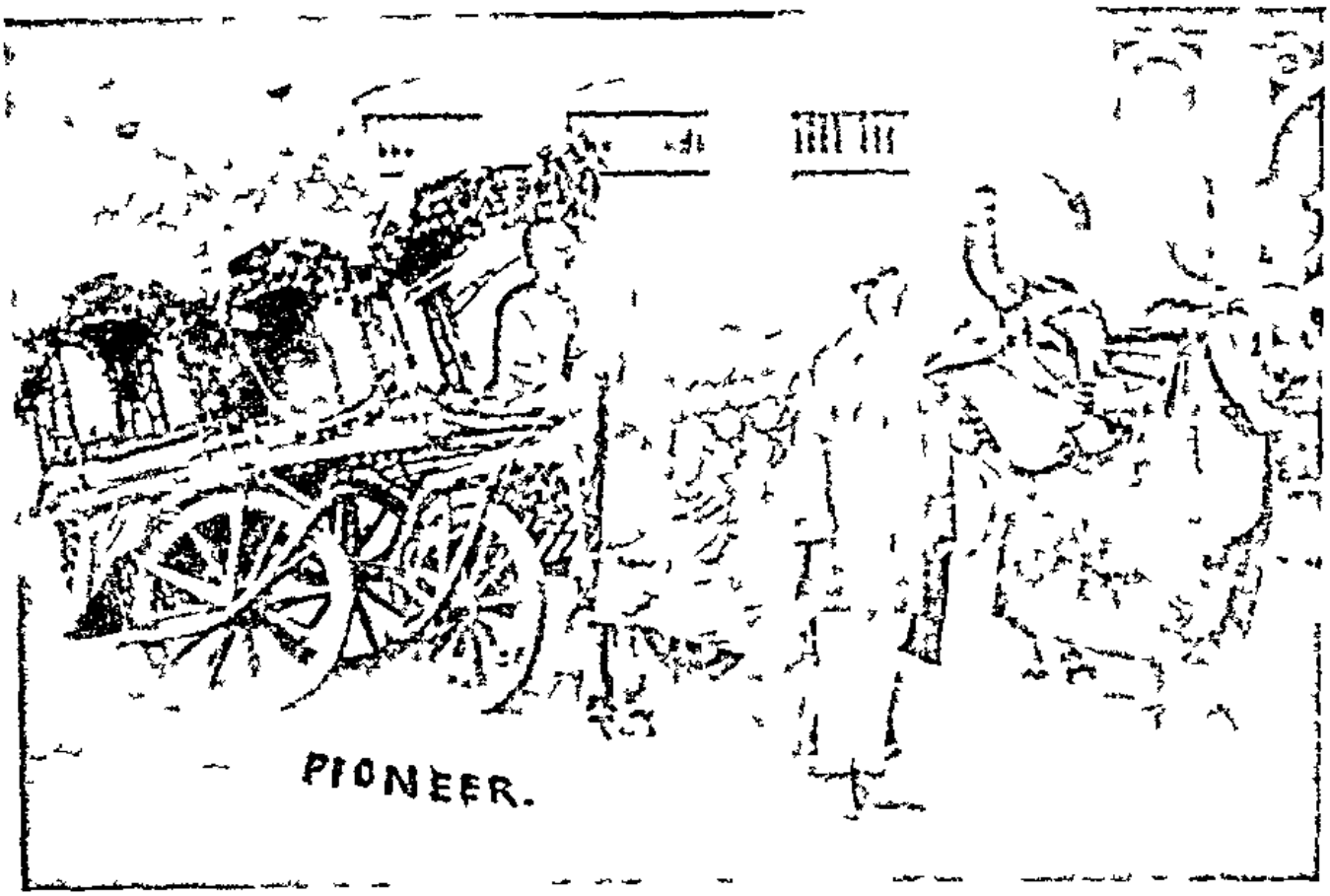
The revered old mother of Mr Bose was cheered as she came and took her seat on the women's enclosure.

President Bose at first addressed the vast gathering in Hindi and spoke a few words on the present constitutional crisis in two provinces in English —

(A P and U P)

Address of Darbar Gopaldas Desai

The address of Darbar Gopaldas Desai, chairman of the reception committee of the Haripura session of the Congress, was brief and characteristic of the person who delivered it He is well known in Congress history for his sturdy patriotism, his democratic principles and practice, the fraternal help which he gave to "harijans" in his estate when he owned it,



The chariot for Congress President at Haripura drawn by 51 bullocks

his sense of self respect and adherence to Non co operation in spite of the advice of the *political agent and his sacrifices*

He said he was a soldier whose duty it was to carry out the orders of his chief Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel not to make speeches He welcomed the delegates on behalf of Gujarat

My business is to welcome you today on behalf of Gujarat and welcoming you as I do on behalf of business like Gujarat I will make only a brief business like speech My own faith in the old programme of 1921 is well known and no plete of the alteration in details that it has undergone I think it is that programme that is going *ultimately to help us to win our freedom* If value of truth and non violence and of the constructive programme that they imply was great for the initial *stages of struggle it is greater while we are passing the* middle stages and God willing are nearing the end of the journey It is as a staunch believer in those basic principles and *as a humble soldier that I have the honour* to welcome you on the bank of the Tapti

"Since last year we have begun to hold the Congresses on in the villages Faizpur had the first honour and we have had benefit of the experience gained there I don't know how far we have succeeded in making full use of that experience but what you see here is the result of the labour of hundreds of devoted volunteer workers, two of whom have laid down their lives here Not only Gujarat but India mourns the loss of Pandit Khare whom all of us miss here so much My share *in the work here is negligible It is not for me to say* how far we have succeeded It will be for you to give your verdict after the end of this session All I have *to do today is to welcome you cordially on behalf of* Gujarat and especially on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli and Rasi whose share has been not inconsiderable *in making what history we have made And in giving* you a welcome I would also beg you to bear with our many shortcomings to be content with what comforts *we have been able to provide and not to mind the* discomforts we have not entirely been able to avoid"

Referring to Bengal and the President elect he said

We are blessed with the Presidentship of one whose *life is one unbroken record of sacrifice and* service and suffering He comes from a province which has on all three previous occasions given to Gujarat the Presidents *of the Congress and which in suffering would* easily take first rank among the provinces of the country I hope and pray that under the wise guidance of our President *we may march farther forward to our goal* and add more glorious chapters to our history

Subhas Babu I request you to take the chair"

—*(A P)*

President Subhas Chandra Bose

Mr Subhas Chandra Bose is one of the youngest presidents which the Indian National Congress has had during its history of half a



President Subhas Bose Kripalani Patel and others arriving for the Subjects Committee Meeting in Haripura

century Perhaps the youngest was Mr Gopal Krishna Gokhale who presided over the Benares session of the Congress in 1905 when he was 39 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first presided over the Congress at Lahore when he was 40 Sir Sankaran Nair was president at Amraoti in 1897 at the same age Mr Bose is 40

Indian and foreign readers of Indian newspapers and periodicals including our readers know how well Mr Bose is equipped intellectually for his work by his education his political activities his residence and travels in different countries of Europe and his general experience His services his sacrifice and his sufferings in the cause of the country are also known to the country His ability and his powers of organization had on one occasion to be mentioned by the Government apologist in the Central Assembly in order to justify his continued detention Being a bachelor who is not obliged to earn his own livelihood he can devote all his time and energy to the service of the country All these facts led to his election to the high office which he occupies They are also the grounds on which it is expected by Congressmen and many others that his incumbency of the presidentship of the Indian National Congress will be marked by some noteworthy achievement

Mr Bose's Presidential Address

In his presidential address Mr Subhas Chandra Bose has very clearly and ably expressed his views on the topics dwelt upon therein It contains no purple patches no flights of oratory Nor is there any attempt at timid or diplomatic mystification What he thinks and believes he has stated plainly and boldly Whether one agrees with him or not one must recognise and appreciate this quality of his speech Perhaps we agree with him more than we disagree

After paying a tribute to some illustrious dead and homage to comrades in arms who have laid down their lives in prison or detention camp or after release therefrom, President Bose discoursed on—

What lesson Great Britain may learn from the rise and fall of empires How British Empire may either become a federation of free nations or may break up ingloriously Wider meaning of India's struggle Britain's Divide and Rule policy Her problems within and outside the



The main Entrance Gate to the Exhibition at Vithalnagar Haripura Congress



Mahatma Gandhi inspecting one of the stalls at the exhibition grounds at Vithalnagar Haripura, before he opened the same

Minorities

In dealing with the problem of minorities Mr Bose has quoted in full "the latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta in October, 1937" The Congress, so far as we are aware, has never explained what kinds of minorities it will recognise as minorities though in practice it recognises only religious minorities And like the British Government it tries to please mainly the Mussalmans The Congress lays the greatest stress on 'our common interests, economic and political" but in practice it has not recognised economic or occupational minorities

Then again like the Government the Congress appears to recognise only All India minorities not provincial minorities Let us take an example The Mussalmans are an All India minority and the Hindus an All India majority But in Bengal the Hindus are a minority and the Mussalmans the majority If protection is to be given to minorities Bengal Hindus ought to have protection But here Hindus far from getting political protection do not get even cultural protection at the hands of either the Government or the Congress Bengal Mussalmans have got all sorts of protection So the phenomenon of majority protection unimagined by the League of Nations has manifested itself in India

The Communal Decision

In the All India Congress Committe's authoritative pronouncement quoted by Mr Bose it is said

"The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti national anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement

"In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India"

It has been pointed out again and again *ad nauseam*, that the Congress opposition to the Communal Decision "as it is anti national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian Unity" is practically of no value For the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned In this declaration the Congress has only said ditto to the British authors of the decision The decision is apparently a temporary arrangement but practically a permanent one For the party which has been a gainer by it shows no inclination to give up any of its advantages, but, on the contrary, wants more advantages And that is only natural

As for bringing about a change by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned, Mr Jinnah a leader of one of the parties, has been approached by the Congress, but no Congress leader has even suggested that any Hindu leader should be consulted

Mr Bose says 'We are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution, consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism' As the Congress has declared that the Communal Decision is "anti-national," no agreed solution which does not scrap it can be consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism

'Haves' and 'Have nots'

Mr Bose says that when national reconstruction takes place, it is the 'have-nots" who will benefit at the expense of the 'haves" The haves'—the land lords, the capitalists, &c—are the economic or occupational minority There is to be no attempt at any agreed solution with this minority For the socialists among Congressmen appear to believe that human nature in India is different from that in the West and therefore no war between fascism and socialism need be apprehended in India Or perhaps Indian socialists anticipate such a war Some among them may even be eager for the fray and may be willing to precipitate such a class-war But what then would be the place of non violence in the scheme of "national reconstruction 'on socialistic lines" "after the capture of political power" by the Congress? Those whose homage to non-violence is not lip-homage should be able to answer

Lingua Franca of India

Like all or most other Congressmen Mr Bose takes it for granted that Hindi-Urdu is or is to be the lingua franca of India But perhaps it would be wise to take note of the opposition to such an assumption in some provinces both in the north and in the south of which Hindi Urdu is not the mother-tongue

There are in India already so many bitter controversies that we do not wish to add to their number Nevertheless we think the Congress would not lose by not ignoring the opposition to Hindi Urdu as the proposed lingua franca Even in an independent Arabic country like Japan students in middle school have to learn English French or German Children also require to learn a European language (preferably English) for facilitating world contact if for no other reason Congress advocates of Hindi Urdu no doubt say that they will not prevent boys and girls from learning English Assuming then that they are to learn English also boys and girls in non Hindustani speaking areas will have to learn their mother tongue Hindusthani English and Sanskrit or some other classical language in addition to the other subjects in the school curriculum It is also to be noted that boys and girls in Hindustani speaking areas will have to learn one language less and will thus be able to devote more time to the learning of other subjects

A Common Script for India

As for the adoption of a common script for the whole of India Mr Bose thinks the choice should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit The problem he says should be considered from the scientific and historical point of view In his opinion there is nothing sacrosanct in a script He has ceased to feel that it would be anti national to adopt a foreign script He has realized that the adoption of the Roman script would give us the great advantage' of having the same script as the rest of the world Now in Asia even if we ignore India Burma Ceylon Siam etc China Japan Tibet Mongolia and the Moslem countries have scripts different from the Roman Some North African regions use the Arabic script Palestine Jews have the Hebrew script In Europe the biggest region viz Soviet Russia has a script different from the Roman Greece also has a different script Germany has not yet wholly adopted the Roman script Therefore it is not correct to say that by adopting the Roman script we shall have the advantage of having the same script as the rest of the world Mr Bose thinks that the Roman script will facilitate the learning of a European language But if India adopts the Roman script the vowels and some of the consonants will have different sounds from those which they have in some of the European languages Mr Bose has used the word 'scientific more than once in this connection We do not know in what sense or senses he has used it But the Roman alphabet and script is certainly less scientific than Sanskritic ones We do not say all this to oppose the adoption of Roman—we have a somewhat open mind on the subject What we want is that all arguments should be couched in precise and exact language

Adoption of Foreign Script and Foreign Language

There is a great difference between the adoption of a foreign script and the adoption of a foreign language as our lingua franca But if Congressmen do not pooh pooh the idea of adopting a foreign script they may tolerate the discussion of the proposal made by some persons in South India that English should be India's lingua franca

Restricting Growth of Population

The question of restricting the growth of population cannot be discussed within the limits of this note We wish only to suggest that migration to sparsely inhabited regions in and close to India should also be tried Perhaps it ought to be tried before artificial means are thought of for preventing the growth of population

Defects of Government Federal Scheme

Pointing out in detail the defects of the Government federal scheme Mr Bose observes

> The total population of the Indian States is roughly 24 per cent of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless the rulers of the States not their subjects have been given 33 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature In these circumstances there is no possibility in my opinion of the Congress altering its attitude towards the federal scheme at any time

But though Mr Bose's exposure of the defects of the federal scheme is very elaborate, he does not mention the fact that though the Hindus are more than 70 per cent of the population of British India they have been given only 42 per cent of the seats in the British India part of the Federal Assembly This is reducing a majority to a minority with a vengeance But Mr Bose does not say that this is one of the reasons why there is no possibility in [his] opinion of the Congress altering its attitude towards the federal scheme at any time" Taking a narrow view of the matter one would call it a Hindu grievance Even as such it should be noted and strenuous attempts ought to be made to remedy it But in reality it is not a mere Hindu grievance The reduction of the Hindu majority to the position of a minority in the Federal Assembly is one of the principal

means adopted to make nationalism powerless in that body. For it is the Hindus who have hitherto been and who continue to be Nationalists par excellence When Moslems also become such, we will be among the first to proclaim the advent of that glorious day from the housetops

Affiliation of Workers and Peasants' Organizations

Mr Bose has dealt with the question of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organizations We could wish he had dealt with students' organizations also Mr C Rajagopalachariar has recently expressed the opinion, it is reported, that students should not take active part in politics—whatever that may mean What does Mr Bose think? Should students have their own separate political organizations? Mr Bose's answer to these questions would have been useful

International Culture Contacts

Mr Bose's observations on international cultural contacts by means of holding art exhibitions in foreign countries, exhibiting Indian films in foreign countries, attending international congresses and conferences, and similar other ways, show his breadth of outlook There are some such conferences with which the British Government has something to do There are others with which it has nothing to do For example, the international P E N Congresses some world educational conferences, etc Shrimati Sophia Wadia, Miss Kapila Khandwala, Dr Kalidas Nag and a few other persons have attended one or more of them

New Features in Mr Bose's Presidential Address

In the discussion of so many topics of the day, one cannot help repeating oneself or reiterating what others have said But what is repeated does not thereby lose any value And Mr Bose has a way of his own in repeating old things We do not mean to say that he has not said much that is new or anything that is new So far as we are aware no previous speaker has outlined the policy or policies to be adopted after the severance of the British connection, considered who will rule after freedom has been won sketched out a plan of socialistic reconstruction, described the function of the Working Committee as the shadow cabinet of independent India, stressed the great importance of educating and training a Volunteer Corps and emphasised the urgency of developing international cultural and commercial contacts While sojourning abroad, he pointed out that India ought to have bilateral trade agreements with foreign countries

Marks of Foreign Experience in Presidential Address

His address bears marks of the experience he has acquired abroad

His visit to Turkey has made him realise that the adoption of a foreign script is not necessarily anti-national

In the course of the discussion of the question who will rule after freedom has been won, he states

> Looking at post war Europe we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction I know that it will be argued that the continuance of a party in such circumstances, standing behind the State, will convert that State into a totalitarian one, but I cannot admit the charge The State will possibly become a totalitarian one if there be only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany and Italy But there is no reason why other parties should be banned Moreover, the party itself will have a democratic basis unlike for instance, the Nazi Party which is based on the "Leader principle" The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress Party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one Further the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below

Discussing India's policy after severance of the British connection, he expresses the opinion :

> When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination we shall be in a position to determine our future relations with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President De Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her But once we have real self determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people

To show how the Working Committee may function as the shadow cabinet of independent India Mr Bose draws attention to recent Irish and Egyptian history

> This is what President De Valera's Republican Government did when it was fighting the British Government and was on the run And this is what the executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it got into office The members of the Working Committee while carrying on their day-to-day work should accordingly study the problems they will have to tackle in the event of their capturing political power

"Gitanjali," his life-story of the Vaishnava prophet Sri Chaitanya his Bengal village scenes, and his cartoons were masterpieces Many of these appeared in the Bengali magazine 'Prabasi" His cubist pictures were not executed in any style copied from Western cubists His cubism was original and was his own

More about his achievement and genius as a painter will be found in the two articles on him which appear elsewhere in this issue

He was the founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Art and was prominently and closely connected with it for many years He was also a founder of the Bengal Home Industries Association The club named 'Vichitra' which was located at Rabindranath Tagore's Jorasanko 'parlour house' and which had for its object the cultivation of art and literature was founded by Rabindranath Tagore and his two nephews Gogonendra Nath and Abanindra Nath

Gogonendra Nath excelled also as an actor Those who have seen him in Rabindranath's "Phalgooni" and 'Baikunther Khata will never forget his acting

To many authors and artists he was a generous giver A few of them had their *pucca* houses built at his cost How he helped the national cause is known only to a few

The magnificent collection of Indian and other paintings and other works of art which the family residence of the brothers Gogonendra Nath Samarendra Nath and Abanindra Nath contains, is perhaps worth a few lakhs

He was one of nature's gentlemen and the pink of courtesy Even a half-hour passed in his company gave one an idea of the old-style cultured nobleman of Bengal

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, who died last month full of years and honours was in a sense the maker of modern Bhavnagar He served that State in various capacities including the highest, and his services to it have done it lasting good Among Indian statesmen in Indian States he was the first to introduce prohibition in a State and thus set an example to other States and British India During the last decade he had much to do with the Indian federation movement As one who thoroughly understood the British Indian and the Indian States points of view in relation to federation he did his best to reconcile and bring the two closer together

"Communal Poison Invades Britain"

The Indian Social Reformer writes under the caption printed above

> You cannot touch pitch without some of it adhering to your fingers. That British methods of Indian administration must eventually affect the methods of administration in Britain itself was long foreseen by statesmen like John Bright The communal principle which has now ousted all other principles—right and wrong just and unjust, true and false—in important spheres of Indian policy is beginning to have its repercussions in Great Britain Col Wedgwood wanted to know how many of His Majesty's ambassadors and ministers in foreign countries were Roman Catholics Mr Anthony Eden refused to answer the question "Members of the diplomatic service" he said "are not required at any time to state the church to which they belong Any such enquiry would in my view imply a reversion to the standpoint of religious discrimination happily abandoned in this country for over a hundred years" He might have added and introduced in India thirty years ago." Indian Ministers are constantly pestered with questions as to the number and names of persons of different creeds and castes engaged in Government jobs ranging from judges to sweepers No Minister dares to reply as Mr Eden did that he would on no account condescend to reply to such impertinent interpellations

Why should provincial ministers or the members of the Governor General's Council refuse to answer such questions? As they carry out the policy of the British Government, it is their duty to answer them

British imperialists think that "the standpoint of religious discrimination" is poison for Britain but nectar for India

Burma Government's Courageous Statesmanship

The Burma Government has decided to release all political prisoners and to lift the ban on books dealing with advanced political and economic thought The political prisoners who are to be released in Burma include even those who were involved in the recent rebellion, and they were not non-violent rebels This courageous and statesmanlike decision serves two purposes It restores to useful citizenship energetic men who would otherwise have rotten in jail for some time longer and thus increases the peaceful man power of the country, and it makes the Government popular The prisoners are put on their honour If they behave honourably which we hope they will both they and the country become gainers If they do not the Government which was powerful enough to imprison them can send them to jail again

The Governor-General and the Governors of Bihar and U P have acted on the British imperialist assumption that the British rulers of India are more interested in maintaining peace and tranquillity, are more anxious to preserve peace, and know better what makes for peace than the chosen leaders of the people If this assumption be correct law and order ought not to have been placed under the charge of Indian ministers If, as we believe this assumption is not correct the ministers ought to have been made really responsible for law and order and given power unreservedly corresponding to the responsibility What the Government of India Act has done is to make them responsible, but at the same time to keep the final power in the hands of the governors and the governor general The transference of power to Indian hands is a make believe

But even under the Act as it is the Governor-General and the Governors need not have acted as they have done The U P and Bihar ministries have proved clearly and effectively that they are both willing and able to tackle violence on the part of released prisoners and others If the political prisoners whom they wanted to release were guilty of violence or incitement to violence after release surely powerful police departments in the two provinces would be able to bring them to book After all they were not even four dozen all told Moreover the ministers concerned had interviewed the prisoners in jail in the presence of the jail superintendents and every one of them had said that they had ceased to believe in methods of violence They knew they would be put on their honour and would be marked men Under the circumstances there was every hope of their becoming peaceful and useful citizens after their release

The fact should also be taken into consideration that these interviews with the prisoners individually satisfied to an important extent the condition of consideration of their cases individually insisted upon by the Governors

In our opinion the Governors ought to have given their advice to the ministers frankly and left them free to take it or reject it If the release of the prisoners in question led to disturbances with which the ministries could not cope—we are sure such a thing would not have happened then the Governors could have taken any steps the law empowered them to do

The British rulers of India ought to remember that in the long decades before Indian ministers had been nominally placed in charge of law and order when these rulers were solely and really responsible for India's internal calm unrest, communal and other riots and other disturbances had been of frequent occurrence That shows that they are neither so wise nor so efficient as regards the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity as they consider themselves to be Why not then allow Indian ministers to have a fair try?

There ought to be a limit to overweening conceit even on the part of British imperialists

Not being constitutional lawyers we do not wish to say whether the Governor-General was within his legal right to intervene in accordance with sub-section (5) of section 126 of the Government of India Act But this we can say that he has not acted properly in interfering with the U P and Bihar ministries' decision to release all political prisoners It is ridiculous to think or to suggest that the peace and tranquillity of these provinces—not to speak of those of India—would have been jeopardised by the release of a few political prisoners Some of the political prisoners are not the only prisoners guilty of crimes of violence There are others more numerous guilty of similar offences Every day in all provinces many of them are released on the expiry of their terms of imprisonment *without their word of honour being given that they would in future refrain from acts of violence* If their release, day after day throughout the year,—and there may be scores of such released on a single day in a province—does not give rise to apprehensions of disturbance of public peace in gubernatorial minds we do not see why the simultaneous release of a lesser number of political prisoners who had abjured methods of violence and given their word of honour to refrain from violence should rouse such fears Perhaps the gubernatorial mind really apprehends increased non-violent political activity directed towards the attainment of freedom not recrudescence of violence It does not want any sudden accession of new workers in the ranks of Congressmen who are non violently active in the cause of Indian freedom

It may be that the Governor-General was more anxious for the indirect effect of the release of the U P and Bihar political prisoners on Bengal and the Panjab than for the effect on the U P and Bihar What His Excellency has himself written shows that he does not want that the release of political prisoners in the U P and Bihar should be used as a lever for the release of detenus and political prisoners in Bengal and the Panjab He has acted at least partly with the intention of saving the Bengal and Panjab ministries from pressure Neither the ministries nor the gover-

by any organization which works for the whole of India, that organization ought to take steps for the release of political prisoners of all provinces, not merely of any particular province or provinces As the Congress is such an organisation, it ought to make the question of the release of political prisoners an all India question Mahatma Gandhi's actions show that he considers it an all-India question The Congress has not yet perhaps, looked at the question from the point of view indicated in this note

It may localize ministerial crises But it cannot localize or provincialize the question of the release of the detenus and political prisoners without being untrue to its all India character

Other Conferences During Congress Week

There were many important conferences during Congress week The bigger dailies have been able to publish brief reports of their proceedings We are sorry it is not possible even to mention them in a monthly review like ours, the Congress having taken up much space

"These Trivial Questions"

We have genuine respect for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the single minded zeal, devotion and energy with which he has been serving the country for years Therefore it is not with pleasure that we have to criticise any statement of his somewhat adversely

Speaking on the Congress resolution on minorities' rights, he is reported to have said

> The Congress had assured the minorities of their religious and cultural rights The Communal Award which they all opposed had ensured them seats in legislatures. Now what remained to be satisfied? If one examined it, it was clear that the communal question was merely a problem created by the middle or upper classes for the sake of a few seats in the legislatures or appointments in Government service or for ministerial position "Shall we who have seen ups and downs in the fight for freedom and sacrificed our all in the cause of the country" asked Pandit Nehru "go on fighting on these trivial questions?"

We have already tried to show that the question of "a few seats in the legislatures" is not a "trivial question" We shall now try to show that the question of "appointments in Government service" is not a "trivial question"

If an appointment in the public service going to this man or that meant only that one man got a few rupees and another did not, even then it would not be a trifling thing for any man who in spite of being the fittest candidate for a job did not get it But it is not a mere question of the distribution of loaves and fishes The carrying on of the administration efficiently and honestly is necessary even before we have won Swaraj For that purpose we require to appoint men who are fittest for particular kinds of work and who are not corrupt Therefore we object to the communal distribution of jobs and favouritism in such distribution Judicial and executive work, the prevention detection and punishment of crime by the police public health and sanitation and all "nation building" work suffer under such a system

If even medical men are chosen not because they are the best available physicians or surgeons but because they belong to a particular religious community will Mr Nehru call that a trifle? Questions of life and death are not trivial questions

If police officers are chosen not for their ability and incorruptibility but because they belong to a particular religious community and if these men do not do their duty, for example in the matter of crimes against women, and in consequence women's honour is not safe in a province is that a trivial matter? By way of illustration we refer below to a particularly gruesome case, much against our will

Bindu Goalini's Case

The following are extracts from the report of the trial of a case, which concluded on the 19th February last and in which a widow named Bindu Goalini had been subjected to repeated criminal assaults during many weeks by five scoundrels

> Mr E. C. Simpson Additional Sessions Judge of Alipur agreed with the verdict of the jury and sentenced Ali Haider a muktear and a municipal commissioner of Barrackpore and Ahmed Sardar (whom the judge described as Haider's procurer) to ten years' rigorous imprisonment each for wrongfully confining and criminally assaulting Bindu Goalini a Hindu widow of 21 Abdul Aziz was sentenced to eight years while Asgar and Fekan were sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment each
>
> The jury unanimously found all the accused guilty of criminally assaulting and wrongfully confining the woman at Ahmed's house By a majority of four to one they found all the accused guilty of criminally assaulting the woman during her stay at Ramjan's house on both the occasions By a similar majority Haider and Ahmed were found guilty of assaulting her at Reja Mia's house The jury unanimously found Haider and Ahmed guilty of confining her at Reja Mia's house By a similar majority all the accused were found guilty of wrongfully confining her at Ramjan's house on the two occasions. Aziz was further found guilty of committing unnatural offence on her at Ahmed's place Haider and Ahmed were given the benefit of the doubt on the charge of sodomy

It came out in the course of the evidence in the case that unnatural offence was committed

on the girl in a particularly cruel and revolting manner with serious injury to her, because, on account of repeated ravishments followed by an act of diabolical cruelty, the commission of 'natural' offence on her was no longer possible We are extremely sorry to have to mention these gruesome details

In sentencing the accused the judge remarked

"There is no school of behaviour that can justify the conduct of these accused persons and no extenuating circumstances of any kind can be pleaded in mitigation What the court had before it at the trial was a sordid history of lust and carnal desire, brutal, unleashed and uncontrolled, and carried to extremes beyond the comprehension of civilised men Not only was chastity despoiled but it was besmirched and tarnished mercilessly shamelessly and ruthlessly The victim was an unfortunate defenceless girl homeless and with no relations and had her cause not been championed by the Matri Sadan and the Arya Samaj it is possible that these offenders who *prey upon the virtue of women would not* have been brought to justice The women of the community are entitled to demand that their safety be assured by warning and example to others"

The last two sentences quoted above from the judgment deserve the serious attention of the Government, the police and the public

Cases of such criminal offence against women are not at all rare in Bengal—rather the contrary, though the commission of unnatural offence on them is rare

Commenting on the case, the *Hindusthan Standard* writes

The horrible oppression to which Bindu Goalini a helpless widow was subjected at Barrackpore by a set of scoundrels one of whom was a man of position has been so aptly described by the Sessions Judge of Alipore that the case calls for no further comment But there is one passage in the judgment which the Government should take note of The Judge is of opinion that but for the Matri Sadan and the Arya Samaj it would not perhaps have been *possible to bring the offenders to* justice Does this reflect credit on the police? We are afraid the police are not doing all they should in connection with such crimes, and surely it was time for the Government of Bengal to think of **the situation which, grave as it is, is considerably aggravated by the silence of the Muslim leaders and papers on the question**

In view of the gravity of the situation referred to in the words in thick type in the foregoing extract—a situation which is by no means recent, we are constrained to observe that sincere Hindu Moslem unity can never be brought about in Bengal unless there is cordial *co-operation between the two communities in* putting down crimes against women, to whatever community the women and the offenders may belong There should at least be unequivocal and strong condemnation of such crimes in all unity conferences and in the newspapers of both communities

In another case, in which the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta convicted the accused Abdur Rahman and a woman for having decoyed two Hindu girl widows from their village home and kept them in a house for immoral purposes, the magistrate observed in the course of his judgment

'Although the cases of these two unfortunate girls are pitiable and appalling, I suppose there are hundreds of girls in a similar plight, whose cases are never brought to the notice of the police

The magistrate was perfectly right There are numerous cases of abduction and criminal *assault which* are never *brought to the notice* of the police or the public The main reasons are very many police officers in the mofussil are unwilling even to listen to complaints in such cases, the aggrieved parties and the witnesses are terrorised by the scoundrels who commit these crimes the *fear of social obloquy* and ostracism and the indifference of the public (including Congressites) to the number and gravity of these crimes

Indian States' People and "Kishans"

The *Congress resolution relating to* Congress Committees and Congress activities in the Indian States may not please extremists on either side But it is a wise one in the circumstances A similar opinion may be expressed on the resolution on *Kishan* Sabhas

Resolution on National Education

In moving the Congress resolution on national education in the subjects committee, Acharya Narendra Dev is reported to have said

The present system of education was opposed to their culture and heritage It was denationalizing The educational system was designed with a view to making Indians clerks to administer imperialist laws It had made Indians lose sight of their great heritage and become slaves On the other hand the national scheme of education sought to reinstill a sense of true citizenship in the people and make them really serviceable to the Motherland He also spoke of the sad plight of educated unemployed This was the result of such a system of education

These remarks are far too sweeping Most of the leaders of the Congress had their education under the present system They have not been denationalized The system may be partly *denationalizing, but not entirely It* is not entirely opposed to our culture and heritage That we have got some idea of our culture and heritage is partly due to the present system of education Originally, the system may have been designed to turn out Government servants of subordinate grades, but, later, it has under-

gone some changes Most, if not all, the fighters for the freedom of India are products of the present system of education They are not slaves The products and present day students of the indigenous Sanskrit and Persian Arabic seminaries are not more free from servility than the persons educated in the schools colleges and universities conducted according to the present system

The proportion of educated unemployed may be greater in India than in other civilized countries But there are considerable numbers of unemployed graduates in other countries also

The Wardha scheme has its merits But its advocates ought to carefully consider *all outside* criticisms made by competent persons They ought not like Mr Manu Subedar in *Harijan* airily dismiss all criticism with a superior air

Britain Mollifies Mussolini

The British prime minister has mollified Mussolini by sacrificing Mr Anthony Eden the foreign secretary Let us wait and see how much farther Britain will go to make friends with Italy British imperialists are evidently not yet ready to meet the challenge of all who are disposed to dispute their supremacy on land sea and air But will their present policy ever make them ready? Is it not strengthening the challengers and gradually destroying Britain's prestige?

Mr Mesrob J Seth

Mr Mesrob J Seth the Armenian scholar the veteran author of "The Armenians in India" has been deservedly elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain

Congress Opposition to Government Federal Scheme

The Congress resolution opposing the British Government's Indian federal scheme is worthy of support so far as it goes In addition to the defects and harmful features of the scheme pointed out by Mr Subhas Chandra Bose, in his presidential address and some other Congressmen it has been pointed out that it reduces the majority of the people to the position of a hopeless minority We should like all true nationalists to declare in advance that no federal scheme will be acceptable to them which reduces the majority to a minority maintains the provisions of the Communal Decision and extends all or any of them to the Indian States

Congress Attitude Towards Burma Re stated

The Congress attitude towards Burma was re-stated and re-defined by a new clause added to the Congress constitution The new clause removes Burma from the Congress provinces and creates a new 'Burma Committee' working for the freedom of the people of Burma

Acharya Kripalani moved the new clause in the constitution which reads as follows —

'There shall be a Congress Committee with power to organize subordinate committees in accordance with the rules framed by it and approved by the working committee The Burma Congress Committee stands for the freedom of the people of Burma"

Mr Jawaharlal Nehru further explaining the Congress attitude said that the question of Burma was undoubtedly a difficult one It was neither a province of India nor a part of it

Mr Nehru said It will be absurd to say that the Burma Committee stands for the freedom of India and not Burma We do not want Burma as a colonial province of India'

Mr Nehru added that he was not attaching much importance to the fact of the separation of Burma He always treated it from a realistic point of view Conditions in Burma differed and most of the resolutions passed by the Congress had no bearing on them It would be wrong also to treat Burma as a foreign colony like Malaya where there was a large number of Indians

Burma is certainly not a colony of India and cannot be treated as one But it is also true that it possesses a large Indian population, larger than the Indian population of Malaya, the Federated Malaya States and the Unfederated Malaya States combined What is more Burma has large tracts of unoccupied and undeveloped territory, and is quite adjacent to India The area of the Province is 261 610 square miles and population (in 1931) 14 667,146 The density of population is only 56 persons to the square mile Hence there is bound to be migration to the Province from India

Chinese Air Raid on Japanese Empire

TOKIO FEB 23

Eleven Chinese planes participated in the first Chinese air raid on the Japanese empire bombing the Taihoku aerodrome in Formosa Ten bombs were dropped No serious damage is reported

Later it was reported that Shinchiku forty miles from Taihoku was also bombed and private houses were struck There were several casualties.

This telegram shows that, though the Japanese continue to occupy new areas in China the Chinese are in a position to take the offensive

Spain Fights Illiteracy In The Midst Of War

Valencia (NNS)—Loyalist Spain, in the midst of the war is engaged in a gigantic educational program Progress in the establishment of schools may be seen from one example, that of Sabadell This town had 30 state primary schools a year ago with 2,000 children in attendance To-day it has 100 schools with 5,000 pupils.

But primary schools are not enough Adult illiteracy, the heir of the past, must be wiped out For this reason the Ministry of Education decreed that "flying brigades shall be created to fight against illiteracy, whose functions shall be to teach the illiterates to read and write, particularly in the countryside" These brigades are composed chiefly of members of youth and women's organizations under the control of the General Board of Primary Education In this way the Government hopes to make up for the neglect of former governments

That is how Spain has been fighting illiteracy in the midst of war How marvellously the British Government in India has been fighting illiteracy in the midst of peace!

"Rebellion" in Abyssinia

All is not yet quiet on the Abyssinian front The people of Abyssinia are still fighting the Italians here and there and the latter are calling the former rebels!

It may be a hopeless struggle But it shows the spirit of the people of Abyssinia

Class War Abroad and in India

We have only as yet the beginnings of class war in India What the future may bring cannot be accurately forecasted now

We should be happy if our country did not become *the battle-ground for Indian fascists* and Indian communists Indian socialists are as yet only figuratively on the war-path And Sardar Patel, a great autocratic democrat, openly declared at Haripura that he had long tolerated the socialists, but (if provoked further?) he would pay them back in their own coin (figuratively?) President Bose is for a socialistic reconstruction of India, in which the have-nots are to be gainers at the expense of the haves

So the powder magazines seem to be ready Cannot the Indian genius discover some means and method by which India's socio economic problems may be solved on the basis of justice without a repetition of the violent struggles in the West? We expressed this desire before and do so again now Mahatma Gandhi has all along been urging the adoption of non violent remedies for our ills His principles find an echo in some passages quoted in *Harijan* (and, in part, in *The Leader*) from Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means* —

"To be regarded as successful a revolution must be the achievement of something new But violence and the effects of violence—counter violence, suspicion and resentment on the part of the victims and the creation, among the perpetrators of a tendency to use more violence—are things only too familiar too hopelessly unrevolutionary A violent revolution cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence which are as old as the hills We insist that ends which we believe to be good can justify means which we know quite certainly to be abominable, we go on believing against all the evidence that these bad means can achieve the good ends we desire"

The results of violence cannot be consolidated by compensatory acts of non-violence *viz*, of justice and goodwill In the opinion of Aldous Huxley, such compensation is impossible in the nature of the case, psychologically impossible For,

A tradition of violence is formed, men come to accept a scale of values according to which acts of violence are reckoned heroic and virtuous Violence, as we have seen, can produce only the effects of violence, these effects can be undone only by the compensatory non violence after the event where violence has been used for a long period, a habit of violence is formed and it becomes exceedingly difficult for the perpetrators of violence to reverse their policy Moreover, the results of violence are far reaching beyond the wildest dreams of the often well intentioned people who resort to it The iron dictatorship of the Jacobins resulted, as *we have seen in military tyranny twenty years of war*, conscription in perpetuity for the whole of Europe, the rise of nationalistic idolatry In our own time the long drawn violence of the World War produced the 'iron dictatorship' of the Bolsheviks The threat of world wide revolutionary violence begot Fascism Fascism produced rearmament, rearmament has entailed the progressive deliberalization of the democratic countries What the further results of Moscow's 'iron dictatorship' will be, time alone will show At the present moment (June 1937) the outlook is to say the least of it, exceedingly gloomy"

U. P. Ministerial Deadlock Ends

It is very good news indeed that the United Provinces ministerial deadlock has ended. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the U P Premier, had an hour's interview with the Governor on the morning of the 25th February and a final settlement was reached The Pandit saw His Excellency again at 3 in the afternoon that day when the terms of the settlement were further discussed and the following statement was issued by His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable the Prime Minister

"We have had a full discussion between ourselves about the present situation and the recent developments. We have arrived at agreed conclusions and the Hon Ministers are accordingly resuming their normal duties *The cases of certain prisoners classified as politicals* have been individually examined and the Governor will soon be issuing orders, on the advice tendered to him by his Ministers to remit under section 401, Cr P C., the unexpired portion of the sentence in each case and to order their release

"The cases of the remaining prisoners are being individually examined by the Minister concerned and appropriate order will be similarly passed thereon within a short time

"We have had also a long discussion on the mutual relation between the Governor and the Ministers. We discussed the recent statement of His Excellency the Viceroy along with the views of Mahatma Gandhi on it and also the resolution passed at Haripura about the resignation of Ministers and the previous by His Excellency the Viceroy last summer

"There is no reason to fear

interference with the legitimate functions of the responsible Ministers We are both desirous of maintaining healthy conventions and with goodwill on both sides we hope we will succeed

On the 25th February the Hon'ble Mr Srikrishna Sinha, prime minister of Bihar, received a letter from His Excellency the Governor of Bihar intimating the latter's desire to meet Mr Sinha next morning Mr Sinha agreed to meet him So it is expected that the ministerial crisis in Bihar also will soon come to an end

Lord Halifax Becomes British Foreign Secretary

Lord Halifax, better known in India as Lord Irwin, has been appointed Foreign Secretary in the British cabinet to succeed Mr Anthony Eden

The opposition has indicated that a full Commons debate on Lord Halifax's appointment will be demanded, both Major Attlee and Col Wedgwood Benn making it clear that it is felt strongly that the Foreign Secretary should be from the House of Commons instead of the Lords

The debate will probably be held next week —*Reuter*

British Government to Recognise Ethiopian Conquest?

LONDON FEB 24.

Defending Government's decision with regard to the Anglo-Italian talks in the House of Lords Lord Halifax declared that Government were not prepared to let slip the opportunity from which peace might spring They might be disappointed, but that did not necessarily prove that they were in the wrong and emphasised that the British policy was unchanged

With regard to Abyssinia he said that provided the consent of the League of Nations was obtained, we should be willing to consider the recognition of Italian conquest as part of a general settlement —*Reuter*

International brigandage changes its ethical character in course of time if the brigand possesses sufficient armed might

Prison Conditions, Police Torture, Girls As Chattel

Mr C F Andrews has issued the following statement from Santiniketan through the *United Press* on prison conditions, police torture in India, and the treatment of minor girls as chattel:

"While the attention of the general public has been rightly concerned with the release of those political prisoners who have declared themselves individually and personally really to renounce violence and secret conspiracy and follow the Congress principles of non violence and truth, the lot of other prisoners in Indian jails should not be lost sight of, for it is due to intolerable conditions in jails themselves that hunger strikes so frequently occur

"The general public which read the newspapers, had been made painfully aware of things which are being done within prison doors through the misconduct of the police First of all, Sir J D Young, the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, has delivered a judgment in terms which are very rarely employed by the highest dignitary of the law He has condemned methods of police torture of a most horrible kind which had been used to extract evidence The Chief Justice, at Patna, has passed a judgment in equally scathing language on the gross corruption which was revealed by a miscarriage of justice in a sordid police case in Orissa A father had actually "sold" his minor daughter for Rs 500 to be the concubine of a Rajah in a small feudatory state The child had died only a short month after this disgraceful transaction had taken place If it had not been for the bravery of a young social reformer exposing this wrong doing, such a terrible state of things would never have been brought to light, and for more than ten years this young man had to suffer until the High Court justified his conduct In such High Court judgments as these we can see glimpses of intolerable things which ought to be put an end to at once We can also be practically certain that for one such act brought to light there are others of exactly the same character which still go on in the dark

"I have received from Indian leaders, men of unchallengeable veracity, accounts (some in writing) of things unspeakably evil which they have witnessed with their own eyes while in prison during Non Co-operation days—how wretched prisoners fellow human beings, were tossed like fowls and beaten and then forced through abject terror to do humiliating acts which degrade the very soul how men of gentle breeding have been put to intolerable shame by being compelled to expose themselves before others while performing their natural functions how refined men have been hand-cuffed and locked up in the darkness in solitude till they have nearly gone mad how others have been forced to live and sleep in cells where lingering germs of disease were likely to infect them how any brave freedom of spirit has been deliberately broken by all kinds of petty torture

"While visiting Indian prisons, in order to see prisoners, I have myself heard cries that I can never forget This personal experience, and the narrative I have heard from others on whose word I can rely, have made me convinced that in many prisons the whole system has been built up on fear, any reformation of the prisoner has been entirely neglected Prisoners have gone out from these prisons much worse than when they came in

"Let me add, at once, that I have met also Superintendents of Jails who are both humane and kind, men of high character, eager to do what is merciful and just But the system which has insidiously grown up and has led on to these incessant hunger strikes which shock the public needs badly overhauling in every province, it requires the introduction after special training of an entirely new type of prison staff it also requires the separation of the judiciary from the executive and no question of the extra expense should for a moment be allowed to stand in the way of this supremely necessary change

'If Harendra Nath Munshi's lamentable death through his hunger strike to obtain better conditions, creates in the public conscience a greater vigilance and awareness as to the wrongs, which still go on unredressed within the prison walls, it will not have been in vain" —(*United Press*)

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for February, page 237, col 1, between lines 22 and 23, *read*

further improvement could be effected So the

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THE LATE RAMSAY MACDONALD

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

RAMSAY MACDONALD who was almost as well known on this American side of the Atlantic as on the European died all but unnoticed in the depths of a retirement to which he descended after scaling the heights of success His career was a British success story along American lines The son of a thread bare despised Scotch laborer he became Premier representative of American tradition of the poor boy makes good , rare among the natives of the United Kingdom

Yet one American estimate of J Ramsay MacDonald is that he was idealistic and weak Another is that he was highly patriotic nationalistic and imperialistic

He came out of obscurity on a radical and pacifist tide achieved power in a role in which neither radical nor conservative knew whether he was fish or fowl and sank again into obscurity—when death found him

His visits in the United States are still remembered by many In 1929 he made his historic trip to this country, discussing naval armaments with President Herbert Hoover while the two sat on a log cheek by jowl on the banks of the Rapidan River That talk laid the foundations for the naval peace conference in London early in 1930 But that was of no significance to India

Just a little while before MacDonald started on his peace pilgrimage to America his underlings in India had suppressed Dr J T Sunderland's *India in Bondage* and would have thrown its publisher Sjt Ramananda Chatterjee into jail if he had not paid the heavy fine inflicted on him The book was supposed to be offensive to the English bureaucrats

As Ramsay MacDonald was crossing the ocean on his way over to the United States twenty of the outstanding leaders of this country sent him a radiogram demanding the release of the publisher of *India in Bondage* The signers of the message included the names of great social and political leaders university professors newspaper editors authors a member of Congress—a group of most distinguished cultured and representative Americans They said that the book is in no way hostile to Great Britain but advocates what you yourself and the British Labor Party long have powerfully advocated namely self rule They further stated that in the name of international democracy and peace which you are now eloquently championing before the world we request that you order the immediate release of the publisher of the book and the dismissal of the officials responsible for this outrage against the freedom of the press and human rights

This American protest was published in the New York *World* But what came out of it? Nothing so far as Mr MacDonald was concerned He did not even condescend to acknowledge the receipt of the radio message,

though he acknowledged many other messages Yes, he was busy In fact, he was too busy to know that unless peace and liberty are reconciled, there will be neither

I al o drew the same conclusion from what Norman Thomas once told me about James Ramsay MacDonald Mr Thomas is the leader of the American Socialist party and was thrice candidate for the Presidency of the United States Mr Thomas is to the American Socialist party what Mr MacDonald was to the British Labor party although Mr Thomas has penetrated deeper into the aspirations and tragedy of American life than Mr MacDonald did of the British Anyway Norman Thomas was a close friend of J Ramsay MacDonald Mr Thomas told me that when Premier MacDonald was in America in the interest of naval peace he called on the Premier to solicit his friendly intervention on behalf of the political prisoners at Meerut but Mr Thomas could not get the Premier even to consider the subject Mr Thomas also wrote a personal letter to Mr MacDonald asking him to release the unfortunate Meerut prisoners The letter was apparently opened by a secretary for the answer was most perfunctory I was informed And that was all the help which came from the silver-tongued Messiah and nothing more There you have it again! Ramsay MacDonald was more empire loving than peace or liberty loving

Mr MacDonald was just another empire worshipper It seems that nearly all the natives of the Foggy Island are imperialists imperialism is a part of their skins Once there was a saying "Scratch a Russian and find a Tartar Now there ought to be another saying 'Scratch an Englishman and find an imperialist"

From 1931 when Mr MacDonald dissolved the Labor government to become Premier of a 'National' coalition espousing a form of economic nationalism he was a prisoner in Tory camp—despite his outward honors as commanding general He scrapped his own Socialist creed and broke with his Labor party carrying with him only a handful of followers Was it the tragedy of a break with one's essential past and principles?

Professor Harold J Laski of the London University writing in the May issue of the *Harper's Magazine* (New York), 1932 assured us that Ramsay MacDonald's change of front was not due to a sudden change of conviction for Ramsay MacDonald himself had refused to admit conversion The essential cause of his political metamorphose, we were told, was his love of applause, fear of unpopularity among the dominant caste, reverence for money-grubbing plutocrats, growing fondness for aristocratic pomp and circumstance Doctor Laski was not at all impressed with the alleged patriotic courage of the Premier "Never before in British political life," wrote Laski has the Prime Minister of one party ejected his colleagues from office to become leader of a government made almost wholly of men who but a day before, were his severely critical opponents Laski left no room in the minds of his readers whether the Great Man in the Downing Street was a flaming leader of a world peace crusade a shining patriot, or a gross betrayer of 'essential decencies of public life' The truth is that MacDonald and logic were seldom on friendly terms

I heard Ramsay MacDonald over the radio make his final speech from New York during his last visit to this country in 1932 He had a resonant voice and his sentences were full of oratorical juice He referred naively to the British possessions as 'one great happy family' where 'all are treated as equals' and other such petrified prejudices Very funny He spoke also in the interest of cooperation between the peoples of the United States and the British Isles—the usual theme-song of all visiting Englishmen The generality of Americans is immune from rhetorical blandishments but that elocution of MacDonald went big with the Anglophiles I do not of course, mean to imply that he was other than entirely orthodox and respectable—he was too dead even then to be anything else

Mr MacDonald in his free-lance days served as the English correspondent of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* The Indian cause at that time found in him a strong champion He even wrote two books, *The Awakening of India* and *The Government of India* advocating freedom for the Indian nation More, in the days when he was out of Parliament and out of office he used to write articles for the New York *Nation* denouncing English policy in India, yet when the opportunity came to him to alter that policy he did nothing In commenting on this Mr Oswald Garrison Villard editor of *The Nation* says in a recent issue of that magazine 'Never was there a clearer case of a man's whole point of view being affected—his moral fiber impaired his vision blurred—by the office he held'

The greatest days of James Ramsay MacDonald's life were the days of the World

War His steadfast opposition to the war despite such obloquy a few men experience revealed whatever best there was in him He was greater in his hours of seeming adversity than in those of seeming success But in the end it appeared as if there were some satanic lord of the universe some cynical cosmic jester so to order affairs that the MacDonald who opposed the imperialism of the World War should be the champion of British imperialism in India

MacDonald's colossal vanity and oily respect for the rich and mighty prevented his good qualities from developing 'He was a lonesome man his eldest daughter lamented the other day He had lost his comrades his real friend And among his new companions he was still a stranger A sad forlorn figure Will this man occupy a high place in the long judgment of history? Will he be numbered with the great? I am inclined to believe he will never be accused of being truly great

Iowa City
U S A

THE INDIAN CENTENARY IN BRITISH GUIANA

By C F ANDREWS

THE YEAR 1938 will mark the first landing of Indian settlers in Denmark or British Guiana Those who are there in residence at the present time have decided to celebrate this event on May 6th 1938 and they have made an appeal to Indians in the motherland to share with them in their rejoicings over this event and if possible to send out representatives from India to assist in the celebration

In the year 1838 one hundred and fifty six colonists set sail from Calcutta in the ship *Hesperus* for British Guiana where work was offered them on the sugar plantations There was no indenture system at this time and they went out in simple faith hoping there to start a new life After a long voyage lasting many months round the Cape of Good Hope they landed at the capital called George Town Thus began the very first settlement from India in the West Indies Six years later Indians landed in Trinidad which is an island close to the Guiana Coast and from that time forward many of the Windward Islands took Indian emigrants On the voyage out they endured incredible hardships and many succumbed

British Guiana or Demerara lies about six degrees North of the Equator on the coast of South America that forces the great Gulf of Mexico Trinidad and Tobago and Barbadoes are the nearest island Then come a long line of islands—Grenada Dominica Martinique Antigua St Lucia St Kitts Nevis and others still smaller Jamaica, where Indians also settled lies a thousand miles away further up the Gulf to the North West In all these West Indian Island sugar has been cultivated as a staple product for more than two hundred years In the eighteenth century the cultivation was carried on by slave labour from the West Coast of Africa and the population at the present time all over the West Indies represents the descendants of these West African slaves

When slavery was abolished in all the British Colonies in 1833 35 the whole sugar plantation system in the West Indies was in serious jeopardy because the African Negroes who had been emancipated refused to work on the sugar estates any longer It was at this critical juncture that efforts were made in different part of the world to induce free labour to come over and renew the work At first this was done by private recruiting and as we have seen the first settlers both to British Guiana and Trinidad came over of their own accord under no indenture though there was an agreement that they would be ready to undertake agricultural work Even before any Indian settlers had gone out to the West Indies more than seven thousand had left for Mauritius which is in the middle of the Indian Ocean and much closer to India itself

Owing to the high mortality on the voyage and the irregular conditions under which recruiting was conducted the East India Company introduced with the help of the Colonial Office a system called Indenture, which

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Owing to the high mortality on the voyage and the irregular conditions under which recruiting was conducted the East India Company introduced, with the help of the Colonial Office, a system called Indenture, which

for nearly a hundred years attempted to regulate this traffic But in the long run it led to even worse evils than those that had prevailed at the first, and because it had the Government of India behind it the recruiting was in the long run much more numerous than it would otherwise have been

This indentured Indian labour under the Government of India control proved so im



C F Andrews

mensely advantageous to the sugar planters and the profits made by it were so great that this indenture system gradually spread in almost every part of the world The French were able to export labour from India to Reunion Martinique and Gaudeloupe and also to French Guiana The Dutch exported the same form of Indian indentured labour to Dutch Guiana The British Colonies of Natal and Fiji were added to the list on the British side and most of the West Indian islands at one time or another continued to receive Indian recruits

Ceylon and Malaya which were much nearer to India imported Indian labour by different systems of their own The Ceylon method proved to be even more objectionable in its results than indentured labour, as it involved permanent indebtedness This *tundu* system (as it was called) was abolished in 1921, just one year after the indenture system had been ended

The Malaya Indian labour has been the only form of recruitment, that by any stretch of imagination could be called 'free' It involves a verbal monthly contract between the employer and the labourer A minimum wage and a free passage are offered This monthly contract is the one labour recruiting method in South India which still survives, and even here many evils are met with which cannot be overcome

At last on January 1 1920, this terrible curse of the indenture system was brought to an end An Emigration Act was passed in 1922 which declares that

> "Emigration for the purpose of unskilled labour shall not be lawful except to such countries and on such terms as the Governor General in Council by notification in the *Gazette of India* may specify in this behalf"

Under the same Act a heavy penalty is imposed on anyone who attempts to cause or assist any Indian to emigrate Ceylon and Malaya are at present the only two countries notified in the Government of India Gazette

In all these Colonies therefore, including British Guiana every Indian is now free He has rights of land purchase though these are curtailed in Natal and also in Fiji No more Indian labourers have gone out under indenture for more than twenty years The actual recruiting was stopped in 1917 But before this happened the number of emigrants had so increased that even when those who wished to do so had gone back after their indenture was over there still remained behind a large settled Indian population This is now growing by natural increase so that today the following figures are roughly accurate —

Ceylon	800 000
Malaya	600,000
Natal	180 000
Mauritius	290 000
Fiji	85 000
British Guiana	136 000
Trinidad	142 000

The figure for Malaya varies greatly from year to year at one time it was over 700 000 In each of the estimates here given there may be a margin of inaccuracy The Indian birth rate is usually high and the death rate fairly low

British Guiana Indians who celebrate their centenary in May, 1938 have earnestly wished

to point out that this event has nothing to do with the beginning of the indenture system in that colony for that system has been throughout a curse and not a blessing and they have no wish to commemorate it This centenary is quite different It is intended to celebrate the landing of the first Indians from India in the Colony It is necessary in British Guiana to call them *East* Indians because the original

In the old days only sugar was grown but the Indians have introduced rice cultivation and have shown themselves to be excellent cultivators In this way they saved the Colony from bankruptcy when the sugar prices had reached their lowest figure

Beyond the rice and sugar belt there is virgin forest This goes on for miles and miles into the interior till the land suddenly rises



Aboriginal tribes cutting a clearing in the forest

inhabitants are called either West Indians or American Indians In British Guiana these aboriginals are very few in number and probably do not amount to more than between 6 000 and 10 000 all told They live in the depth of the forest and it is very hard to find out accurately how many there are They live almost entirely by hunting in the forest and by growing small patches of edible roots such as yam and manioc They also eat the fruit from the trees

British Guiana itself is a very strange country in its soil formation The alluvial land *along the coast which has been made from the* silt of the huge rivers flowing from the interior forests and mountains has not yet reached such a height as to be altogether higher than the level of the sea It is like the soil of Holland The sea has to be kept out by dykes The surface water can only escape from the land at low tide Thus this low land is very easily flooded Yet at the same time, it is immensely, productive if only the sea water can be kept out.

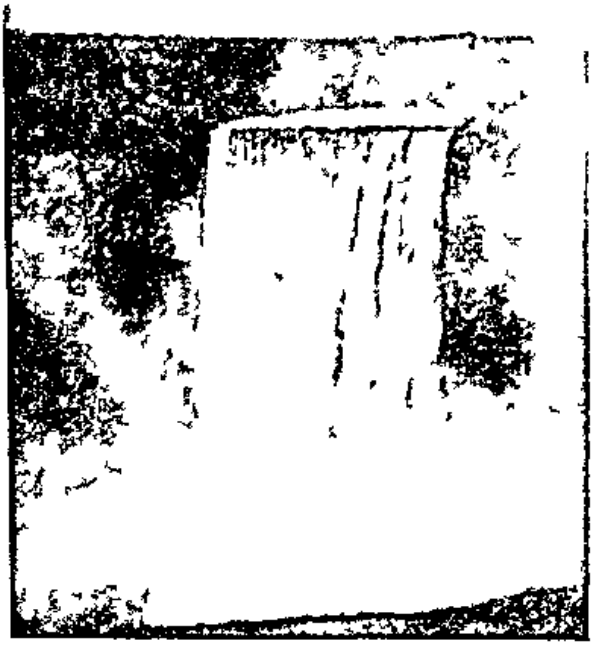
and mountain ranges begin with high savannahs or grass lands where cattle might easily be reared

It is here in the interior that the highest waterfall in the world exists whose volume of water is only surpassed by Niagara and the Zambesi Fall Those who have seen Niagara say that the Kaieteur Falls of British Guiana are far superior both in beauty and in majesty The illustration here given will show how magnificent they are The other photograph shows a group of American Indians in the forest cutting down the bamboos and clearing a small *patch for cultivation*

The Indian settlers have prospered considerably in recent years since the abolition of indenture The extraordinary fertility of the soil and the large rainfall with abundant sunshine all combine to produce an amazing growth of fruit and vegetables so that it has been rightly said that no one could starve in Demerara

Perhaps the greatest disadvantage which I experienced when I stayed there for some

months, was the prevalence of mosquitoes Nearly all the year round they continue to annoy one, as soon as even the sun goes down



Kaieteur Falls

and it is necessary always to sleep under a mosquito net At New Amsterdam they are worst of all George Town is now become much more healthy owing to a proper drainage system

The climate would be unbearably hot if it were not for a trade wind which blows from the sea during a great part of the year at a certain time every day When this breeze drops then the trouble, both from heat and mosquitoes begins, but as long as it blows the air is pleasantly cool

While the enterprise of the Indian community has given them a high standing among the diverse population there is one side where immense improvement might be made namely, in the education of Indian girls There are good opportunities offered but a dearth of trained teachers What, perhaps, is most needed at once is one really first-rate woman teacher who could train others Can India supply such a teacher? Whoever goes ought to go out with a missionary spirit for the enterprise will need great courage at the start But in the end the work will be amply rewarded The whole community is feeling this great want and there would be every encouragement given

It is a great happiness to me to relate that the Indian community has become splendidly united There is practically no communal tension and there is an ardent and deep devotion to the motherland In the course of time, there can be little doubt that leading Indians will gain more and more prominence in their new West Indian home A sincere and friendly spirit has grown up between the American Negro population and the Indian immigrants There is also a very kindly feeling between the East Indians and the Chinese The latter are well educated and well-organised and they invite leading Indians at all times to their own festivities

If the education of the young East Indian girls could be raised to a higher standard, there would be every inducement to the parents to keep their girls unmarried till a later age Since a large proportion of the emigrants come from the North of India and their orthodoxy in this matter does not go very deep it would be probably quite easy to win the agricultural villagers to a later marriage age, if only educational facilities could be provided

Since there is no racial or colour bar, and the basis of election is the same for all races it should be quite possible, if public pressure were brought to bear, to get sufficient funds for such a purpose Among the American Negro population and among the Chinese, the proportion of girls who are educated is much higher than among the Indian population Therefore, it has become the greatest need of all today to remedy this defect Nothing that I could think of would bring about more fruitful results Indeed the whole future of the Indian community seems to depend, more than anything else, on this one factor

ART IN PRIMITIVE AND ANCIENT LIFE

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

WHEN we discuss the art of the ancient peoples of the world namely the Egyptians Babylonians Persians Chinese Hellenes Hindus or Romans we should be on guard lest the word ancient be misunderstood to mean primitive For primitive art belongs to a group apart altogether and deals with the artistic creations of peoples who are not necessarily separated from the modern nations of today by time Primitive art is the art of those smaller communities of men whose life and conduct are less complex and elaborate than those of the so called civilized nations of the world Primitiveness is a simpler and more contented form of existence and as such does not display that variety and complexity of impulse which we associate with civilized life It is usual for the civilized type of humans to arrogate to themselves a manifold superiority over primitive peoples not always with a logic which is entirely convincing nor again in a spirit which satisfies the highest ideals of their civilization There being no transcendent standard by which two different schemes of existence can be compared and evaluated with a view to award places in point of superiority and inferiority any assertion of superiority by the exponents of one civilization over those of another merely provides another instance of that detestable "greater than thou" attitude which is so common with people harbouring an inferiority complex or a guilty soul

The primitive races of the world differ from the civilized ones in that they live a more direct life and suffer less intensively from that spirit of progress which has often driven whole communities to run a mad race round and round in a vicious circle A speedy sequence of changes is not synonymous with progress for a sense of direction is more necessary for progress than mere velocity A study of the history of dead and existing civilizations demonstrates the futility of being constantly on the move with a diminished sense of true values and without a sound enough purpose and solely to get over that spiritual and inward feeling of ennui or boredom from which all over elaborate and super-active civilizations so habitually suffer

But for the interference of civilized invaders the primitive races generally speaking would display more vitality and continuity of life and conduct Races have been known to have lived and flourished at a slow rhythm of existence over very long periods without suffering any pronounced ups and downs in their economy religion or art Primitive art demonstrates this abundantly and the aesthetic aspect of these arts is no less interesting than the human lesson it provides to the student Weaving, carving basketry tatooing mat making pottery, painting sculpture (among the Aztecs, Taltecs, Zapotecs and Mayas of America sculpture was remarkably advanced) metallurgy and jewellery architecture and the minor arts are all found in primitive civilizations Some may lack one or more of these but generally speaking all primitive races have a strong aesthetic side to their life That primitive races indulge in dancing music and pantommes of sorts, is also well known In their aesthetic expression they may not come in a line with the civilized races of the world but one may assume that for their own purpose their arts are satisfactory enough in so far as they have been known to have practised these arts during fairly long periods Some of the objects produced by the primitive artists would easily bear comparison with the work done by members of civilized communities, others would be considered crude or even defective according to civilized standard But the artistic efforts of the members of these simpler cultural groups prove beyond doubt that they have their own artistic urges and express the same to their own satisfaction It is not for us to dictate that they should not be satisfied with so little for satisfaction is an intimately personal matter and can never be enforced nor dictated

The primitive type of civilization as we find it in India possesses most of the artistic features that we have mentioned The Mundas, Santhals Gonds Garos Khasis Kols Bhils, Nagas Todas and the other primitive folks who have lived in India since days immeasurably far away in the past, practise the different arts intensively enough to give these a very important place in their lives Without any complex intellectual pretensions, these simple people weave, carve execute decorative paintings, make jewellery and arms dance and sing with a simple charm and grace which is really soothing

and creates but gentle ripples on the surface of the artistic consciousness There is no attempt at agitating the soul until its very depths are thrown up in violent waves of emotion, nor does primitive art pretend to probe into the innermost corners of the heart with a view to explore and expose something new at each thrust Their garments are vividly colourful their other handicrafts gracefully decorative and their song and dance is a page out of the book of nature itself

In the moonlit glades of their forest homes the Sonthal maidens sway and swing like delicate branches in a gentle breeze imitating the motion of breakers at low tide and the accompaniment of soft music chanted in chorus reminds one of the distant murmur of surf

With the red hibiscus in the coils of their jet black hair and the prominent red and black designs on the folds of their *saris* they roll up to in wave motion and recede from their young men whose drums beat out a constant rumble adding a virile note to the phantasy

There is a tendency among certain critics and scholars to explain away all primitive art as the ritual or symbol of some superstitious belief or magic It is not the purpose of this discussion to challenge any such assertion save and except where it suggests that primitive art is alien in spirit to the art of civilized men on this account For even if we assume the all pervading sway of totem and magic over primitive life we need not necessarily discard the aesthetic elements present in it Religious beliefs and tradition have dominated practically all art and any assumption of aesthetic barreness as an essential outcome of connection with religious belief would demolish the aesthetic basis of the art of Byzantium and Italy and for that matter of many other countries and periods Primitive art may be different in the quality and strength of its aesthetic content but beyond that we cannot go The aesthetic emotion conception and external projection are all present in the art life of the primitive races It is as futile to deny this as to hold that primitive men lack the basic instincts of sex and self preservation or the protective, self-abnegatory or gregarious instincts

All this prolonged discussion of primitive art has been necessary with a view to keep it separate from the ancient art of civilized or more complex communities The primitive races have lived and behaved with much more stability and have conserved their arts in a more or less unchanged form as compared with the races who have sought variety and change with an almost insane fervour Whether such urges have materially contributed to the final unfolding of the Divine conception of human evolution is a question which we cannot and should not try to answer

The art of ancient times, as far as we can judge of it reduces itself to material objects of art It is a certainty that the ancient Babylonian Assyrian Egyptian and other civilized communities which have ceased to exist culturally had their poetry, music dance and drama in some sense but the available material does not provide any scope for a fuller appreciation of these arts Architecture sculpture, painting and the decorative and useful arts are, however substantially represented in the remains of these extinct civilizations A study of these gives us a fair idea of the art life of these people The European countries, China Japan and India present a fuller picture in that the ancient art of these lands is more or less continuous with the more recent and we know much more of the peoples of these countries and of their life and aspirations because they are still living and are often manifesting the same or similar aesthetic impulses as compared to their remote ancestors

The first relics of ancient Babylonian art come from a period which may be placed about 6 500 years ago Even at this remote period it had attained a certain perfection and it leads to the conclusion that other and simpler forms of arts existed even before this time Among the seals and other objects of art workmanship of artists of great talent is often noticed side by side with common bazaar stuff, as we may say Human as well as animal forms are seen and these are often modified in terms of religious beliefs and with a view to convey some meaning The cylinder seals of the Babylonians are the most common and important art relics of those days Bronzes are also found as also stones with sculptured representations, which are of a much later period

It is from Assyria however, that we get more variety and wealth of material Magnificent low relief on ample stone surfaces pay indeed a high tribute to the Assyrian artist The art of Babylonia and Assyria depict an intense religious outlook and convention of a rigidity which suggests a highly developed and esoteric priestly cult

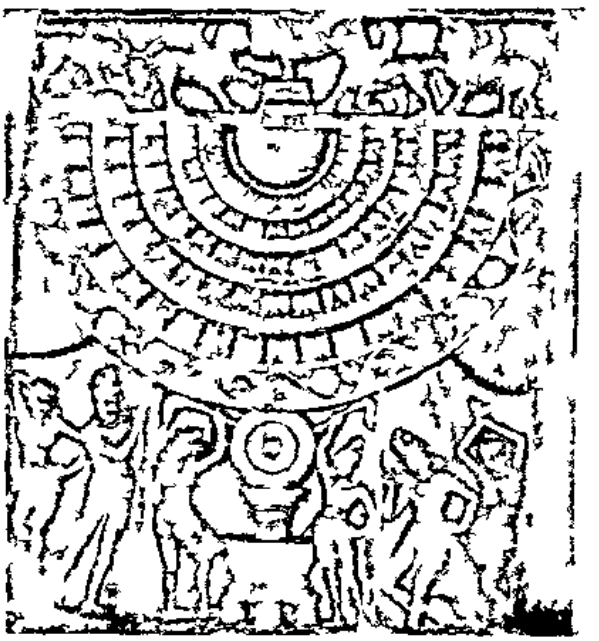
'The religious aspect of art in Egypt includes all that is known of it,' says Flinders Petrie



S bd ng the elephant Amrava



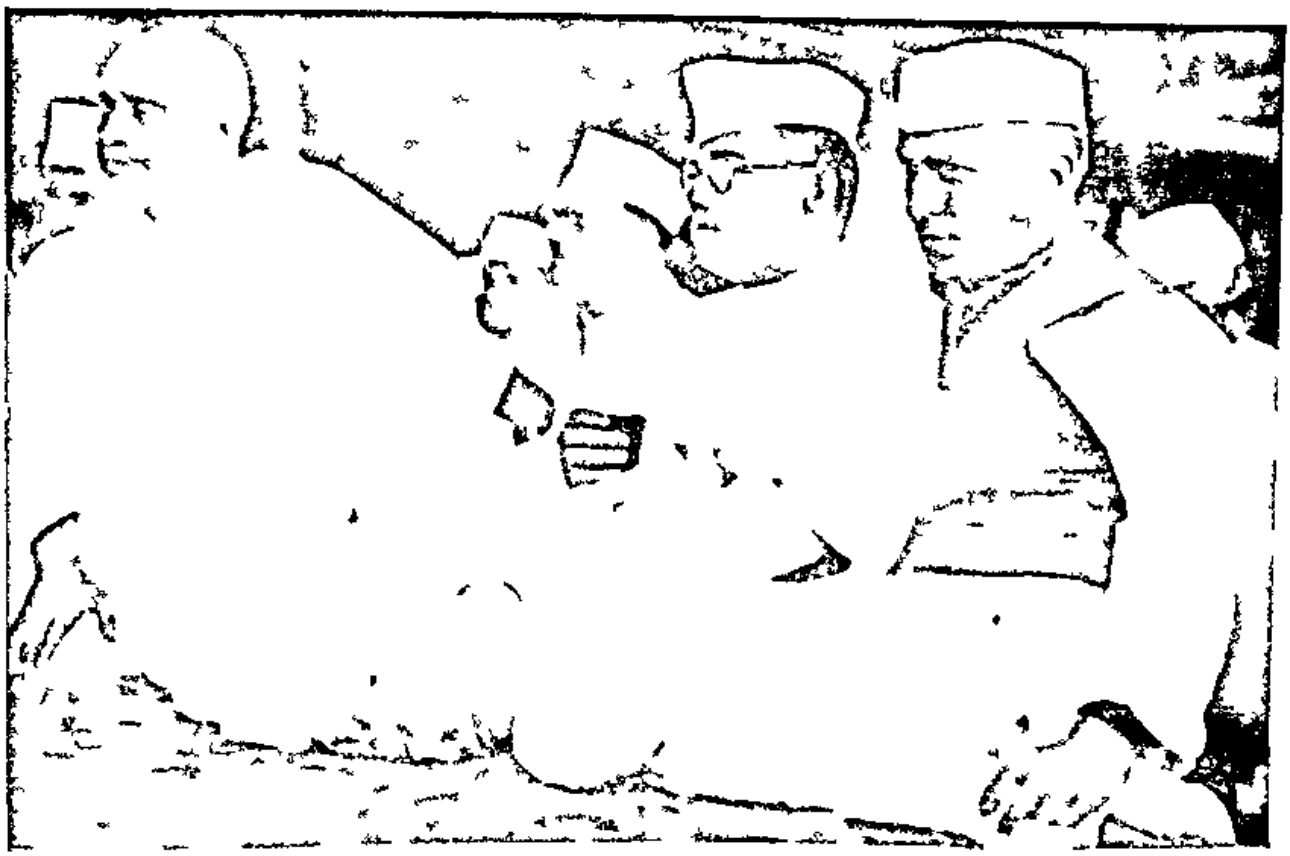
Women pro trat ng them el es at the feet of the Buddha—Amravati



Relief from Amravati



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President Subhas Chandra Bose welcomed in Bombay

"The earliest sculptures are tombstones and tables of offerings for the benefit of a deceased person the earliest statuary is of figures in which the soul of the deceased might reside, made as lifelike as possible in order to give him satisfaction the figures of servants with offerings or of serfs to cultivate the ground were for service in the next world the whole of the tomb sculptures paintings and furniture—carved coffins, canopic jars tablets, and all else—resulted from the religious theories of the future life The buildings that remain to us are nearly all temples, the colloss which stand in them were habitations for the many *Ka*-souls of the king, and even the battle scenes on the walls are all part of the display of religious fervour and culminate in the triumphal processions of captives dedicated to the god, or led by the god as his appanage to be entrusted to the king's administration. The civil life of the lay Egyptian has almost vanished, the palaces and towns are nearly all below the plain of Nile mud and it is only sepulchral and religious remains that—being placed on the desert—have thus been preserved to us

Among Egyptian symbols may be mentioned the following Different tribes are represented by their emblems such as the hawk, lion scorpion, jackal and pelican These animals are often depicted as doing things that the members of the tribes did, such as breaking down walls of towns, making captives, etc The king is a strong bull, a fish with two hands or a hawk with a human hand by which it holds a cord binding a captive Gods and goddesses are also similarly depicted Animal heads are placed on human bodies and the sphinx is a human head on an animal body A great degree of artistic talent is displayed to effect these strange conjuctions without hurting the aesthetic sense Among ceremonies depicted are noticed sacrificial scenes offering endowing with gifts (generally by gods) and purification ceremonies Exquisite objects were made in ancient Egypt and gold was used in profusion

Judging by the temple and religious arts of the Egyptians, one can safely assume that their civic existence, at least that of the nobility was full of luxury, pomp and splendour Variety and change run through the entire length of Egyptian art-history and thus dead civilization is a sad monument to the inexorable laws of decay and the ephemeral nature of even the supremest form of human achievement and power . .

The sublime poetry and imagery of the *Rigveda* would give us a basic explanation of the inborn admiration of and intimacy with nature and natural forces which is found in Indian art Such passages as the one addressed to the *Maruts* shows a deep communion with nature and would corroborate the 'straight from the heart' character of Indian naturalism

"The bellowing bull of the flood pours forth the seed of life to the plants. He blasts both trees and demons, the universe trembles beneath his heroic arm, and the innocent man shudders as the roaring giant smites the sinners. As the horses bound beneath the whip which guides them to his moist messengers announce his coming and he is heard afar off like the roaring of a lion as the god takes form in the rain bearing cloud The winds rush forth, the lightenings fly the plants upraise their heads, the sky is swollen. Abundance pours forth for all living creatures when the god sheds his sap upon the earth Roar, O god thunder and engender life drive across the heavens in thy chariot heavy with downpours, drawing the open water skin whose mouth is hanging over us, level the *slopes and the hollows Tip up the great bowl let it* be emptied out in torrents unrestrained flood both heaven and earth with rich moisture and make a good watering trough for the kine"

Or to Agni in the *Mahabharata*

"In thee all doth live clothed in the form of the sun Thou takest up the waters of the earth with thy beams then, by the rains which thou dost pour forth in their season thou restoreth life to all things. Then are all things born of thee anew the twining plants, the green foliage the lakes, the favoured reservoir of the waters, the whole of that moist palace, subject to *Varuna*."

The Indians were thus fully eloquent in expressing their feelings and rich in their appreciation of the beauty of things long before they made the sculptures of Sanchi or Bharut or painted the earliest pictures at Ajanta The imagery which illuminated their soul found first expression in words, but when the occasion arose to give material shape to a more well defined *religious feeling it assumed the shape of what* may be termed an adoration in stone

The artists who worked the sculptures at Bharut and Sanchi excelled in the execution of floral and animal motives Their relative inefficiency in the rendering of the human form may be due to inexperience or to the floral and animal symbolism prevailing at the period The Buddha was not to be portrayed and the story of the Buddha is told elaborately and with great effect without the Buddha appearing anywhere In the story of the conception, the young elephant, in that of the nativity, the lotus, in the great departure the riderless horse, in the assault of *Mara*, the tree with the empty seat underneath with demons and courtesans, and so on The symbols tell the story, and the human form of the Buddha never appears Describing Sanchi, Monsieur Rene Grousset, conservator of the Musee Guimet, exclaims

"What love of nature is to be seen in them, what an understanding of floral and animal forms! Just as our Cathedrals are encyclopædias in stone so the gates of Sanchi unroll before our eyes the marvellous poem of Indian nature"

Buffaloes, tigers, serpents, antelopes, elephants peacocks and *nagas* or *garudas*

"As we stand before these scenes, with their delicate and tender feeling for nature, Assyrian bas reliefs seem very conventional and even Greek bas reliefs almost strike us as cold."

The Greek influence in Indian art passed through different phases, but with the fall of Greek power in India, this element became thoroughly absorbed and assimilated into Indian ideals and forms until no trace of its separate existence remained anywhere The Kushan and Guptas and, more or less contemporaneously with them, the Andhras in Southern India slowly moulded the aesthetic ideals of Indian art until proportion, harmony and refinement became all-pervading The Greek started making Buddhas and now it became quite the usual thing to depict the Lord

Amaravati is particularly interesting on account of its purely Indian style and the supreme elegance in form attained here by the Indian sculptor We may call it idealism or spiritualization or just a superior aesthetic realisation More elastic and vitally graceful, the sculpture of Amaravati can no longer remind anyone of ivory-carving or of woodwork Ethereal in refinement, these figures are totally sculpturesque in a more keenly aesthetic sense than even in the case of Hellenic statuary Gupta sculpture gave the final touches to the plastic conventions of ancient India These were not based on any intellectual analysis of the perfect form as in the case of the Greeks, but followed the naturalistic reasoning which gave a continuity to Indian aesthetic thought The drawn bow, the leaf of the *neem* tree, the wagtail, the eyes of a roe, the lotus, the sesame flower, the pomegranate, the stone of the mango the conch shell, the elephant's trunk or the spawning fish, all contributed to the sum-total of the grace and beauty of the human form These were not merely metaphorical but usually alive with a keen realism In the rhythm of the attitudes, the lines provided by flowers plants or animals reappear The various attitudes and gestures were rendered in a more refined way but retained their connection with the ancient conventions in the field of dance and *abhinaya*, while newer conventions attained maturity They spoke a language which conveyed to those who could understand it, a *rasa* of supreme spiritual flavour

The failure of the earlier schools of Bharut Sanchi and Mathura to render the human form with effective realism and grace, has been ascribed, by certain critics, to inexperience or to an arrested outlook born of a tradition of wood and ivory carving It seems surprising that the restricted vision of the wood and ivory carver should impose itself so forcefully here, only in relation to the treatment of the human figure, and vanish entirely, whenever the sculptor attempted animal or plant form, yielding place to an amazing vision of grace, suppleness and vigour One has perforce to look for some other explanation and it has been provided by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda in his book *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum* He mentions three things in this connection First, the natural stiffness of the postures of *yoga*, for instance the rigid erectness in the *kayotsarga* posture as found in the images of the Jinas

The second is that most of these sculptures were done in medium relief and were meant to serve as mere architectural ornaments The third factor is the difference of outlook in regard to the beauty of the human form, of the Hindu sculptor as compared to that of the Greek. "With the Indian," writes Rama Prasad Chanda, "the form that is auspicious, but not necessarily pleasing to the eye, is beautiful" He quotes the *Chaitanyacharitamrita* to describe the signs of a *Mahapurusha*

These are

1 He hath feet with level tread
2 Beneath, on the soles of his feet, wheels appear thousand spoked, with tyre and hub
3 He hath projecting heels.
4. He hath long fingers and toes
5 Soft and tender hands and feet
7 His ankles are like rounded shells
8 His legs are like an antelope's
9 Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand
12 His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body
14 The down of his body turn upward, every hair of it, blue black in colour like eye paint, in little curly rings curling to the right
15 He hath a frame divinely straight
17 The front of his body is like a lion's (with narrow waist)
18 There is no furrow between his shoulders
20 His bust is equally rounded
21 His jaws are as a lion's
22. His eyes are intensely blue
30 He hath eyelashes like a cow's.
31 Between the eye brows appears a hairy mole white and like soft cotton down
32 His head is like a royal turban

Similar signs of a *Mahapurusha* are described in other and much older texts and they all seem to point to an astrological origin The beauty of the womanly figure is also dealt with in this auspicious and astrological way

Add to these the restrictions imposed by the conventions of attitude and gestures and the artist meets a formidable array of aesthetic

commandments before which his sense of beauty stands like a naughty child before an admonishing governess It was pointed out in the last article that the Indian artist faced the problem of conventions with an undaunted courage and succeeded very well indeed, after sometime, in achieving art in spite of these restraints upon his freedom of expression The Amaravati School had already mastered these difficulties and the different pieces of this School for instance those depicting the women prostrating themselves at the feet of the Buddha, the prince with his court of servants and women, the adoration of the stupa, and the descent of the elephant show clearly the evolution of the art and predict its further development in Mahavalipuram Gupta art is only the culmination of these tendencies Elegance and refinement had already come and Gupta art accentuated and further refined the ideals and added a serene spirituality to it which seemed to be the finishing touch The post Gupta schools of art continued in the now perfected tradition and examples are too numerous to give here The art of Gaud or Bengal under the Pala and Sena dynasties was a continuation of the Gupta tradition This art perhaps was less spiritual and refined as compared to the best specimens of the Gupta period but it displays an excellent execution of established conventions with occasional variations which are its own

The art of India under the Musalman rulers portray very truthfully the character of the rulers Let us look at Babur through the eyes of M Rene Grousset He says

"Babur almost reminds us of one of Clouet's portraits of nobles at the Louvre And he is indeed a true Renaissance type—a gentleman of exalted lineage with a passion for literature and art, anxiously observing all forms of humanism at once a dilettante an adventurer and a statesman. Possessing to quote Renan great good sense and a certain intelligent and gentle quality free from fanaticism, a subtle just unprejudiced and open mind' He was at the same time a poet, and even on the imperial throne of India felt home-sick for the landscapes of Ferghana, the grassy plains where he had been wont to dream in the days of his youth The violets are lovely in Ferghana it is a mass of Tulips and roses he says or he will quote verses full of an epicureanism that is quite Persian 'Sweet is the coming of the new year, sweet is the juice of the grape but how much sweeter is the voice of love Snatch Babur at all the pleasures of living for life doth flee never to return "

This is indeed an inspiration, far removed from that realization of endless struggle and sorrow and that hankering after *Nirvana* or the passionless, changeless and eternal state of radiant inaction That this outlook will lead to colourful weaving and embroidery, the making of exquisite miniatures, the soft and haunting strains of the *gazal* and *thumri*, and to a profusion of sensuous imagery of great refinement and decorative appeal, is only natural Even sorrow and pain become sensuous, like tender caresses to objects associated with the beloved who is no more The inspiration is lyrical and intimately personal The Mogul miniatures and pictures are vivid with this personal element and very few things in the art of the period would aesthetically transcend the purely personal feelings of man the mortal, and his fleeting joys sorrows and limited aspirations It is a deviation from the sublime, but is certainly not ridiculous For, intensive living may not give a chance to the human soul for flights to the far distant regions approachable by faith, reason and the intellect yet it enables one to look minutely into life itself and to purify, ennoble, refine and subdue its cruder and grosser manifestations by means of aesthetic correctives *

* Being substantially the second lecture delivered before the University of Madras under the Sir George Stanley Endowment 1938



THE RECENT INDIAN CRISIS

By BOOL CHAND

[The recent constitutional crisis in Bihar and U P over political prisoners is happily over It has we hope cleared the air and produced better understanding in the ranks of the Government as to the conventions on which smooth working of any constitution must rest But since some of the constitutional issues that have been raised by Mr Bool Chand are important and deserve consideration we are publishing this article which was written more than a month back—Ed *M R*]

I

Writing about the resignation of Congress ministries on the question of the release of political prisoners, Professor A B Keith said in a letter to the *Scotsman*[1] that 'it is decidedly unfortunate that the clash between the ministries of U P and Bihar and the Governors should have taken place on an issue which afforded strong constitutional grounds for the expectation of the Ministers that their advice should have prevailed' This statement, unimpeachable in its accuracy and depth of insight, sums up the whole nature of the recent constitutional crisis in India

The implication of this statement is two fold It implies, first, that a clash between the Governors and the Congress Ministers was quite inevitable and was bound to come sooner or later It implies secondly, that the Governors showed lack of wisdom and diplomacy in forcing the clash on an issue on which, on commonsense grounds the position of the Ministers was really stronger than that of the Governor

II

Why was a clash between the Governors and the Ministers so inevitable?

Among the forces that rendered a conflict between the Governor and the Ministry inevitable, the most important was, of course, the ill-conceived plan of the new Constitution itself The new Constitution was the product of a psychology that believed in giving with one hand and withdrawing with the other, so that it became, in effect, a most hotch-potch construction, singularly lacking in all sense of administrative and governmental mechanics Based on the avowed recognition of the principle that 'the responsibility of the Government of India will in future rest on the Indians themselves'[2] it sought to undo all the implications of that basic principle by the creation of safeguards special responsibilities, and legislative and financial powers of the Governors and the Governor-General, and in the end produced a most illogical and complicated scheme which was bound to prove quite unworkable in practice

Under any system of responsible government, there are only two legitimate means by which the Governor may make his influence or intervention felt in the sphere of government Firstly, he may discuss policy with or advise the Ministers and thus seek to influence their opinion, so that the Ministers might virtually adopt the Governor's views as their own Secondly, he has the constitutional right (although such a right has already become obsolete in the United Kingdom and the Dominions) to dismiss the Ministers who do not agree with his views and choose other Ministers who might be prepared to defend his actions in the legislature But the validity of this second course is dependent upon the composition of parties in the legislature its adoption would be legitimate only if the new Ministers had any chance of securing a majority of following in the legislature In the event, however, of the failure of the Governor to obtain Ministers, with a majority in the legislature, to support him in his views, the implications of responsible government leave absolutely no alternative for the Governor but to surrender his own views to those of the Ministers These implications of responsible government have been sought to be negatived by means of the doctrine of special responsibilities and powers of the Governor, by the framers of the new Constitution, and in so far as they have attempted to do so, they have made the new scheme capable of the creation of deadlocks and conflicts

It bespeaks great political insight on the

1 Dated 17th February, 1938

2 Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, Cmd 3778 p 212.

part of the Congress that they endeavoured to insure against these deadlocks and conflicts by asking before forming governments in the provinces where they had clear majorities in the legislatures for an assurance that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference in regard to their constitutional activities[3] In their anxiety to secure the acceptance of offices by the Congress the Secretary of State and the Governor General evaded the issue thus raised by the Congress and gave an assurance in a general way that the essence of the new Constitution is that the initiative and responsibility for the whole government of the province though in form vesting in the Governor passes to the ministry as soon as it takes office[4] How extremely vague and unsatisfactory such an assurance was seems to have been realised by the Congress from the very start for they openly avowed their hostility to the constitutional scheme the consequence of whose operation from the very nature of its inception could be nothing but to produce daily crises and conflicts between the Governor acting on the airy foundation of his special responsibilities and the popularly responsible Ministers whose business it is understood under a system of responsible government to be to govern the country

III

All this goes to show that the occurrence of a clash between the Governor and the Ministers was in any case quite inevitable but as Professor Keith says in arising over the issue of the release of political prisoners it arose in a most unexpected manner and over an issue which afforded strong constitutional grounds for the expectation of the Ministers that their advice should have prevailed

The circumstances leading to the present conflict may be briefly stated It was in July last year that the Congress party formed ministries in the seven provinces where it had a clear majority One of the demands put forward in the Congress election programme had been that political prisoners throughout India should be released whatever their offence When the Congress took up office it naturally began the prosecution of that policy With regard to political prisoners who had been sentenced for crime in their nature admittedly grave the course that was adopted was one of gradual release after the consideration of the merits of individual cases and on a promise from the prisoners that they had abjured the creed of violence Under this policy about a hundred persons had been released in the various provinces when it was felt by some that the process was painfully slow In Bihar, nine of the prisoners resorted to hunger strike in order to enforce their demand for the immediate release of all prisoners Having satisfied themselves that the prisoners had really changed their creed and believing in the reasonableness of the prisoners' demand and in view of public opinion in the country the Ministers in Bihar and U P unanimously advised the Governor to effect the immediate release of all prisoners Under instructions from the Governor General who took advantage of section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act to issue orders to a Governor as to the manner in which executive authority is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof, the Governors of Bihar and U P rejected this unanimous advice of their Ministers Upon this the Ministers had no alternative but to resign

IV

A correct judgment as to the validity or otherwise of the action of the Governors and the Governor General must depend upon the evaluation of two or three issues The first is how far would the release of about forty political prisoners constitute a grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India

Speaking on behalf of the Secretary of State for India Lord Winterton in his statement in the House of Commons on the 16th February referred to the prisoners in question as so called political prisoners, some of whom were 'dangerous terrorists with very bad criminal records' and suggested that 'the doctrine that crimes of violence if actuated by a motive that can be described as political' need not be subject to the law of the land must strike at the very root of law and order in India' But it must be pointed out that the emphasis of Lord Winterton's statement is all wrong That the crimes for which some of these criminals had been sent to gaol were in their nature clearly grave is true but their crimes were essentially conceived as protests against what they felt profoundly to be an alien despotism With the provinces already ruled by elected majorities their whole

3 *Resolution of the All India Congress Committee* at Delhi dated 18th March 1937

4 Lord Zetland in the House of Lords dated 8th May 1937

INDIA'S WOMEN SCIENTISTS

By ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA

In the first week of January last the Indian Science Congress held its meetings in Calcutta on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee in co-operation with the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Many eminent scientists from all parts of the World attended the function and contributed many interesting papers. Many women scientists of India joined the deliberations and read many interesting papers on their researches. Besides reading papers they joined in the discussions on various topics of scientific interest and many of them joined as delegates and made the session a success. We give below the names of the papers that were read before the Congress.

In the Section of Physics and Mathematics the following paper was read by a woman scientist:

1. On the Theory of Absorption in Ionised Gas by Mrs. Bibha Mazumdar, Calcutta.

In the Section of Chemistry the following papers were read —

The PH of Aqueous Solutions Containing Boric Acid and Hydroxylic Substances by S. M. Mehta and Miss K. V. Kantak, Bombay.

2. Aqueous Solutions of Sodium Aluminates by Miss O. Joseph and Mata Prosad, Bombay.

3. Synthesis and Resolution of α-ethoxystearic Acid by Miss P. Devi and P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Bangalore.

4. Synthesis of αβ-eleostearic Acid by Miss P. Devi and P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Bangalore.

5. Halogenation. Part XXII. Chlorination and Bromination of Toluene under the Combined Influence of Sunlight and Halogen Carriers by P. S. Verma, Mrs. P. Annapurna, S. Rao and A. Krishmurty, Benares.

6. Essential Oil from the Leaves of *Sphrenthus indicus* by Miss Mary Mathen and B. Sanjiva Rao, Bangalore.

7. Essential Oil from *Litsæa zeylanica*: the occurrence of dicadinene by Miss Mary Mathen and B. Sanjiva Rao, Bangalore.

8. Synthesis of Metaoxazine Compounds by N. W. Hirwe and Miss K. D. Gavankar, Bombay.

9. Aroma in Butter by Miss R. Karnad, Bangalore.

10. Dielectric Constants of Mixtures of Alcohol, Benzene and Water by S. K. K. Jatkar and Miss N. Shama Rao, Bangalore.

In the Section of Geography and Geodesy —

1. The Geography of Disease by Miss M. W. Haddington, Madras.

In the Section of Psychology —

1. A Study of the Handwriting of Children in School by Miss R. Ghosh, Calcutta.

In the Section of Anthropology —

1. Inter-caste Differences in Blood Group Distribution in Bengal by Mrs. E. Macfarlane, Calcutta.

2. The Palaungs of the Shan Hinterland by M. R. Sahni and Mrs. Shama Sahni, Calcutta.

In the Section of Botany —

Dr. (Miss) E. K. Janaki Ammal was the president of the sub-section of Genetics and Cytology.

The following papers were read by the women scientists in this section —

1. Chromosome behaviour in Saccharum spontaneum × Sorghum durra hybrids by Miss E. K. Janaki Ammal, Coimbatore.

2. A lower Gondwana flora from the Salt Range, Punjab by Miss Chinna Virkki, Lucknow.

3. The Effect of Carbon Dioxide on Water Entry into the Roots by T. Ekambaram and Miss V. K. Kamalam, Madras.

4. Permeability of the Xylem Vessel Wall by T. Ekambaram and Miss V. K. Kamalam, Madras.

In the Section of Zoology —

1. Observations on the Reproductive System, Egg-Case and Embryos of *Chiloscyllium griseum*—Muller and Henle by R. Gopala Ayar and Miss K. P. Nalini, Madras.

2. Observations on the Structure and Function of the Nidamental Glands of *Chiloscyllium griseum*—Muller and Henle with a note on the formation of the egg-capsule by Miss K. P. Nalini, Madras.

3. Preliminary Observations on the Structure of the Uterus and the Placenta in *Scoliodon Sorrakowah* by Miss G. Mahadevan, Madras.

4. The Arterial System of the Mud Turtle *Lissemys punctata* by Miss B. K. Dhillon, Lahore.

5. The Spermatogenesis of *Clibanarius padavensis* by Miss C. K. Ratnavati, Madras.

The above facts show that if women of our country are given proper facilities to do research work and encouraged by the award of research scholarships, stipends etc. they will be in a position to do scientific research work in no way inferior to that of any of their sisters in other parts of the globe.

MATCH MANUFACTURE FOR COTTAGES

A New Idea, and a New Method

By SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

Story of Match Manufacture in India

The match industry in India has passed through many striking changes The earliest factory that exists today is the Gujerat Islam Match Factory, Ahmedabad established in 1895 During the Swadeshi days of 1906 match manufacture received an impetus Many factories were established but by 1915 almost all of them were closed down either for want of capital or for unsuitability of site or for defective product or faulty management

Matches continued to be imported The pre-war imports were principally from Sweden and Norway on the one hand and Japan on the other hand The Indian market was roughly divided half and half between them But during the war Sweden materially lost its world market In 1918 Japan exported 11 million gross boxes to India while Sweden's share was 0 1 million gross At the close of the war, the mutually competing Swedish interests were moulded into one and the present Swedish control of match industry almost all over the world was built up quickly By 1923 Sweden again shared half the Indian market with Japan But by 1927, Japan shared only 6 per cent of the Indian market, Sweden having wrested the market from her

Imposition of Heavy Import Duty

In 1922, the Indian Government wanted to increase revenue by imposing a heavy duty on importation of matches It was Re 1-8 per gross *Although it was purely a revenue duty* yet it operated as a protective one and match factories began to spring up in India in large number Some of the new Companies were Indian but very big factories run by Swedish and Japanese capital were established at the same time Government obtained a revenue of Rs 154 lakhs from this duty, which began to decline progressively In 1923 24 it was 138 lakhs and in 1925 26, it fell to 118 lakhs *As the Indian factories grew up and became more and more efficient* government apprehended serious decrease in customs revenue from imported matches and it was estimated that it would come down to about 95 lakhs in 1926 27, and the fall was likely to continue in sharper incline

The Tariff Board Enquiry

Under the circumstances Government entrusted the Tariff Board to investigate the position of match industry in India and recommend if the industry needed protection and if *any excise duty should be imposed to recoup the* loss of revenue This was in 1926 and the Tariff Board forthwith undertook investigation and submitted a report in 1928

Things however were allowed to continue as in *1922 right upto 1934 when an Excise Duty*



Splitting bamboo

equal to the import duty of Re 1 8 per gross of matches (60 sticks) was imposed The import duty was increased so as to impose a like protective duty in addition to an *ad valorem* duty The year 1934 therefore marks a new stage in the Indian Match Industry Foreign imports dwindled and the excise revenue increased and amounted to Rs 238 5 lakhs in 1936 37 Events were happening rapidly between 1922 and 1934 The match makers in India had their time of plenty during this period and all engaged in the manufacture reaped large profits

The Swedish Company's Competition

Match prices were however falling rapidly every year after 1922 as Indian production was increasing The Swedish Company's objective to control the Indian market contributed also materially to the fall in prices

The Tariff Board Report observes

With the virtual cessation of Japanese imports in 1926 27 the competition in India entered on a new and more acute phase Production in India rose rapidly between 1923 24 and 1926 27 and may be estimated in 1927 at about 13½ million gross The total productive capacity is about 18 million gross excluding the cottage factories and the demand is in the neighbourhood of 17 million gross The Swedish Match Company has made no secret of its aim of securing at least one half of the



Making strips from flats

Indian market with either locally manufactured or imported matches In order to achieve this purpose it has had not only to increase its productions* but also to reduce the prices both of its Indian and imported matches, especially on the Bombay side In pursuance of this policy at the end of the calendar year 1927 it had brought up its Indian production to 4 16 million gross while its imports amounted to 3 59 million gross. It thus commanded a market of 7 75 millions out of an estimated demand of about 17 millions in 1927

A glance at the schedule of match prices given in the appendix to the Tariff Report will further clear the position

Match prices per gross

	Sept 1924	April 1925	June 1926
	Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P
Ambarnath Safety 1st (Swedish Company)	2 3 0	1 13 0	1 9 0
Other Indian Factory Safety	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 7 6

* Production of the Swedish Match Company's Factories in India (million gross)

	1924	1925	1926	1927
Bombay	182	785	1 997	2 296
Calcutta	054	443	947	1 217
Burma	—	080	221	384
Assam	—	—	031	269
Total	236	1 308	3 196	4 166

In two years the prices per gross appears to have fallen from 35 annas to 25 annas for Swedish Company and from 31 annas to 23½ annas for Indian Companies, which is nearly a 30% fall

As the Swedish Company became more and more securely established the competition grew keener, not between Japan and Sweden, as Japan was already ousted but between the foreign capitalised companies in India and the Indian companies

The Indian Companies alleged that the Swedish Company was threatening them with ruin and appealed to Government to give them a preference by taxing the foreign capitalised companies It was one of the objects of the Tariff Board Enquiry to go into this matter also and give their opinion They alleged that the Swedish Company was offering to purchase their ventures on pain of extinction in case of refusal They alleged that in order to discredit matches made from Indian wood the Company put into market some very inferior quality matches from Indian wood which successfully created an aversion for Indian Company's matches unjustifiably as Indian products were then equal to some of the best matches

The Swedish Company fills up the largest portion of the Tariff Report as it does that of the match trade all over the world In order to have a correct idea of the Indian match industry and its bearings, it is therefore necessary to know the aims, objects, methods and



A shear cutting strips into splints

resources of the Swedish Company The Tariff Report has done this by culling the Company's history as appeared in the Company's pamphlet *The Swedish Match Company* published under its own name and also by collecting materials from several of the prospectuses and balance sheets of the Company which formed

part of the record of the Tariff Board Enquiry The following is an excerpt from the report

"In 1903 two of the largest and the oldest of the match factories in Sweden known as the Jongkoping Company and Vulcan Match Works formed a combination which then or soon after absorbed five other companies The ability of the Swedish match industry to compete in foreign markets which had been crippled was largely restored by the adoption of this course But there still remained about eleven factories outside the group which whether they competed against it or against one another constituted a distinct handicap to maintenance of prices in foreign markets upon which the prosperity of the industry almost wholly depended In 1913 Mr Iver Kreuger of Messrs Kreuger and Toll by the establishment of a Company called the United Swedish Match Factories brought these factories under one single control The entire industry thus passed into the hands of these two combinations and though there was in the home market a good deal of co-operation between the two competition in foreign markets was unavoidable During the war Sweden had almost entirely lost its foreign trade In 1917 in order to recapture it the Swedish Match Company was incorporated and the two combines were brought under the single control of that Company with Mr Ivar Kreuger as Chairman

* * * *

"It may be estimated that the Swedish Match Company now controls not less than 65 to 70 per cent of the total world's demand It has built its factories practically in every important country in the world and where no factories exist it exports matches from Sweden In more than twenty five countries it has either a complete monopoly granted by the Government or a virtual monopoly acquired in different ways to which we shall presently refer In 1927 it entered into an arrangement with Messrs Bryant and May under which in substance the British Company was to operate in the whole of the British Empire excluding Asia and the Swedish Match Company outside that area. The only European countries of any importance that are practically now outside the direct control of the Company are Finland Austria Hungary and Czecho Slovakia but it is believed that in Austria Hungary and Czecho Slovakia also it has a working arrangement as regards exports

"The object of the Company is to secure a position in every possible market of the world which would enable it eventually to regulate prices The acquisition even of the major part of the business in a market will not enable it to achieve this object Either a complete monopoly must be obtained or a majority interest in every important unit constituting the industry As we have stated it has already secured this power in respect of 65 to 70 per cent of the world's market

"We shall now briefly describe and give some illustrations of the methods adopted to secure its object Where circumstances are favourable the Company obtains a direct monopoly from the State In some cases the monopoly is granted because it is considered to be in the economic interest of the country As an inducement to grant concessions moneys are advanced sometimes as a direct loan to the Government at a low rate of interest or in the shape of discounting at a low rate the royalty payable to the government during the whole period of the monopoly The Company's arrangements with the Greek Government may be cited as an illustration of this policy Where this is not possible and especially where the industry is sheltered by a high tariff the Company acquires in the country, by negotiation existing factories or builds new ones An attempt is then made to obtain control of the industry amicably If this proves unsuccessful an intense price war is initiated until the local industry surrenders. For example in Belgium very severe competition prevailed before the Company obtained virtual control of the industry In this connection the statement recently made by the President of Belgian manufacturers before the special Committee appointed by the Belgian Government is of some interest

"The cartel (meaning the Swedish Match Company) makes more money by the matches manufactured in



A drum for polishing splints

Sweden and in other countries by it than on those manufactured in Belgium It is therefore to its interest to close down in Belgium as many factories as possible The price war which the cartel is capable of carrying on during years in all countries to which Belgium can hope to export matches * * * * is very formidable *It is a matter of public notoriety that last year* a Belgian factory was compelled to go into liquidation on account of this price war the assets realized in the liquidation were not enough to pay 10 per cent to the shareholders

In Germany also the Swedish Match Company has acquired a controlling interest in about 65 per cent of the industry and the German Government fearing that the whole industry might pass into the hands of the Trust agreed in 1927 to a compromise * * *

Japan was the most formidable competitor of the Swedish Match Company in the East and therefore as we have stated in an earlier chapter an intense price war was carried on against Japan in all the markets of the East especially in India In the end the Japanese industry succumbed to this competition. According to our information the Swedish Match Company has now a controlling interest in about 80 per cent of the Japanese industry

"While we think that nothing has so far occurred in the activities of the Swedish Match Company in India which calls for Government action, it must be admitted that the resources of the Swedish Company are sufficient if it so desired to crush for a time at least all competition from Indian firms and capture for itself the whole of the Indian market * * *

So this was the Company that was rivalling in 1927 against the small Indian capitalised units As a result of this rivalry, prices continued to fall and productive capacity increase Even in 1927 Indian productive capa-

city much exceeded the entire consumption demand

The Excise Act

The Excise Act came in 1934 Match was taxed heavily and the prices were fluctuating but competition with Indian capital continued to be keen The effect of the duty was that



Singe ng or burning off hr stles from spl nts

match could now be manufactured only in licensed premi es The larger and smaller units have to pay the same duty namely 8 annas per gross boxes per 20 sticks For example

Duty on 1 gross of 40 st ck boxes is Re 1-0-0
D ity on 1 gross of 60 s ick boxes is Re 1-8-0
D ity on 1 gross of 80 stick boxes is Rs 2-0 0

Government made a distinction between larger and smaller manufacturing units and provided for a rebate of 10 pies per gross boxes of 40 sticks in case of cottage factories and defined cottage factories as tho e who make not more than 100 gross a day

The Tariff Board opined that units producing less than 5 000 gross a day could not l e paying and based their calculation of fair co t and selling price at tl e time of report upon such 5000 gross units No wonder that the Government put 100 gross units as cottage units although they are regular factories using power and mostly coming under the Factories Acts as units smaller than 100 gross a day, were beyond conception then

Ruinous Competition Commenced

Immediately after the operation of the Exci e Act commenced we find that the powerful Japanese and Swedish Companies operating in India were faced with over production which resulted in consequent severe price cutting Tl e Indian manufactures though in ignificant were invited in a conference of the manufacturers in 1935 and there was a proposal to restrict production to 13 000 gross daily at Calcutta Nothing however came out of this endeavour and keen competition prevailed, which still continues

At the present moment prices have come down so low as to make it almost unprofitable for the small producers They however still continue to exist working under great handicap How long they may continue is a problem I shall analyse the present (1938) prices of match

Calcutta consumes 60 s and the retail price is Rs 2 4 per gross or one pice per box Out of this Re 1 8 goes to Government as duty leaving 12 annas per gross to the producer The retailer keeps at least three annas per gros or one pice by selling one dozen boxes and one anna per gross may be put for transport and wholesaler s commission leaving only annas eight per gross to the match manufacturer With annas eight the manufacturer has to cover his cost of production of 144 pieces complete matches ready for sale and also make profit

In the cost of 40 s the share of the manu facturer is equally meagre but the middleman has a good margin Tl e 40 s sell for one pice per box in the mofussil or Rs 2 4 per gross Tl e manufacturer sells 40 s to the wholesaler at Re 1 7 at Calcutta and gives out of it one rupee to government and keeps seven annas for himself The mofussil buyer gets it at Re 1-8 to Re 1 10 after paying for packing and railway freight according to distance The mofus il wholesaler sells it at Re 1-11 or Re 1-12 per gross leaving a margin of eight to nine annas per gross to the retailer while the manufacturer earns only seven annas per gross by way of costs and profits

Match manufacturer in either case gets eigh t to seven annas for manufacturing a gross match boxes of 60 s or 40 s The better known and larger manufacturers may obtain an anna over this and the small manufacturers obtain an anna less These later who mostly manufacture 40 s have to be often content with getting six annas per gross or half anna for making one dozen match boxes Here again the smaller manufacturer has not the market as he would desire to have The larger manufacturers give one to two months credit to the mofussil dealer The smaller manufacturers therefore in spite of lowering prices cannot have much of a chance against larger manufacturers

It appears that match prices have reached the bottom for the manufacturer In the foregoing paragraphs I have shown that match price in 1927 was Re 1-7 for smaller Indian manufacturers This has come down now to only seven annas or less and to add to this

they have to compete with a rival who can afford to give unlimited credit The smaller units rely upon the personal labour and supervision of the proprietors as their profit and may save something from the rebate of 10 pies per gro although I understand they cannot retain the whole of the rebate which is absorbed by cost of production

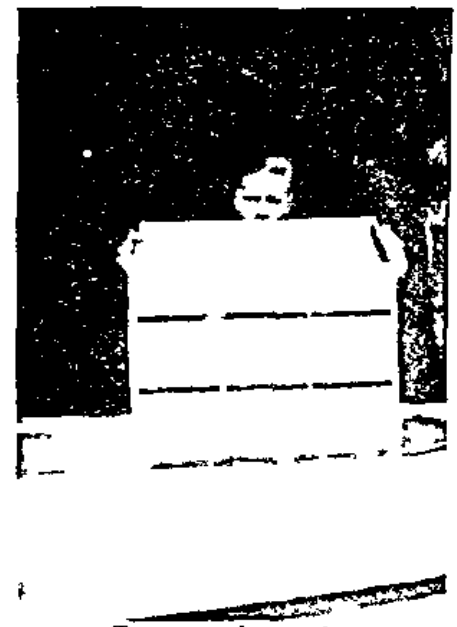
Cottage Manufacture A New Idea and a New Method

Having shewn the present position of Indian match factory industry I shall take up the matter from altogether a different aspect For some time past I was trying to hit upon an industry in which school children may participate to such an extent that the industry will maintain them and their teachers by only 4 hours daily labour It was difficult to find a suitable cottage industry answering this test Then it occurred to me why not try matches? I thought that tons of newspapers are being distributed in districts and Talukas They are generally wasted If they are converted into match boxes an waste product will be well utilised and form a cheap and handy material for manufacturer As for sticks bamboos grow everywhere and I thought that they might be made into stick quite easily in cottages I tried the idea and found that the proposition was not only a feasible one but had great possibilities

I put myself to manufacture of matches The product has been wholly satisfactory The cost is equal to the cost of smaller units exclusive of the indirect cost of supervision depreciation house rent etc Matches under these conditions may be made in remote villages in cottage scale without power driven machineries and means may be devised to protect the industry from competition from the very large units

Where a fully equipped automatic factory employs one man a village unit making from one to ten gross per day will employ 10 men There are now ten to eleven thousand men employed in the industry in the smaller and the larger factories But if all the matches were made in cottages it would employ 10 times that number or one lac people in villages But if all these matches were made in residential school it would keep two lacs or over students employed who would not only be receiving free education on the produce of their labour, but would be *maintaining their teachers as well* If a school is so minded the boys may send a small amount every month to their parents to *compensate for their absence from field work* which most parents would appreciate

For achieving all or a part of these the Government should come forward and render necessary help and remove the existing handicap I shall later on indicate the nature of help needed in order to make hand made match industry possible and now describe the process for hand manufacture of matches as introduced for experiment at Khadi Pratisthan Sodepur Process upto the manufacture of finished splints and boxes are carried



The sieve for grading

on there The rest of the processes from dipping to packing require to be conducted in a licensed factory The Bangiya Deshahitai Karyalaya and the Lily Fire Work very generously helped me to conduct these processes at their licensed premise Khadi Pratisthan has applied for a manufacturing license and Government is considering the matter It should be noted here that match boxes and splints are upto now made from wood Any factory making wood veneers for match boxes and wood splints has to be licensed like a match factory This regulation cannot apply to cardboard boxes and bamboo splints The excise regulations permit wrappings to be put on veneers so as to make boxes and frames to be filled with splints outside the licensed premises in Bengal

Process of Manufacture of Hand-made Matches

Splitting Bamboos

Bamboos are taken green or as fresh as possible If they are dry they are to be kept

under water to make the pieces amenable for easy operation

Bamboo is split into pieces and these are marked off into lengths between nodes to multiples of lengths of stick and an extra half



Frame filling or arranging splints for dipping

inch over all for each node length The nodes refuse to be split and are knotty and are thrown off The cut pieces from inter nodes are now made into bundles according to lengths

Making Flats And Strips

The next process is to make flats from the lengths The thickness of each of these flats is equal to the thickness of the sticks For this purpose a piece is held vertically and stamped with a marking tool The pieces are then split and made into flats along the marks The outer and inner layers are thrown off The outer layer refuses to burn quickly and is therefore rejected The inner layer refuses to be splintered correctly and is weak and is therefore rejected The middle flats after separation are taken and arranged in bundles The layers of the original pieces are kept arranged on the floor in the order they were split separately for the next operation

These flats are then divided into strips A bundle of flats is taken and held before a vertical knife (Bonti) and pushed through The common vertical knife of kitchen is used

Splints from Strips

The strips are taken up in bundles and then cut into splints A shear is used for this purpose This shear can be made by a village smith if properly directed A close view is given in the illustration There is a gauge plate by the side of the shear, upto which the strips are pushed thus ensuring definite length of splints

Drying the Splints

The splints are to receive several treatments before they can be used for matches First the splints are sun dried Generally four days exposure in the winter is enough to dry They may be dried by being spread over a sheet of iron kept hot by a slow fire beneath This is particularly useful during the rains The splints contain about half its weight of water so that their weight is to be reduced to half by drying A test for completion of drying is to take a stick and apply one end to a lighted fire The stick should then burn without smoke right upto the end

Polishing the Splints

The splints are now rough and show fine hair like protuberances with which they are nearly matted The hairs are to be separated from the body and they have to be polished For this purpose the splints with some sand are put into a drum and rotated A cheap polisher has been devised at Sodepur It is an iron drum through which an wood axle passes The axle is mounted on 2 poles stuck on the ground The drum has four shelves inside so as to offer obstruction to contents while rotating An old 40 gallon drum such as is used for transport of oils is used for the purpose It will hold about six seers of dry splints and require one hours rotation Six seers of dry splints will go to make about 10 gross of matches

The sticks after polishing are taken out and winnowed to separate the bristles or hairs Winnowing is done with the household winnower

Singeing

Even after this stage the splints show minute hairs protruding out which are stuck fast to the body These cannot be separated by rubbing or pulling A singeing or burning off process makes very fine polished sticks possible from bamboos For this the splints are spread on a floor and the flame of a blow lamp is allowed to play lightly over them The splints are to be made non glowing They are now soaked in a very weak solution of Phos-

phoric acid The period of soaking may vary from half an hour to 10 hours according to the strength of the acid The phosphorated splints are again dried

Grading

The splints require now the final treatment of grading

A sieve frame has been devised at Sodepur It is divided into squares much like the case of a compositor The bottom is made of a sheet of perforated zinc and is removable The splints are piled over the sieve and shaken They drop vertically into the squares and pass through the holes The thicker ones are kept up Three grades of sticks according to their thickness may be separated out of a batch of splints We find that after grading the same size of match box will hold 40s 60s and 80s sticks This is a great point for the number of sticks in a box may be increased without increasing the size of the box and thus ensuring a compact thin box which is more convenient and better prized for using

Frame Filling and Dipping

The individual sticks have now to be dipped first in paraffin and then in the tip composition But each stick cannot be taken by hand and dipped for it will take a very long time to do so Dipping frames are therefore used The process of arranging the splints on a lath which is a long and thin strip of wood and piling the laths so as to form a frame is called frame-filling For very small units such as two or three gross of match boxes per day the frame may be hand filled by an ingeneous but simple method devised at Sodepur

For somewhat larger output of say 5 to 10 gross boxes a day, the frame filling may be done with the help of hand frame filling machine which has also been devised at Sodepur It will cost nearly *Rs 200* to get such a machine made This is the only costly item for a manufactory making 10 gross or upwards boxes But for smaller units this is unnecessary The dipped sticks are then dried in the shade and packed in boxes The match sticks thus made are unbreakable and burn better than the common wood splints They are indeed a superior article

Box Manufacture Making Paste boards

Boxes are made from old newspapers made into paste-boards A brush is used for smearing the surface with starch paste Four sheets are laid one over another The wet boards are stacked under pressure overnight so that the sheets may bind together and get compressed They are next dried in the sun and kept pressed flat for storing

Cutting the Boards

The sheets are now to be cut into sizes to make the inner and outer boxes The scissors or a duptries flat knife are not suitable for this purpose A guillotine is unsuitable on account of its cost A simple device has been adopted at Sodepur to cut boards into shapes accurately and quickly The boards are taken in bundles of fifty pieces and are clamped between wooden boards the widths of which correspond to the widths to which the paste boards are to be cut Several of these wooden boards are arranged in parallel in top and bottom pairs and are clamped



Pasting paper to make *boards*

on a frame A saw passes through gaps kept between the parallel boards After cutting through in one direction the strips are arranged in another frame and cut across giving the pieces Three sizes of strips are necessary for a box One for the outer box and two for the *inner box one of which goes to make the sides* and another forms the bottom

Making Inner and Outer Boxes

The cut sizes are folded to form the crease, over small rectangular shapes and are then wrapped with blue paper for completing box manufacture The wrapping papers are obtainable in rolls in desired widths and are the same as are used in usual factories

The end of the roll is passed under and through a wooden trough containing thick starch paste The wrapping is done here and the strip is cut off The outer box is simply

made by wrapping the blue cover over the folded board but the inner box requires two operations The side strip is held in the hand and then wrapped with the blue strip which is wider than the side The formed side is put on a form and the bottom is laid over it and the wrapper folded down This completes the *inner box*

Banderoling Labelling

After the match boxes are filled with the dipped match sticks they are closed with a strip of stamp like paper supplied by the excise *department This is banderoling The* banderols are sold for 40 s 60 s and 80 s at Re 1 Re 1 8 and Rs 2 respectively for a gross boxes It is by selling these banderols that the excise department realises its duty on matches and also it is through this that the excise department can check that each match sold has paid its share of duty The manufacturer's label is put finally

Side Painting

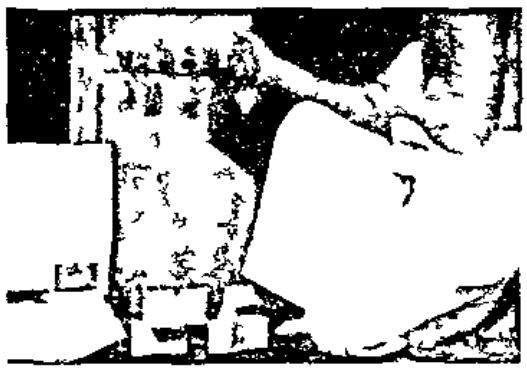
Yet another operation remains The labelled boxes are arranged in trays so that the sides come uppermost The sides are then painted with the side painting composition After one side is painted and dried the boxes are tilted on another tray thus bringing the other side to the top This receives a coat of paint and is dried The painted boxes after drying are made into dozen and gross packets This completes the manufacturing process

Cost of Manufacture of Matches from Bamboos and Newspapers Employing Hand Appliances and Hand Power only

	60 s		40 s	
Material For 100 gross				
Old newspaper 1 ml	Rs 3 8 0		Rs 3 8 0	
Flour for pasting	1 8 0		1 8 0	
Bamboos 20 pieces	„ 2 8 0		1 12 0	
Chemicals	„ 7 0 0		5 0 0	
Labels and wrappings for boxes	„ 3 0 0		3 0 0	
		Rs 17 8 0		Rs 14 12 0
Labour				
For making sticks from bamboos starting with whole bamboo 3 men finish sticks enough for 10 gross 60 s in one day for 100 gross	30 men		20 men	
For Making Boxes				
Laying paper 4 days				
Cutting boards 6 „				
Box making 3 men finish 10 gross boxes daily For 100 gross 30 „	40 men		40 men	
Frame Filling and Finishing				
3 men can finish 10 gross daily starting with frame filling and finishing into packets for 100 gross	30 men		30 men	
Supervision and Assistant				
2 men daily for 10 gross, for 100 gross	20 *men*		20 *men*	
Total	190 men		110 men	
	@ /4/	Rs. 30 0 0	@ /4	Rs 27 8 0
Interest and other incidental charges		„ 2 0 0		„ 1 8 0
		Rs 49 8 0		*Rs 43 12 0*

The direct cost of 60 s is at annas 8 per gross and 40 s is at anna 7 per gro s Indirect co ts such as repair depreciation rent and tax travelling, etc have not been taken into account

In calculating the co ts labour has been charged at four annas per day With dexterity a man can do more work than is indicated and earn proportionately more Dexterity is every



Sawing paste board for mak ng boxes

thing in cottage match manufacture and is attainable by practice and constant effort It is amazing to see how quickly a trained hand can make splints and boxes

DIFFICULTIES UNDER PRESENT EXCI E ORDERS

Tl e present excise regulations are such that cottage match manufacture in very small scale is not practicable The annual license fee i exce ive for proposed cottage units and the nature of the exci e supervision is such that smaller units cannot be establi hed in any number and the rebate now granted to cottage factorie call for enhancement for still smaller units

(1) A licen e has to be taken now for *match manufacture for which a fee of Rs 100* i to be paid irrespective of the capacity of tl e factory An annual regi tration fee (for the licen e has to be renewed every year) of Rs 100 i nothing to a factory making tl ou ands of gro s daily A factory making 100 gro s a day may find difficulty in paying th amount but for smaller units it is impo ible to pay this fee every year For a daily 2 gro s unit, the annual value of turn over is Rs 300 at eight annas per gross and 300 working days in the year Such a place of manufactory may bear only a nominal annual regi tration fee

(2) According to the present rules an In pector has to take daily record of produc tion and a couple of excise peon are as a matter of fact kept on watch while the processes are going on Expenditure for this may amount to Rs 100 a month It is impos ible for the Government to employ this staff wherever a small unit is set up At pre ent in towns where several cottage units of 100 gross are operating one In pector takes responsibility for several factories This is becau e the factories are within a short distance

(3) The rebate of 10 pies per gross for 100 gross units is small and not enough to enable them to exist against competition But for still maller units much larger rebate inversely proportional to the daily output is necessary

SUGGESTED CHANGE IN THE MATCHES (EXCISE DUTY) ORDER 1934

(1) The difficulties ari ing from exce sive l cense fee may be overcome by basing the fee on the capacity of the units Now a 10 000 gro s daily output unit pays the same fee as the 100 gro s a day unit This can be altered and a two rupee per gross fee may be impo ed for daily gro s capacity for large units and a rupee per gro s fee for 100 gross units and under Thus a 10 000 gro s unit shall pay Rs 20 000 and a 2 gro s unit will pay Rs 2 as the annual license fee Tl is will mean an increa ed in come from the larger units which will go towards covering the supervision expenses for the smaller units

(2) The Post Offices now sell revenue stamps The banderol is al o a stamp like article and may be made available to the rural factories from Post Offices As for supervision



Making tl e inner boxes

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Total	120 men		110 men	
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their peons and the officers in charge may call weekly, say, on Sundays, for general supervision and for drawing up reports Those who may thus do some extra departmental work, may be remunerated at the expense of the Central Excise Department

In case of existing factories the banderols are issued on credit and payment is made monthly according to the number of gross issued out of licensees excise controlled



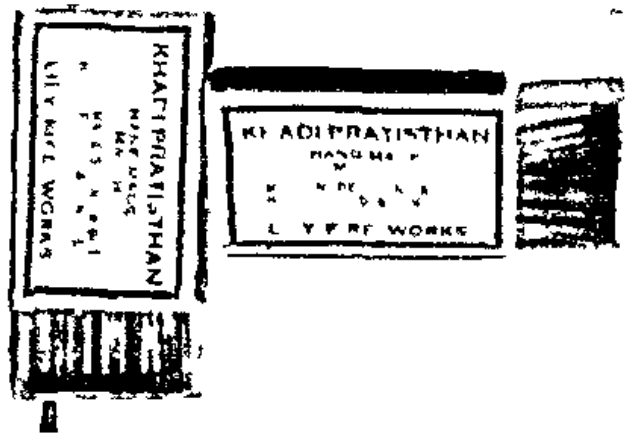
Making the outer boxes

godowns But for these smaller units banderols *if sold for cash the c and the finished matches* become the licensees property and direct control over the godown will be unnecessary The chief point of supervision will be to see that the manufacturer does not issue unbanderoled matches It will be criminal to do so and this crime is so easy to detect that there will not be much temptation to break the law and the constant presence of an excise peon may be dispensed with

(3) The Government has accepted the principle of supporting cottage industry even at a reasonable sacrifice of revenue For example, the smaller match factories at present enjoy this benefit to a certain extent in the shape of rebate but for which many factories would have stopped working The cottage sugar producer pays no excise duty, while the sugar factories have to pay it By extension of this principle and with the sacrifice of a little revenue much unemployment may be removed and the loss may be compensated for by taxing the larger units The smaller units of 10 gross may be given two annas per gross rebate and more to still lesser units I am afraid that it will take many years to divert to cottages even a small fraction of the present *total output of* matches Therefore there is no apprehension of any appreciable fall of revenue at the introduction of such a measure But to the extent the diversion takes place, villages will become more lively than they are at present

Need for Legislation

The villages are dying for want of industries Mere agriculture cannot support the people This has been proved beyond doubt If all the necessary articles are produced in large factories the villagers and cottagers are bound to be starving If we convert all our jute into bags in jute mills, if we make all our sugar in sugar mills our soaps in mammoth soperies our cloth in cotton mills our leather in huge tanneries our shoes by tens of thousand pairs per day in single factories our matches in automatic machines and our paper by tons in paper mills and husk our paddy in rice mills, and grind our flour in flour mills and press our *oil seeds in oil mills what will be left for the* villagers to do but to die? If they have to be saved the process must be reversed The mill must be taxed to feed the cottage industries The outlook should be changed and instead of using our intelligence for installing the most labour saving machinery, attempt should be



The completed *match* from paper and bamboo

made to employ as many men as possible in a particular production consistent with its utility

Cottage production of matches has this thing about it that it can employ ten times more men than is required in automatic factories and yet the product may be sold to the consumer at the present price with a little aid from the Government It uses an waste product in the shape of old newspapers and its waste can be *used for another useful article* We have found that the waste bamboo from match manufactures the nodes and the outer and inner coatings

of inter nodes con titute about 50 per cent of the whole bamboo We have been able to make good white paper out of thi wa te bamboo left after making plints in a cottage scale Match manufacture in cottages may therefore go hand in hand with paper manufacture

I have not gone minutely into technical detail of proce ses of manufacture I have attempted to rou e interest in an industry which can be installed in cottage in spite of the exi tence of large factories I do hope that members of the Central Legislature will take up the cau e and see that the nece ary changes are made in the Matche Exci e Duty Order of 1934 o that match manufacture in small units may be po ible

INDIAN RAILWAYS POLICY REGARDING COTTON FREIGHT RATES

By M F SOONAWALA

THE recent announcement by the Government of India declaring their inability to make any reduction in rate of railway freight on cotton as sugge ted by the Ea t India Cotton As oci tion is to say the least of it staggering It i common knowledge that the rate have since long remained pegged up too high At a time when the cotton price have slumped abnormally the obduracy on the part of the Government o India in refusing to afford adequate relief by lowering freight rates is highly detrimental to the intere ts of growers inasmuch as this heavy charge stultifies free movement of the commo dity especially when the abnormal over production of American cotton thi season of 1 87 000 bales seriously endangers any healthy tone of the local market

The Railway Admini tration mo t vitally concerned in handling cotton traffic is the G I P Railway which is state managed It caters for such important Textile centres as Bombay Sholapur Delhi Nagpur Ujjain and Cawnpore Its ramifications are spread far and wide from North to South and in the We tern Territorie moving cotton from the rich fields of Berar and Nizam s territories For import and export as well as for internal communica tions its policy vitally affects cotton trade of India And still it is an anomaly that the rates fixed are abnormally high The general schedule rate is 1 pie per maund per mile (C Sel edule) whereas over other adjoining railways the rates range from 4 to 8 pie per maund per mile Of cou e there are a few pecial low rates exi ting but the effect thereof i more to foster import of foreign stuff than encourage internal trade

To bring a khandy (784 lb) of Punjab cotton to a place like Nagpur would entail a charge of some 20 per cent and to move cotton from Ahmedabad to Sholapur almo t 22 per cent I evy of such heavy charge serious ly impedes equitable spread of the indigenou stuff

The Indian Railway Admini tration evidently lack an elastic control Its rigid formula enforced in utter di regard of public welfare and of alteration of time and circum tance detract much from its otherwi e splendid record of growth and utility The Government of India trot forth the exce e of lo of revenue to the tune of Rs 1½ crores But they dis regard the incontrovertible fact that encourage ment to cotton cultivation and trade in thi vast sub continent by reducing a moiety of the burden of railway freight would directly swell the good traffic with resultant increa e in revenue The fixation of rates at present is lop sided and badly need dra tic overhauling

The urgency of tackling this important problem of far reaching significance cannot be denied and in view of the vast interests at stake the Government of India should ca t off the slough of inertia and conservati m and meet the legitimate demand of the trading public in a bold and di pa sionate way



Of late our vernaculars have come to their own It has not only been an act of barest justice but of great wisdom Now that they are growing from strength to strength I believe I should be pardoned for reviewing their position in I A and B A as a teacher and not as a politician For well-known reasons English has been a compulsory subject up to the B A Examination and as a counter blast the vernacular has been pitched against it This may be a good patriotic step but not a sound educational policy If the University set up an Honours course in the vernacular its position in our national life would have been vindicated Our already overcrowded time table has been burdened with two additional hours per week by the vernacular At present an Intermediate student has to take up five subjects for which he has to attend at least twenty two lectures per week, excluding the tutorial and practical classes Consequently he is kept busy with nearly four classes a day Similarly an Honours student has to attend at least twenty two lectures per week at the rate of five lectures for Pass and Honours subjects and two lectures for the vernacular A student who has to attend so many classes hardly finds any time for specializing in his Honours subject He cannot make any profitable use of the library nor has he time for thinking for himself The University nowadays is laying great stress upon physical exercise With such a heavy demand on the student's time and energy I doubt very much if anything can be done either towards his recreation or his physical development It is no wonder therefore that the vernacular is regarded as a useless infliction on our already overfectured students It has in no way gained in prestige It is still the same old neglected subject Many of us who received their education before the vernacular was made compulsory command a better knowledge of it than those who are being spoon fed by the University The time has come when our senators should consider whether it is not desirable to leave the Honours students unhampered by any obligatory subjects, English or Vernacular

The Alternative Bengali like Pali has seduced students by its softness from the rigours of such a great subject as Sanskrit We must not forget what position Sanskrit occupies in the world of culture By the institution of this sort of unhealthy competition between Bengali and Sanskrit some people are led to think that the advanced study of Bengali can be completed even without the knowledge of Sanskrit It is a shame that our brilliant M As in Bengali are often as ignorant of Sanskritic studies as a science student Who can think of an English graduate from British Universities who has neither read Latin nor Anglo Saxon?

With the thought of the undesirable competition between Sanskrit and Bengali on his mind one must remember the inequality of the syllabuses of subjects prescribed for the same examination That our curriculum requires a thorough revision would be clear to us if we take into consideration the existence of hard and soft subjects side by side The syllabus of Pali as an alternative to Sanskrit, of Civics as an alternative to History or Logic and of Botany as an alternative to Physics or Chemistry is very low A student who passes his examination with Sanskrit has to work much less than one who takes up Mathematics Though we lisp Sanskrit prayers in our cradle, is it not absurd that our Intermediate students know nothing of the Vedas whereas a foreign student studying at the University of London for the same examination has to read a selection of the Rig Veda The syllabus of Civics is too inadequate to be an Intermediate subject In power of understanding there is very little difference between the Intermediate and B A students So if B A Pass students can follow the rudimentary course of Economics prescribed for them why cannot we expect our Intermediate students to do the same? This has become absolutely necessary in view of the fact that our Economics students with a good Honours degree find themselves at sea when they take up the same course in a foreign University I have heard a large number of our brilliant graduates who later joined the London School of Economics complaining of this lamentable backwardness of our University

If this is true of Economics it is no less true of other subjects Of English I will say nothing It is well known that our Honours course in this subject bears no comparison with the syllabuses of Oxford Cambridge and London It is a foreign language and our deficiency in it is pardonable to some extent But none should imagine that I am seeking to justify the hopeless state into which the teaching of English has fallen in this country What is most shameful is that our graduates in Indian subjects do not attain a high standard of efficiency so much so that many of them are not welcome even to the London School of Oriental Studies where the authorities are very anxious to have our graduates Not a few of them are refused admission to Research classes I heard from a Persian gentleman attached to the Persian

Legation in London how an Indian student receiving a state scholarship for doing research work in Persian in the London School of Oriental Studies had to be coached by him in Persian from the very elementary stage The reason for this backwardness of an Honours student is not far to seek One important cause is that he has very little time at his disposal to spend for the subject in which he is expected to specialize He finds his Honours subject sandwiched between two others and these demand not a little attention to get a pass His two short years come rapidly to an abrupt end even before he realizes the scope of his studies In a subject like English he can never acquire a firsthand knowledge of his books Indeed if he tries to do so he has to repent his folly at the time of the final reckoning He therefore has to trust himself to cooked answers cribs and handbooks that tell him about the books he ought to have read A good scholar of our Universities is not always a person who is at home in his subject but one who knows all about books about books opinions about opinions reviews of views There is such a complaisance about this sort of affair in our University circles that the equanimity of our legislators is never disturbed by the desire for knowledge The examiner who is very often a teacher is not ashamed of expecting originality from students in the face of circumstances he is perpetuating and pretending not to know This brings to my mind an amusing episode which took place when I was an M A student A professor who never lost an opportunity of airing his scholarship had a favourite in our class Every day he asked him if he had read this book or that and the inevitable answer was yes In this way it was found that not to speak of English literature which he knew from Beowulf to Sacheverell Sitwell he was acquainted with the whole of Greek Latin German and French Literatures In later life when I became more intimate with him I found that he had not read even one tenth Everybody will realize that this system encourages cramming sham and hypocrisy Superficiality finds greater recognition in our academic circles than genuine scholarship

Everybody considers the acquisition of a good knowledge of the English language and literature as something absolutely necessary All our efforts tend towards that goal Even the teaching of history is subordinated to that consideration The great educationists who embellish our Faculties must be spending sleepless nights to find out the best means of teaching our junior students how to read and write English well One wonders how far that purpose is likely to be served through the books recommended by the University for the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examination The Matriculation Prose 'Selections' is dominated by writers of the 18th and early 19th century One of the recommended books is *Ivanhoe* Scott and Macaulay are two of the most favoured authors of Calcutta University We are having *Ivanhoe* off and on for the last 20 years but never had *David Copperfield* or *Under the Green Wood Tree* Does the University expect that our young learners should model their style on Scott and Macaulay? Or do these authors possess an extra charm for our young men and women? Has the University ever inquired from any English circulating library how many people read Scott and Macaulay today? When our University was founded in 1857 these authors were very modern indeed But since that memorable event the world has moved away nearly a hundred years and during this time other great writers have flourished in England The Englishman today sets before his children rather the prose style of Bennett Shaw Priestley and Churchill than that of Addison Scott Carlyle and Macaulay The preference of our University for these reminds one of the second play of Bernard Shaw's trilogy *Back to Methuselah* where the Prime Minister of Post war England parades his up to date knowledge of political literature by quoting from Rousseau *Du Contrat Social*

Sometime ago the learned members of our Faculty discovered that our students were neither appreciating the beauty of English literature nor acquiring its grace of style without reading the Bible It is a mere platitude to say that the Bible must be studied by all serious student of English literature But what grace can that scholar acquire whose grammar is imperfect vocabulary scanty and taste unformed? Our great educationists would have done much better if they had recommended Fowler's *Modern English Usage* instead The University is practically insulting the Holy Bible by thrusting it upon the unwilling hands of our teachers and students The Bible is the most neglected part of our English syllabus

Nobody will deny that the selection of text books plays the most important part in the education of the men and women of a country Yet how perfunctorily is this performed by the authorities We have a Text book Committee under the Government in which Truth is not valued unless it is the communal truth where facts must be judged not from their conformity

to eternal verities but to the scriptures of a sect We have Board under the University where not an inconsiderable consideration is the financial gain of the University We have the Managing Committees of Schools and their Headmasters and Headmistresses who can be prevailed upon by publishers and who if the rumour is to be believed are not inaccessible to graft The result is that many a poor career is ruined for ever My mind cannot help dwelling upon a sad episode of my own life When I was a student of Class VI we read the whole of the first book of Geometry in Bengali Next year we did the same thing in English from Gauri shanker Dey's Geometry When I was promoted to Class VIII Sir Gooroodas Banerjee became the Vice Chancellor and our Headmaster who was an up to date gentleman prescribed Sir Gooroodass's Geometry As the arrangement of that book was different from the previous ones we had to do it over again In Class IX our Mathematics teacher insisted that we must follow Hall and Stevens It is a wonder that our interest in Geometry still survived In English too we had the same sad experience In every new class we were greeted with a new Grammar and before we had gone as far as the definition of the Indefinit Article—and definitions made or marred us those days—we were confronted with a change In Sanskrit we read the same thing from class VII to the Matriculation class for the syllabus has been handed down like the language itself from the days of our forefathers And who can suggest that in the whole history of Sanskrit literature comprising three thousand years there are other things to be read? But the tale of woe does not end here The noble zeal of our students can be equally repressed by an overzealous teacher A niece of mine read in a local school sometime back and when she rose to class IX Nelson's *High Road of English Literature* was set as one of her text books The poor girl had to cram all about Cedmon Cynewulf and Chaucer without ever realizing whether they were English authors or primeval beasts The Headmistress was educated in a Convent and had no idea as to what might be of interest to our students She mistook our Bengalee girls for English girls The pedantry of our learned University men and women has not a little warped the natural delight of our boys and girls in literature Like Addison Scott and Macaulay, our University prescribes by rotation Collins Odyssey and Iliad presumably with the hope that the students who by reading the Bible have seen one source of English thought, should be acquainted with the other viz *the Hellenic World* Collins' delightful handbooks were written for English school children Sometime back one of these books was recommended by the University as a set book for the I A Examination and an announcement was made that it would be edited by a great classical scholar of this country I remember how we waited with baited breath and throbbing heart for the promised delectation as the hungry Hebrews did for the voice of God in the wilderness of Sinai It came at last hot from the Publishers anvil one autumn morning And behold! It was all Greek! The learned editor showed how the lines of Collins School Reader faithfully echoed the Greek verses of Homer! We were all floored

The whole system of our education encourages humbug and hypocrisy It flourishes upon shallow superficiality which shines on the surface but is rotten at the core like the Dead Sea apple If our Bengalee intellect stands disgraced today, it is the system that is responsible The University we all know, was founded to produce clerks It is a wonder how it has blundered from time to time into sending out genuine scholars great thinkers leaders of men and mind Hitherto its main aim has been to flood the market with its output The hallmark has served its purpose, superficiality has long been admired But the times are already hard and we are found wanting in every sphere of life the glossy exterior notwithstanding I know this is an unpalatable confession but the truth must be told that the work of reformation may speed up If the University seeks to promote genuine scholarship this system must be smashed and the whole thing reorganized



BENGALEES AND NON-BENGALEES

By ANILBARAN RAY

THE anti-Bengalee feeling which is becoming rampant in some provinces of India is fraught with very grave consequences The British conquest of India in the last century was accompanied by a Bengalee penetration which was really a surprising phenomenon There was a time when the Bengalees had a very large share of the services in North India Under the auspices of the British rule they were raised to the status of a community which had some influence in these provinces Those days are gone Mainly aggravated by economic causes a strong reaction has set in and in many provinces the plight of the Bengalees has become very precarious Thus, for example

"For some years past the Assamese are carrying on vigorous propaganda to oust the domiciled and settlers community from the political social and economic life of Assam"

Bengalees in Bihar find it difficult to get admission into schools colleges and even hospitals In some cases municipalities are refusing permission to Bengalee-settlers to possess suitable plots of land for building houses Antipathy to the Bengalees has extended even to their culture Some time ago the prize distribution ceremony of the Ravenshaw Girl's High School at Cuttack agitated the mind of the local public considerably because the Lady Principal Miss Sudhansu Hazra dared to select a drama of Rabindranath to be staged by the girl students In this connection *Utkarini* a local paper observed

"We want to tell Miss Hazra that she must either give up her bias or give up her post in Orissa for the days are past when Bengali dominance was being tolerated without a word of protest by the goody goody Oriyas. No Bengali official eating the salt of Orissa has the right to exasperate public opinion in Orissa in the manner Miss Hazra has done The Government should take broad hint that the Oriyas are out to assert their legitimate rights in the land of their birth and that they will not tolerate such Bengali officials in Orissa big or small as will dare interfere therewith"

Increasing obstacles are being put in the way of Bengalee communities securing a fair share in the public services Even rules are being made to curb their commercial and business activities In the passion of the moment it seems to be completely forgotten that such provincial ill feeling is fatal to the cause of Indian nationhood and it is very unfortunate that the Bengalees also are infected by the same virus In imitation of the other provinces, they also are raising the slogan "Bengal for Bengalees" The journals in Bengal are busy collecting statistics to show how the non-Bengalees have cornered the Bengalees in their own province and as an inevitable result, anti-Bengalee feelings are becoming more and more aggravated Unless this growing evil is checked without delay the future of India is gloomy indeed Even if India can somehow gain independence she will be torn to pieces by communal and provincial conflicts and her condition will be much worse than what we are witnessing today in China

In all the higher spheres of life Bengal in this age took the lead in India, and this aroused wide-spread jealousy, which can only be removed by patience humility and toleration on the part of the Bengalees themselves It must be clearly recognised that ill-feeling cannot be cured by retaliation, but only by large heartedness and love, and the responsibility lies on all Bengalees, individually as well as collectively at home and abroad Some are raising the objection that if the Bengalees show large heartedness other people will take it as a sign of weakness and trample upon them more and more We confess that we cannot see the force of such reasoning If Bengal keeps her doors open for all and proceeds to hold her own at home or abroad in open and fair competition, how can that be a sign of weakness? If we cannot compete with the non Bengalees on equal terms in our own province that will indeed show our incapacity and weakness, and unless we can get rid of that, no amount of bad feeling against the non-Bengalees will be able to save us from being eventually wiped out from the face of the earth And it is not a fact that non Bengalees are ousting the Bengalees in their own province, they have appeared only in those fields from which the Bengalees have voluntarily withdrawn

The Bengalees are an intelligent and intellectual people by nature, they could easily adopt the English language and English manners and secure the higher posts in the Government and also shine in the higher professions In this way the higher and leading class in Bengal be-

came a community of service-holders They did not care to cultivate the qualities of hard work and perseverance necessary for success in business They wanted an easy going life, and they fairly succeeded in getting it But times have now changed, there is hard competition everywhere The Bengalees have realised that they can no longer confine themselves to the services and the higher professions They are now taking to business in increasing numbers and the progress they have made within a short time is not at all discouraging In the field of trade and commerce there is still the supremacy of the Marwari community, but they are no longer inhabitants of Rajputana They are mostly domiciled here and have completely identified themselves with the life of Bengal They spend a large part of their income here and are foremost in relieving all kinds of distress in Bengal There is no meaning in starting a campaign against them as being non Bengalees Many people point out how the work of coolies and constables in Bengal has been monopolised by the Biharis and Oriyas, this is to a certain extent, true, but the real cause of this is that the ease with which crops can be raised in Bengal is not possible in many places of Bihar and Orissa The people of those provinces are much poorer than the Bengalees of the same class it is for this reason that such work has not attracted the labouring class of Bengal and has been readily taken up by the poorer people from the neighbouring provinces And what is there objectionable in it? Unless such interchange takes place between the different provinces, how is India to grow into a single nation? Richly watered, richly fruited Bengal can freely give food to many people of India from her surplus production Attempts should be made to produce plenty of food in Bengal and if for that purpose we get the co-operation of people from the other provinces we do not stand to lose at all

If non-Bengalees are making money in Bengal, Bengalees also are doing the same in other provinces It is only a question of more or less* Why then this campaign against non-Bengalees in Bengal, thus making the position of our compatriots in other provinces too hot? If the Bengalees today declare sincerely and openly that all non-Bengalees will be treated as honoured guests in Bengal, and that all people who have made Bengal their home, whatever be the place from where they have come, will be treated as Bengalees in every respect and will be given equal facilities in all spheres of life, then Bengal will not lose much economically, but the moral gain will be very great. Only a little commonsense, a little idealism, a little human feeling are needed to solve the many conflicts which are troubling India today, and we earnestly hope that the idealism of Bengal will not fail her at this critical hour

If the Bengalees remain true to their culture to their traditional qualities of head and heart they will play the same part as was played by the Prussians in Germany, thus forming a great and mighty Indian nation out of the diverse peoples inhabiting this vast peninsula What I have said elsewhere about communal conflicts in India is equally applicable to provincial and class conflicts also

"Even the present communal troubles are due to a formative pressing down of the Indian *Shakti*, a pressure that is bringing the difficulties of her task to the surface so that she may compose differences manifest and refound on new lines in the diverse peoples who have made this land their home the essential spiritual and cultural unity of India blend them into a harmonious outward whole and offer to the world an ideal of human unity diverse in oneness."—*Mother India*

*That Biharis do not lose by this process of mutual exploitation will appear from the following passage —

"In the last Census Report Mr Lacey computed that money orders of the value of Rs 8 crores were sent every year to Bihar and Orissa from Bengal 'In 1937 *our Bihari brethren bred up in the congenial soil of* Bengal, have sent by M O., to the district of Saran only, one crore of rupees The income of all the Bengali lawyears, doctors, &c., in Saran hardly exceeds two lakhs and the whole of it is spent in this province'"—*The Bihar Herald* February 23, 1938



INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH EDUCATION

By Principal P Seshadri

I deem it a great privilege to be called upon here, this evening to speak on one of the primary aims of the World Federation of Educational Associations the promotion of international understanding through education My first duty however is to convey to this large and distinguished gathering the cordial greetings of the country from which I come—a country containing perhaps, the largest population of any land in the world today representing as it *does more than three hundred and fifty* millions of people or one fifth of the entire race of mankind on earth In my double capacity as representative of the Government of India and President of All India Federation of Educational Associations I wish to convey to this conference our good will and best wishes for its success before doing anything else

It is a great pleasure for me and Indians generally, to come to this country of Japan I may venture to add that it is not exactly a foreign country but almost a second home to us connected as it is with us by numerous ties of culture and civilization starting with the memorable time when the message of Buddha travelled all the way from my country through China to the shores of this land During the last few days we the members of the Indian delegation have been in this country with its great traditions of hospitality we have enjoyed very much going up and down this beautiful land and meeting her interesting people One reason why we feel proud of being in Japan is the fact that Japan has done a great deal during the last few decades to raise the prestige of Asiatic nations and it is the only Asiatic power today held in respect by the other great political powers of the world It also delights us to be in a country which has done so much for the advancement of the education of her people

Speaking on the subject of the promotion of international understanding through education I may perhaps emphasize the fact at the very outset that if only the educators of the world started the campaign of international understanding in all seriousness it may be accomplished if not today at least in a few decades Teachers of the world assembled in conference, may I invite your attention to the famous words of Ignatius Loyola, the illustrious founder of the Society of Jesus, who was fond of saying

> Give me the children of the country I will not bother about what happens to the rest"

So long as we are able to propagate the principles of international understanding in the schools and colleges with which we are connected we need not despair of a good future for mankind

I am always fond of telling a story from one of the classical dramatists Terence, a name which will be recognised by at least some teachers present in this audience In one of his plays with the rather difficult title of *Heuton Timorumenous* or Self tormentor there is an interesting character an old man who went about worrying himself very much about things that did not concern him He was very sorry that somebody's wife was dead in another street another man's calf had been killed somewhere else or somebody's baby was ill somewhere or other He was asked 'Why are you worried about things which do not concern you at all!' Then came his reply, a very famous sentence in the history of the world's literature because the old man turned round and said 'Nothing that concerns man can be a matter of unconcern to me' or in other words Everything that concerns man concerns me' If only we the teachers of the world realise that everything that concerns man concerns us and make our pupils recognise the unity of the human race we shall have gone forward a long way in the direction of promoting international understanding

A very well known English poet Rudyard Kipling is often misquoted wrongly, as a prophet of separatism Many of you know those famous words of his

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But these lines occur as is not generally known in a poem in which he intended to emphasize the oneness of humanity because the lines which follow tell us

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Kipling unfortunately, died the other day creating a gap, at least in English literature But if he was present at this large gathering of the people of East and West perhaps he would have exclaimed there is neither East nor West when the teachers of the world meet face to face at the International Conference in Tokyo! If any proof were needed one has only to notice there are thousands of teachers here who have come from the ends of the earth meeting on terms of absolute friendship Members of our profession who see the teachers from other parts of the world realize that after all there is not so much difference between one country and another as we are sometimes apt to imagine

During the course of one's travels round the world one is interested very much in the wonderful unity of the human race For instance there is no such thing as Persian charity, or Indian truth or German kindness or English mercy All these fundamental qualities of humanity are common and so also our frailties It might be a white pale face devoid of colour it might be a yellow face with high cheekbones it might be a brown face with almond eyes or a black face in some other part of the world But let me assure you that the same spirit underlies all humanity Unwise is the man who tries to emphasize the differences among the races of mankind and great is the man indeed who can lay the proper stress on the oneness of humanity

There are unfortunately some people who pride themselves on the alleged purity and superiority of their race but anybody who has studied the history of nations knows there is no such thing as racial purity left in this world because there has been a continual mixture of races among men and superiority is mostly due only to the presence of opportunities in one case and their absence in another There is no reason why the most depressed people among mankind might not rise to the highest level of intellect and character provided they are given adequate opportunities for such development Similarly, it appears futile that people should claim superiority of blood to other classes living in their own country The story is told of Lord Byron in his younger days when he was a boy at school that he was conceited and snobbish He was a Lord and therefore he always told his classmates that there was blue blood in his veins One day a classmate happened to quarrel with him he gave him a strong blow on his nose and blood trickled down, when boys exclaimed, 'We find your blood is red it is not blue!' The blood of all people is red, the blood of no people is blue It is therefore very unwise to speak of the superiority of one race over another, or the superiority of one class over another

There is special appropriateness in my appearing on the programme of this evening I come of a race which has always emphasized the ideal of international peace and brotherhood as one of the fundamental doctrines of our religion No religious prayer in India is complete without the concluding words 'Om Shanti Shanti Shanti which means 'peace, peace, peace No benediction in my country is complete without a formal ending of words to the effect May all the people of the world be happy and prosperous!' At a wedding for instance it is not the couple alone who are blessed—there are invariably the words "May all humanity be happy and prosperous' This is done on every occasion when there is an auspicious ceremony in the family Coming from such a country, it is a great pleasure for me to add my cordial support to the great need for the promotion of international understanding through education

Some of you engaged in the work of teaching—I expect most of you are—may, perhaps ask How shall we promote international understanding through education?' For several years I used to serve on a committee of the League of Nations in Geneva called by the somewhat embarrassing name of the Educational Experts Committee One of our duties was to advise the League of Nations about the methods for propagating the principles of the League among the younger generation of mankind in all the regions of the world We sat for several days every year under the distinguished chairmanship of the well known English scholar, Prof Gilbert Murray to consider how we shall promote international understanding through education I may, perhaps, take up a few minutes speaking on some aspects of this question

Our chairman Dr Paul Monroe told us only a few minutes back very wisely that one of the reasons why the people of the world do not appreciate each other is ignorance In fact, philology will give us striking evidence of this fact Most of us know the word 'barbarous' which comes down from the Greek times but only a few of us know the derivation of the word which means unknown or strange The Greeks thought that all unknown people were barbarous It often happens that when we do not know people, we have all kinds of pre-

judices against them There is al o an Engli h word which confirms the same truth The wor l uncouth' comes from an old word meaning unknown But it has unfortunately come to mean rough uncivilized or rude When you call a man uncouth you really mean by deriva tion you do not know that man—it is therefore unfair that you hould consider him crude on y because you do not know him Many of us no doubt before we came to this country had various prejudices of our own regarding the people of this land But perhaps our fortu nate stay here has been enough to remove some of our prejudices and we all go back from this land I am sure with the satisfaction of having known some of the good aspects of Japane e life and civilization not from books but from actual contacts with the people

In almo t every subject taught in chool and colleges it is po sible to keep this principles in mind and train young people to appreciat the good qualities and achievements of other races of mankind A special respon ibility lies on the department of Geography which fur nishes admirable opportunities for training people in appreciation of all that is great in other countries Pupils must be made to realize that theirs is not the only great country in the world An English writer tells us of a country squire who had not travelled widely but had only gone to London a few times He thought that England had the longest rivers and the tallest mountains in the world! Geography mu t be a good corrective to this attitude of mind Luckily the teaching of Geography has advanced so much in recent years that it is no longer a mere string of names to be memorized by the unfortunate pupil Taught well it is largely humanistic and must lead to an appre ciation not only of beautiful aspects of nature in other countries but also of the daily lives and civilization of the people

The subject of Art again taught as a means of realizing all the great achievements of the world in masterpieces of beauty, must also lead to the promotion of international understanding The great art of the world is due to not one particular country but to the contributions of all

Literature should furnish similar oppor tunities in a large measure Beauty as expre ed in the best literary masterpieces of the world is the result of a large co operative effort on the part of the great men of all humanity and is not the manifestation of the abilities of a single people They are composed of the work of diverse nations for we have the clearness and vitality of Homer the stateline s of Virgil the religious depth of Dante, the wonderful understanding of human nature by Shakespeare and the philosophic profundity of Goethe The total of these achievements could not have been reached anywhere near but that God in His generosity had scattered genius all over the world with prodigal hand without confining it to any so called chosen people Thorough under tanding of great literature mu t of course, always include a knowledge of the great master pieces of the world even other than those of one own country at least in translations if not in the original themselves It may be too early to practise this in the case of children in schools but opportunities will certainly arise in the case of the advanced students at the univer sities to insist on such a wide outlook

It is however in the teaching of history that there is the greatest scope for the teaching of international under tanding In the Educa tional Experts Committee at Geneva to which I have already made reference we formulated a number of recommendations which have a profound bearing on this subject One of our proposals was that all the hi tory textbooks of the world should be revised so as to eliminate traces of racial bitterness It is not that text books for children should be colourless and devoid of patriotic enthusiasm but that children should be taught to appreciate the heroes of not only their own country but also of others and sentiments likely to engender ill feeling should be carefully avoided

This reminds me of a story told of a Scotch lady in the days of Britain's wars with Napoleon Somebody happened to mention to her that the French people were praying for the victory of Napoleon She turned round and asked 'What? How could they pray? Does God understand French?' The good lady honestly thought that God und rstood only English and not French and He was apparently for the British er only and not for any other people on earth It is al o desirable to present history to young children not as a mere pageant of bitter fights among the people of the world but as a record of man's achievements in peace and civilization

One of the greatest problems with which we are confronted in my own country is the multiplicity of religions often leading to ill will among the people It is not a matter on which we congratulate ourselves but the mere fact that there is a multiplicity of religions in the world need never be a bar to the promotion of international understanding After all it is

good to realize that religious revelation cannot be the monopoly of one people and teach the principle that there may be many approaches to God One of the great tenets of my own religion is that God is one though He may be called by many different names Our scriptures have proclaimed repeatedly that just as many roads lead to a great city many faiths lead to the same God As the same sun is reflected in many waters the same God can be discovered in many religions Like the string running through the many pearls of a necklace the same God is in all the religions of the world This is a lesson which must never be forgotten in the class room

Travelling in America the other day I happened to be in a Parlour Car talking to a Negro attendant on a Sunday morning He had just said his prayers and was reading the Bible with a devotion which many of his betters could emulate I was apparently so nice to him that he asked me if I was a Christian I told him that I was not a Christian but a Hindu but the boy said with a happy smile "But you look like a Christian! I should be similarly able to say when I look at a good Christian You look like a Hindu for so long as the qualities prized by mankind are there it matters very little what religions they profess

A common mistake which people often make is to imagine that there is some kind of necessary conflict between nationalism and internationalism Rightly understood however it is not so as true patriotism is only a step in the direction of universal brotherhood As Rudyard Kipling has said God gave all men all earth to love, though 'He ordained for each one spot should prove beloved over all" It may be that you and I are very fond of the places and the sights of the places to which we belong but that does not necessarily mean that we should be incapable of appreciating beauty in other parts of the world If I am proud of the Taj Mahal at Agra, I can also be fond of the Parthenon at Athens If I admire the Himalayas of my own land I need not be lacking in appreciation of the grandeur of the Rockies on the American continent If I appreciate the grace and charm of the women of my own country I can also be an admirer of beauty even elsewhere in the world

I should like to commend to you in conclusion that it is necessary in the best interests of mankind to instil this sense of international understanding in the young people all over the world It is a mistake not to love one another, because we happen to be different in colour or feature or happen to live on either side of a boundary which is sometimes not even a river or a mountain but an entirely imaginary line I have no doubt that teachers have an important part to play in this work, and let us hope that when the time comes for a consummation of this ideal these periodical world gatherings will be found to have played no mean part in the achievement

Address delivered at the recent World Conference of Education in Tokyo



THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF INDIA AND THE SOUTH AND A SOLUTION

By G THIAGARAJAN
Ipoh, Federated Malay States

[Owing to the length of the article we publish only the latter half of it —Editor *M R*]

Introduction

The recent essay by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on The language question of India is an enlargement of the two clauses found in Nehru's Constitution viz,

1 The language of the commonwealth shall be Hindustani which may be written either in Nagri or in Urdu character The use of the English language shall be permitted

2 'In provinces the principal language of the province shall be the official language of that province The use of Hindustani and English shall be permitted'

The above quoted clauses are found in the constitution drafted in 1927 by the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee with the co operation of the leaders of the other political parties of India under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the father of the essayist Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

The essayist has said "I have written this essay with a view to invite consideration of this problem from a wider angle" My solution will be based on the consideration of this problem from a wider angle

Chapter IV

Problems Arising Out of this Dual Language and Script

Hindi with its attachment to Sanskrit and with Nagri or a new script will be more Sanskritized while Urdu patronizing Persian with its script allied to Persian and Arabic will be more and more Persianized Thus these two languages and two scripts will widen the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims If Hindu Muslim unity is to be secured at any cost this pandering to the religious sentiment of these two religionists should be condemned

A third medium should be sought to bring about the indestructible unity for the progress and uplift of India Even Esperanto will be more welcome than this Hindi-Urdu split, if Esperanto would bring about Hindu-Muslim unity

Chapter V

Analysis of the Concluding Paragraphs of the Essayist (P J N)

1 Education

(a) *General* In each linguistic area, education from the primary to the university stage will be given in the language of the province

(b) *Primary* Primary education will be in the mother tongue of the student Even in areas wherein the language of the area is not the mother tongue of the student, education will be in the mother tongue if there be sufficient number of students

(c) *Secondary Education* 1 In the non-Hindi speaking areas basic Hindustani should be taught in the secondary stage, the script being left to the choice of the persons concerned

2 Provision for teaching foreign languages as well as our classical languages should be made in our secondary schools

3 A foreign language and a classical language will be compulsory for those taking special courses and for those preparing for the university stage

Thus the students not desiring special courses for university education will have a knowledge of their mother tongue and basic Hindustani only

(d) *University Education* 1 The medium of instruction for university education will be the language of the linguistic area

2 Hindustani (either script) and a foreign language should be compulsory subjects

3 Those taking higher technical courses need not study Hindustani and a foreign language though desirable Thus a student with higher technical qualifications will know his mother tongue but only basic Hindustani and a proficiency of foreign language (say, here English)

2 Administration

(a) Our public work should be carried on in the language of each linguistic area

(b) In the non Hindustani speaking areas both Hindi and Urdu with their scripts should be officially recognized Public notifications should be issued in both scripts Either script might be used by a person in addressing a court or public office

(c) Hindustani (both scripts) will be recognized as the all India language

(d) As such it will be open to any person throughout India to address a court of public office in Hindustani (either script)

Chapter VI

I shall apply these suggestions to the Madras Presidency and enumerate some of the problems and difficulties to be encountered

1 Education

(a) *Primary* The language of education being in the mother tongue of the student and there being four languages in the Madras Presidency the students in the primary schools will be taught in these four languages in their respective areas That is there will not be any intra-provincial unity of the masses They will be isolated (linguistically) as they are at present In other words the All India language for want of education in the primary stage will not bring about the unity of the masses so very desirable in a nation

(b) *Secondary* The medium of instruction during this stage will be in the four languages of the Presidency Basic Hindustani (with either script) will be compulsory One classical language and a foreign language will be compulsory for those preparing for special courses and for the University stage

That is all those satisfied with secondary education will learn two languages one of which will be in Hindi or Urdu script The parents will have to decide as to the course of further studies of the boys when they are about 11 years old The two scripts for Hindustani will induce the Muhammedan boys to learn Urdu script and the Hindu boys Hindi script

In a province where the Hindu Muslim antagonism is negligible this difference in script and literature will intensify the split between these religionists

The boys preparing for special courses and University will have to learn four languages the study of which will occupy a greater part of their school hours Other subjects such as mathematics history, geography, hygiene, etc, will be crammed into a small portion of the school hours

Even after such a sacrifice, how many of such boys will speak Hindi, English or Sanskrit outside their classes? They will continue to speak in their mother tongues, as at the early stage of the secondary education they will not have enough command of any of these languages to venture into one of these in their homes and playing fields By the time they reach the later stage of the secondary education the habit of talking in one's mother tongue would have been permanently acquired

The local Chinese boys are a good example to illustrate my point All the boys in the local English schools are taught in English from the very beginning and yet in their homes, playing fields and business centres they talk in Chinese or in Chinese interspersed with English It is therefore evident that a Madras boy with his mother tongue as the medium of instruction will have a lesser tendency to talk in Hindi or other languages learnt during his secondary education Therefore the much-desired linguistic unity among the Madras boys with secondary education will not be much in evidence

(c) *University* The medium of instruction in the Universities being the language of the area there will be four Universities in the four linguistic areas of the Madras Presidency And the Madras University will cater for students educated through the medium of the four languages The impossibility of this achievement is obvious

The Universities in Great Britain and Ireland teach about 189 subjects from Aeronautics to Zoology If the Madras Universities aim at teaching even 50% of these subjects the stupendous task of translating the numerous books into the four languages of the Presidency is unthinkable

Such students having studied their subjects in their vernaculars will meet at a provincial conference of University students and lecture each in his own mother tongue for the edification of others What a medley of tongues!

2 (a) Intra provincial unity

Later in life when some of them have attained the standard of professorship they will write books each in his particular subject and in his particular mother tongue for the enlightenment of the future generation in the province

At the four corners of the province the

provincial politicians will harangue the masses in the four languages, to be translated into Hindi—not known to the majority—or in the language of the area by the press for the enlightenment of the rest of the province

This is the kind of intra-provincial tongue that will be established if the suggestions of the essayist (P J N) are adopted

(b) *Inter provincial unity* The provincial representatives at an All India Science Conference will have the pleasure of hearing speeches and lectures in all the provincial languages of India but not derive benefit therefrom Because the scientists from these provinces would have learnt their subjects in their mother tongues and therefore cannot but use the language with which they are accustomed One can say that Hindi being compulsory in the secondary stage the language of the conference can or should be in *Hindustani* One must try this experiment of learning a science in one language and expressing it in a different language Even though Dr Tagore is a master of two languages he I am informed translated only *Gitanjali* into English, but not with equal effect and beauty as in the original

(c) *International* The Indian representatives at an international conference will be talking in their various mother tongues though calling themselves the representatives of a nation

Our future Radhakrishnan will give a discourse on philosophy in Tamil to the English students at the Oxford University Similarly a Malaviya will tour in England and America to enlighten the people on the political aspirations of the Indians and lecture in Hindi

Thus Hindi as an All India language will be of no benefit for intra-provincial inter-provincial and international affairs

3 Translations

Apart from the translations previously mentioned the masters of the provincial languages will have to translate into various tongues the literatures of the world and the literatures pertaining to India and the Indians written by Indians and foreigners in English and other foreign languages during the past centuries

The translation of the Life of Mahatma Gandhi into Tamil may be simple but let some one undertake the translation of the *Glimpses of the World History* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and then the stupendity of the task will be realized Why let a Bengali undertake the translation of the *Story of Civilization* by Prof Will Durant and then the hopelessness of the task will be realized What then of the sciences !

As an example of the impossibility of the task let me cite the translation of Dorland's Medical Dictionary containing nearly 100 000 words into any of the Indian languages if not in all the provincial languages If one science has nearly 100 000 words what of all the rest ?

Herein the line of least resistance will have to be followed, *i e* adopt the whole lot of them If one is in command of these thousands of words in a foreign language, how many thousands more will be required to deliver a *lecture on a medical topic* ? A *few hundred* words of the English language will suffice Then why not learn these few hundred words Yes ! The suggestion provides for the study of a foreign language Why then, having studied this foreign language and thousands of technical terms burden a student with Hindi ?

4 A National Language

A national language without the inherent dignity of being the medium of instruction in the school and through the Press, and being the language of administration is a shibboleth

It is admitted that Hindi will not be the medium of instruction in the South The Press, if it endeavours to educate the populace in Hindi will pander to a very small population *Hindi is not to be the language of administration* in the South as in many other parts of India But, one will have the pleasure of seeing Government notices and Congress pamphlets in seven languages, *viz*, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam Canarese Hindi Urdu and say, English

Chapter VII

India's Problem

The real problem of India is 'how best to assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of its own making"

With this end in view the essayist (P J N) advocates the retention of the provincial *languages and the nationalization of Hindi*

In this effort let us bring in the knowledge and experience of the past centuries to make a selection I opine that expediency, practicability and utility should be the criterion in the selection and that sentiment should not be permitted to over rule reason

The Solution

The claims of English as an All-India language have been brushed aside probably because it is a foreign language, and because it is the language of the conqueror, which is more hateful But, let me delineate its claims

Firstly, why not consider English as a relative of Sanskrit however remote it may be While the border dialects of Kashmir can be considered as off shoots of Sanskrit why not English which is admittedly a branch of the Indo Aryan family of languages? Thus much of the distaste on account of its foreignness will be removed

Secondly let us acknowledge with truth and gratitude that English has been the medium of enlightenment, the source of inspiration and *the vehicle of achievement for over hundred* years

It was the insatiable curiosity and the indomitable industry of the Westerners that demolished the barriers and prohibitions of centuries old concretions around religion social custom language travel etc and brought the lights of the external world to us lights that showed us the buried treasures of our own land and also of the world outside India to which the *ancient* Indians were the torch bearers of civilization and culture To what else can we attribute the present political consciousness and the aspirations of the Indians but for the knowledge of the English language and the attendant expansion in outlook

Thirdly, the English language notwithstanding *its erratic spelling empirical pronun* ciation, mixed origin indiscriminate borrowings and inconsiderate incorporation of slangs and vulgar corruptions has a vocabulary probably unsurpassed by any other language in the world

If to this vast vocabulary, India adds its metaphysical and *philosophical terms, in which* Sanskrit excels the resultant product will be unbeatable

Fourthly, English is spoken in a larger area than any other language in the whole world English holds an unassailable position in the international assemblies of the world though French is the medium in *the League of Nations*

Scripts

Roman script is far simpler than all the Indian scripts The insufficiency of the Roman script to suit Indian need can be mended

The ease with which one can write the script without taking the pen off the paper is undeniable The facile pen is possible only through this script, because, all the letters of the alphabet excepting 'O' and 'S' begin with an upward stroke from the left bottom and end with an upward stroke on the right so that the letters are linked naturally O' ends at the top and S' with a stroke to the left 'X' is the only letter that necessitates the pen being removed for the formation of the two strokes of its composition The dots and crosses can be filled in on the completion of a word or even words

Education

Primary If English is not taught in the primary standards, the position will be just as it is at present or in the future with Hindi as the All-India language

Secondary As per report of 1931 Census, India had 13,581 secondary schools (with 2 284 411 pupils) equipped to teach English

The increase in the number of institutions and pupils over 1921 figures was 54% and 85% respectively

If it be granted that Hindi will permeate to the masses through the secondary students then it must be granted that English had permeated to the masses during the last century *which*, however, is not the case Therefore, the optimistic expectation of Hindi spreading to the masses is unwarranted

University In 1931, there were 16 Universities in India with 244 Arts colleges and 73 professional colleges If English continues to be the medium of instruction in these institutions the necessity to translate thousands of books in 14 languages to suit the future students will not arise

There will not be a gap of *at least one* generation between those to be educated in the vernaculars and those who had been educated in English A period that should be used for intense study and unified advancement will be frittered away in educating the future university students through the various vernaculars The present day *men and women educated in* English will not lose touch with the future students as will happen if the vernaculars be the medium of instruction in the universities

Literacy in English That is the ability to write a letter and read a reply to it

[Here the writer has tried to show that the total number of literates in Hindi in the United Provinces the Panjab, Bihar, Orissa Central Provinces and Berar is not very much larger than the total number of literates in English in the whole of India But as we have not

been able to verify his figures we have omitted a paragraph here —Editor, *The Modern Review*]

However that may be, the incontrovertible evidences of the wide knowledge of the English language acquired by Indians and of its importance within and without India are the publications of books such as the *Experiments with Truth* by M K Gandhi *The Glimpses of World History* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru *The Cultural Heritage of India* by the Sri Ramakrishna Mission the *Indian Philosophy* by Sir S Radhakrishnan and journals such as *The Hindu* of Madras *The Modern Review* of Calcutta and the *Harijan* the pet of Mahatma Gandhi in English to give wider publicity within and without India The mastery of English language by Indians as is manifest in *The Cultural Heritage of India* will be the envy of all Englishmen

Administration

Most of the difficulties set forth previously will disappear if English continues to be the language of administration

The intra provincial contact and unity among the educated which had been established will continue to widen and strengthen in the future if English is retained Such will also be the effort throughout India

The possible disruption and antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims will be avoided with English as the All India language The cry against the Indian National Congress that it endeavours to establish the Hindu or Brahmanic supremacy through Hindi will have no foundation

International

Indians will be in touch with a greater part of the world through this medium and the scientists and politicians who at present represent India at the International Conferences political or otherwise will exercise more influence through this tongue than through Hindi or any other provincial language

Summary of the Claims of English to be the All-India Language

1 Basic English is easy to learn
2 Literacy in English among Indians is wide spread
3 *It is widely spoken all over the world*
4 It possesses an immense wealth of literature
5 It is fully competent to meet our need in all spheres
6 The script is far simpler than all the Indian scripts
7 The mountainous labour of translating will not be needed
8 It will establish firmly intra provincial, inter provincial and international contact and unity
9 It will unify the Hindus and Muslims and not create a rupture

Chapter VIII

Lessons from other countries

1 *United States of America* The polyglot nation of all races is today the most progressive country in the world with English as the medium of instruction and administration

2 *Canada* Canada is a much bigger country than India with 53 nationalities and 178 spoken languages as per 1921 Census figures Yet this dominion has advanced far *more than India with English as the medium of* education and administration though the French Canadians were assured of the safety of their language

3 *Japan* Japan has passed the stage of experiment prior to the introduction of Western sciences and methods It had one language though the nation is a composite of Mongolian the Polinesian and Ainu races This was *the fundamental factor in the educational* advancement of Japan as the sciences and literatures of the world had to be translated into only one language

4 *China* This country with the biggest area and population in the world has one script though pronounced differently in its various provinces These scripts convey the same idea and meaning to all the literates in *all the provinces Thus China has possessed* a greater unity than India for millenniums

Yet there had been many attempts during the past seventy years to simplify the script but yet without phenomenal success

Incidentally the Chinese script is far more easier to write than the Hindi script as the latter requires a greater number of strokes than the former to write a word

5 *Malaya* Malaya is *another polyglot* country with representatives perhaps of all the languages and races in the world

This country has advanced greatly within the last fifty years with English as the medium of instruction with English as the language of administration but Malaya as lingua franca

The Chinese predominate in this country so much so that it can even be styled as

'Small China' All the English schools teach English from the primary standard and this language is the medium of instruction throughout the school career of a boy or a girl

6 *Ireland* Ireland, on emerging successfully from its centuries-old struggle for independence, naturally desired to establish its national language, the Gaelic, as the medium of instruction and administration In the early days of controversy over this language question, Mr DeValera is reported to have declared that he would prefer the language without freedom to freedom without the language "But many who were willing to work for a Gaelic-speaking Ireland are beginning to fear that the speeding up policy which holds the field may result in condemning no small portion of the generation to the semi illiteracy that was the fate of the Irish-speaking children who in other days were instructed in schools in a language they did not speak at home"

7 *Continental Experiences*

(a) *Europe* had an immense advantage even though there were many languages as the languages in the Western Europe fell into groups, German and Dutch—English and Danish—French Spanish and Italian—which considerably lessened the difficulties of mastering them The use of one script (Roman script) had been of immense service to the Western nations of Europe, whereas Eastern Europe, i e, Russia and Czech lagged behind because it had different scripts

(b) *Asia* The languages of Asia abound in scripts, Arabian, Persian and Urdu scripts are cognate if not identical Similarly, Chinese and Japanese

In India the Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and Gujarati scripts are cognate, whereas, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam are not very much akin Canarese is more akin to Telugu

Asiatic nations were sufficient to themselves in the sphere of literature and became isolated for want of a unifying script among other causes

"It was not until Asiatics began to write in Western tongues that they began to speak effectively, either to the world or to one another The remarkable progress in all directions which we see in India, in Japan, in China and in Annam is due in part at least to the mastery by the educated of the English tongue"

The ideals of Gandhi, the poetry and philosophy of Tagore, the scientific discoveries of Bose and Raman and the politics of Nehru could not have been known within or without India, but for the mastery of English by the educated Indians

The moral support which India receives today in her national aspirations from America France, England, etc, would not have been possible, but for the interchange of ideas through this Western tongue

China would still be under the sway of the Manchus but for the enlightenment of Dr San Yat-sen through English

Chapter IX

Conclusion

Modern India Mere juxtaposition will not help advancement in the provinces Ideas are communicated through books, through the written as much as, and even more than, by the spoken word Therefore, let us maintain access to the literatures of the world through the English language

In our time Europe borrows more and more from the Philosophy of the East, while the East borrows more and more from the science of the West Let this mutual benefit and conjoint advancement go on for ever and more through the medium of English

References

Extracts and quotations from the following have been used in the article —

1 *Cultural Heritage of India*—the centenary celebration issue of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa

2 *Short History of Indian Literature*, by Ernst Horrwitz.

3 *Story of Civilization* by Will Durant

4 Issues of the *The Modern Review* from 1930 to date

5 A few other books and literary cuttings from my files



STUDENTS' STRIKES

By G S KRISHNAYYA MA PhD

Some Preventive Measures

There seems to be quite an epidemic of students strikes in several parts of the country As a leading daily put it recently Hardly a day passes without reports of students strikes or threats of strikes for some trivial reason or other In view of this situation it may be worthwhile to discover the conditions which favour their occurrence and to prescribe ways and means by which such conditions might be avoided Within the brief space of an article an attempt is made here to describe situations mostly psychological in which groups and individuals are most susceptible and then to suggest how such mental states might be prevented in other word to treat the phenomena of students strikes as a doctor does Typhoid or Indigestion No claim is made here for exhaustiveness nor is it assumed that all that is said here will apply in all details to any particular strike past or present

Utilizing Superfluous Steam

Important among the predisposing factors is the failure of schools and colleges to use up the animal spirits of youth This pent up energy naturally demands an outlet But an educational procedure which everlastingly preaches Keep quiet and idealizes its good boys is not likely to make provision for the proper expenditure of super abundant steam Therefore from the humdrum routine of academic life which normal boy would not seek occasional escape? It would indicate an abnormality if young folks with the natural exuberance of the teens did not desire to take a day off to let go or to do something out of the way Educational psychologists are emphasizing the need for a larger amount of play in life and in education and yet few stop to consider what is to happen when the authorities violate every law of God and Nature in their insistence on an unnatural conformity to impossible requirements

To avoid such a disposition to utilize the first chance for some forbidden excitement it is necessary to have many activities centring in and around the school or college Since the traditional curriculum leaves so little room for activity and consumes so little of the tremendous reserves of energy and enthusiasm it is desirable to introduce some extra curricular activities such as excursions parties games scouting athletics newspapers and magazines *dramatic clubs literary societies music clubs* and orchestras student councils Besides one of the surest ways to the heart of the student is to have the institution associated with some of the happiest moments of his life The need for creative activity must be obvious in this connection and so far as the school is concerned it may be pointed out that even the curriculum can be vitalized and made more absorbing by the use of the Project Method the Winnetka Plan and the Dalton Plan

Sympathetic Understanding

Another predisposing cause is the lack of sympathy between students and the staff and *the administration* Leaving aside the apathy which often exists between the teachers and the management sometimes there is not that understanding of the student mind and nature that would make for a feeling of *esprit de corps* between the students and the rest Human beings crave sympathy and students naturally seek sympathy from those above them When they begin to feel that that cannot be secured and that nobody cares the atmosphere is charged with the possibility of a strike From this point of view a strike may be a protest against administrative indifference and callousness When sympathy is not forthcoming and repressive measures are threatened a further stage is reached and youthful pugnacity comes into play *It takes up the challenge* and feels called upon to show that it is no factor to be trifled with The urge of mastery is strong and the only course open seems to be a walk out At least when repression is likely to lead to revolt discretion on the part of the administration may be the better part of valour!

Devotion to School or College

The third factor that must be considered is the general lack of a sense of loyalty to the institution to which one belongs This devotion seems conspicuous by its absence in a large number of Indian schools and colleges The result is that the students fall an easy prey to the divisive and disruptive forces which are more or less always present A pride in one's institution is necessary before devotion is conceivable and this pride cannot be cultivated unless there are some things of which the pupils or students may rightly be proud There is often nothing to deter them from doing things which would bring disgrace to their institution If they could be made to feel a sense of responsibility to hold scared the fair name of their institution and to pass it down fairer and nobler to the next generation it is conceivable that they would refrain from much that is often indulged in light heartedly

To promote this feeling of corporateness and to develop the school or college spirit a number of things might be done Weekly or less frequent assembling of the students and the staff will go a long way If at the beginning and end of each term such a formal gathering were arranged it would to say the least introduce the students and the instructors to each other (especially in the case of the larger institutions) and make them feel that they belong to one academic community A students' handbook and diary would ensure a common stock of knowledge regarding the history and traditions of the institutions Flags, colours badges mottos college songs etc serve as important unifying agencies Little is done to enlist an alumnus interest in the school or college and perhaps less to deserve it An alumnus register will serve to keep the institution in touch with its past students and their welfare and whereabouts Then the Old Boys and the present students should be brought together periodically to ensure mutual interest and to strengthen the bonds of common devotion to the institution

The interest of the students in the institution can be greatly increased by giving them a small part in the management of its activities While students may not be able to rule themselves entirely, they are usually able to manage some of the small affairs about the school or college The student who gives of his time and energy to his institution cares for it the more because of his contribution If these opportunities could be multiplied so that more students could participate in running the institution the larger will be the number of the friends of the institution With such an increased interest and responsibility, the problem of rowdyism is inconceivable The best control is that which comes from within, and comes because the group itself takes pride in holding up its own rules and standards Without this popular support rules are a challenge and threats only increase trouble for all those concerned To guarantee this backing a sense of responsibility is necessary and that is greatly assisted by an elected Student Representative Council The students not only begin to share in the running of the institution, but have a legitimate channel of expression for their problem and grievances And the Principal knows who the student leaders are and can negotiate with them before a crisis arises If the students can be made to feel that the building up of desirable traditions and the maintaining of the reputation of the institution is a joint responsibility much will have been done to minimize sensoriousness and carping criticism Our schools and colleges have not attempted as a rule to take their younger members into administrative confidence A feeling of partnership naturally predisposes one against revolt and rashness

Sensitising Students

Another matter that is of too great an importance to be ignored here is the need for sensitising students for propaganda This will prevent them from falling a ready victim to every wind of doctrine that might come their way One of the greatest defects of our educational system is that it does little to foster independent thinking and the scientific attitude Students are rarely given an opportunity to sift evidence or encouraged to differ from opinions printed or professorial Until students can stand on their own feet intellectually, they are bound to believe most things that they hear or read And then they often act on the basis of these supposed facts

Ever since the evils of the present type of education were recognized educationists have been urging the need for developing the critical attitude But no great change is possible until reasoned differences are invited and examination called for more than a verbatim reproduction of somebody else's ideas and opinions In view of increasing democratization and wider enfranchisement such critical mindedness is all the more indispensable Calm deliberation and the weighing of evidence can be and

should be cultivated through the school and the college This will render young people some what impervious to prejudice and propaganda and prevent hasty action so characteristic of impetuous youth Until the exercise of rational faculties is exalted as social righteou ness we invite the fate that awaits vital ignorance

Disinfection

It must be admitted however that even in bygone days some of these predi posing cau es were operative and yet strikes among students were rare if not entirely unknown Something has happened Power that lies in collective action one of the discoveries of the industrial West has been frequently exhibited in the form of strikes with so much success that perhaps Indian students have been duly or unduly impressed Here in India too it has often been observed to produce the desired re ult And so when their wishes are thwarted and they want to assert their might they fall back upon this weapon In such circumstances it i obvious that the student mind is con centrated on the goal Their interest in the means is only as means to that end (Their demands to the extent to which they are legitimate are to be granted but when they are not reasonable or desirable what then?) Perhaps then it would be best to bring the means to the foreground and to get them as sen ible people to evaluate their contemplated procedure They might be shown that a strike i a notable example of an instinctive rather than a rational attempt to correct evils and that as a social method it corresponds to the tactics of a rat seeking its escape violently from a trap the nature of which it does not perceive If student realized how disastrou a strike can be to character, how subversive of morale and discipline and how wasteful of time talent and energy they would think many times before re orting to it Students should therefore have an opportunity of dis cu ing this new technique with the co opera tion of their educational adv i ers This would ensure the presentation of more sides of the question and if discussed *before* any particular is ue is up would guarantee more balanced conclu ions Being fully aware of the conse quences they are not likely thereafter to fall in with the first suggestion of a strike It may also be that the fact that they had already covered the ground mentally and 'vicariously' might rob the quest of a 'new experience' of most of its thrill and motivating power They have become immuned, as it were to serious infection

Atmosphere of Discipline

The above mentioned predispo ing factors might be comparatively ineffective but for another and more devastating feature of many modern institutions—the lack of a firm con viction regarding the value and importance of discipline When all that can be done has been done when sweetnes and light have been given free play when mutual understanding and far sighted planning have been tried—in other words when the management is in the right and has spared no pains to convince the students of it a strike still seem po sible these days And this is becau e of the prevalence of wrong ideals and unfortunate attitudes It is nothing short of tragic that students should grow up in the belief that the indi criminate satisfaction of native impul es and passing fancies i laudable at a time when self dis cipline sublimation and civility should be their guiding stars To him that overcometh is it given to eat of the tree of life' Flabby moral muscles have never been known to make for strong character Hence the rigours attached to the life of *Brahmacharya* in the ancient universities of India Plato realized this long long ago when he said Those are good who are able to govern them elves those are bad who are not In the maintenance of the authority which has been delegated to schools and colleges the management should be able to count on the unqualified upport of all—except of cour e the sentimental fathers and hysterical mothers who don't mind seeing their brood become namby pamby unprincipled impetuous young people Without this con fidence that the parents see eye to eye with them the heads of schools and colleges will find it difficult to give the citizens and rulers of tomorrow the training which will add beauty and breadth and balance to life—in tead of allowing it to become a prey to wild and self destructive passions No effort should be spared to help students and their guardians to appreciate the value and virtue of courtesy and self control In such an atmo phere strikes cannot thrive It is imperative for academic bodies and the public not to mistake pusillani mity for progressiveness

Summary

Summarizing it might be said that only when schools and colleges realize the need for greater physical and social activity inside and

outside the curriculum, when they recognize that students respond better to sympathy and understanding than to the mere enforcement of external rules, when they understand that love and loyalty for an institution are forces which should be cultivated and capitalized through the development of a partnership when they actively immune students to the ravages of half truths and no truths when they enable students to understand that imitation in the matter of strikes is not commendable but fraught with disastrous consequences and when disciplined character and obedience to legitimate authority are extolled by the authorities and the patrons as worthy goals for all young people,—only then will a scientific approach be made to rendering students' strikes less likely, if not impossible

THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE HINDUS IN BENGAL AND THE EFFECT OF THE COMMUNAL DECISION

BY SURJYA NARAYAN CHATTERJEE M A, B L

If we survey mankind as a whole, we find that from certain angles light is thrown upon the historic mission of some particular communities The assertion that the mere fact of existence implies mission may sound strange to our ears but is profoundly true It means that no individual and no group of individuals can contain all the possibilities of the human type Some peculiar type is found in a higher degree in one or the other and the complete man would mean the synthesis of all men with the inevitable reactions of quality to quality Even this definition is not exhaustive for there may be possible types as yet non existent It follows that the complete man does not exist nor will he ever exist though the type continues to evolve unceasingly

The human type in evolution arises out of the aggregation of individuals the synthesis of innumerable peculiarities The millions of individuals are so colourless that their contribution to the shaping of the human type is negligible To bring development about it is necessary that out of the masses superior individuals should emerge in whom the latent possibilities of their peculiar mass become a recognizable dynamic force

From the human point of view the most important of agglomerations is the nation, for within its sphere every human ability and activity manifest themselves It is through a national unity that the mass of individuals evolve into mankind that is to say a spiritual a moral and perhaps a legally constituted unit The English can not contribute to the common treasure of mankind what the Indians or the Persians or the Russians can The destruction or decline of one means the impoverishment of all

The soul of a community in a nation is often seized with the desire to rule over others They become intoxicated with the glory forced upon them by their leaders The judgment of History must condemn unconditionally the internecine communal conflicts in a nation Such conflict diverts the forces of each community from the internal development by which it might improve the treasures of mankind without any compensating advantage In Bengal the Hindus and the Muslims have not been welded into a perfectly homogeneous unit From the point of view of higher development such a situation should be met by an organization of groups in which the leadership would devolve upon the culturally superior groups This seems self evident The non ruling groups should, however, enjoy complete freedom and adequate encouragement in the development of their own cultural individualities Supporting my view I suggest that the intellectually superior group is certainly more capable of contributing to the moral stock of humanity when aided by advantages which political supremacy always offers, while at the same time such a group feels no impulse to maintain its supremacy by obstructing the development of the rest Its superiority is not artificial rests not at all on force, whereas the less cultured group when it attains political supremacy can not but feel the incongruity of its position and is impelled to try a rapid equalization, which can be achieved only by

the uppre sion of higher culture, the more valuable elements

Thus the present communnaly minded Muslim upremacy in Bengal political life will result in a catastrophic decline of the standard of government and owing to the natural desire of the politically superior com munity for speedy equalization in suppre ion if not de truction of the higher culture

But such a policy would ob truct the Mu lim cultural development likewi e becau e it diverts the energies of the Muslims into mistaken channels and wastes upon suppression what should be utilized for progre Mu lim aggrandi ement to the detriment of the Hindu is to the detriment of the great interests of human progre not only becau e it weakened forces more mature but becau e it obstructs rather than assists the Hindu in the fulfilment of their own hi toric mi sion The Hindus of Bengal have a lofty world mission determined by the achievements and tendencies of the past the fulfilment of which has been obstructed and weakened by the catastrophe of the Communal Decision The mutilation of greater Bengal by giving away its districts to Bihar and As am and thus reducing the number of Hindu within the present boundarie of Bengal under the thorough political dominance of the Mussalmans is a los to the great intellectual and moral interests of mankind a los without compensation It is difficult to di cover any humanitarian mission in this Decision though its author claim it

FAMILY DISSOLUTION IN MALABAR

By K M AYYATH M A

Malabar is pre eminently a land of matriarchy and joint family Whereas in the case of the matriarchal communitie the joint family is an indi pensable nece sity for the maintenance of the social structure in the case of the non matriarchal communitie in the ab ence of such a necessity they have made a deliberate adapta tion of the social structure for the maintenance of the joint family Thu not only the Nairs but also the Nambudiris the temporal and spiritual overlord re pectively of Malabar have built up their ocial structure on a joint family basi

It is well known however that unthinking acceptance of We tern ideas and blind imitation of Western institution have done considerable havoc to Hindu ideas and institutions every where in India In Malabar the individualistic ideas of Europe have in particular profoundly modified the attitude of the Nairs towards the institution of the matriarchal joint family The extraordinary conservatism of the Nambudiris resisted We tern influences successfully for a long time But they too have begun to succumb to foreign ideas and influences

The joint family is in consequence now regarded in Malabar as el ewhere in India as an anachroni tic institution quite out of place in the modern world and con tituting a veritable impediment to any progress The idea of conservation by reform or reconstitution is altogether brushed aside and dissolution is urged with all revolutionary fervour

It is however interesting to note in this connexion that in Europe itself individualistic ideas are becoming out of fashion and commu ni tic ideas taking their place in shaping the de tinies of men It i amusing then to note that the zeal with which the dismantling of the Hindu joint families is being urged everywhere in India is a yet thoroughly unaffected by the new developments in the West

We are here concerned only with the matriarchal joint family of the Nairs and other communities in Malabar Legal changes introduced in Malabar in relation to the matriarchal system of family structure among the Nairs however afford a striking illustration of the dangers arising from allowing purely imitative sentimentalism altogether divorced from reason to determine sociological changes of far reaching importance in India

We shall now proceed to a detailed and specific con ideration of our subject proper But at the outset we have to note that matriarchy is a rarity in the present-day world and as such al o a novelty and a mv tery to many outside Malabar A brief description of its main

outside the curriculum, when they recognize that students respond better to sympathy and understanding than to the mere enforcement of external rules, when they understand that love and loyalty for an institution are forces which should be cultivated and capitalized through the development of a partnership when they actively immune students to the ravages of half truths and no truths when they enable students to understand that imitation in the matter of strikes is not commendable but fraught with disastrous consequences and when disciplined character and obedience to legitimate authority are extolled by the authorities and the patrons as worthy goals for all young people,—only then will a scientific approach be made to rendering students' strikes less likely, if not impossible

THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE HINDUS IN BENGAL AND THE EFFECT OF THE COMMUNAL DECISION

By SURJYA NARAYAN CHATTERJEE M A, B L

If we survey mankind as a whole, we find that from certain angles light is thrown upon the historic mission of some particular communities The assertion that the mere fact of existence implies mission may sound strange to our ears but is profoundly true It means that no individual and no group of individuals can contain all the possibilities of the human type Some peculiar type is found in a higher degree in one or the other and the complete man would mean the synthesis of all men with the inevitable reactions of quality to quality Even this definition is not exhaustive for there may be possible types as yet non existent It follows that the complete man does not exist nor will he ever exist though the type continues to evolve unceasingly

The human type in evolution arises out of the aggregation of individuals the synthesis of innumerable peculiarities The millions of individuals are so colourless that their contribution to the shaping of the human type is negligible To bring development about it is necessary that out of the masses superior individuals should emerge in whom the latent possibilities of their peculiar mass become a recognizable dynamic force

From the human point of view the most important of agglomerations is the nation, for within its sphere every human ability and activity manifest themselves It is through a national unity that the mass of individuals evolve into mankind, that is to say a spiritual a moral and perhaps a legally constituted unit The English can not contribute to the common treasure of mankind what the Indians or the Persians or the Russians can The destruction or decline of one means the impoverishment of all

The soul of a community in a nation is often seized with the desire to rule over others They become intoxicated with the glory forced upon them by their leaders The judgment of History must condemn unconditionally the internecine communal conflicts in a nation Such conflict diverts the forces of each community from the internal development by which it might improve the treasures of mankind without any compensating advantage In Bengal the Hindus and the Muslims have not been welded into a perfectly homogeneous unit From the point of view of higher development such a situation should be met by an organization of groups in which the leadership would devolve upon the culturally superior groups This seems self evident The non ruling groups should however enjoy complete freedom and adequate encouragement in the development of their own cultural individualities Supporting my view I suggest that the intellectually superior group is certainly more capable of contributing to the moral stock of humanity when aided by advantages which political supremacy always offers while at the same time such a group feels no impulse to maintain its supremacy by obstructing the development of the rest Its superiority is not artificial rests not at all on force, whereas the less cultured group when it attains political supremacy, can not but feel the incongruity of its position and is impelled to try a rapid equalization, which can be achieved only by

the suppression of higher culture, the more valuable elements

Thus the present communally minded Muslim supremacy in Bengal political life will result in a catastrophic decline of the standard of government and owing to the natural desire of the politically superior community for speedy equalization, in suppression if not destruction of the higher culture

But such a policy would obstruct the Muslim cultural development likewise because it diverts the energies of the Muslims into mistaken channels and wastes upon suppression what should be utilized for progress Muslim aggrandisement to the detriment of the Hindus is to the detriment of the great interests of human progress not only because it weakened forces more mature but because it obstructs rather than assists the Hindus in the fulfilment of their own historic mission The Hindus of Bengal have a lofty world mission determined by the achievements and tendencies of the past the fulfilment of which has been obstructed and weakened by the catastrophe of the Communal Decision The mutilation of greater Bengal by giving away its districts to Bihar and Assam and thus reducing the number of Hindus within the present boundaries of Bengal under the thorough political dominance of the Mussalmans is a loss to the great intellectual and moral interests of mankind a loss without compensation It is difficult to discover any humanitarian mission in this Decision though its author claim it

FAMILY DISSOLUTION IN MALABAR

By K M PANIKKAR M A

MALABAR is pre eminently a land of matriarchy and joint family Whereas in the case of the matriarchal communities the joint family is an indispensable necessity for the maintenance of the social structure in the case of the non matriarchal communities in the absence of such a necessity they have made a deliberate adaptation of the social structure for the maintenance of the joint family Thus not only the Nairs but also the Nambudiri the temporal and spiritual overlord respectively of Malabar have built up their social structure on a joint family basis

It is well known however that unthinking acceptance of Western ideas and blind imitation of Western institution have done considerable havoc to Hindu ideas and institutions everywhere in India In Malabar the individualistic ideas of Europe have in particular profoundly modified the attitude of the Nairs towards the institution of the matriarchal joint family The extraordinary conservatism of the Nambudiris resisted Western influences successfully for a long time But they too have begun to succumb to foreign ideas and influences

The joint family is in consequence now regarded in Malabar as elsewhere in India as an anachronistic institution quite out of place in the modern world and constituting a veritable impediment to any progress The idea of conservation by reform or reconstitution is altogether brushed aside and dissolution is urged with all revolutionary fervour

It is however interesting to note in this connexion that in Europe itself individualistic ideas are becoming out of fashion and communistic ideas taking their place in shaping the destinies of men It is amusing then to note that the zeal with which the dismantling of the Hindu joint families is being urged everywhere in India is as yet thoroughly unaffected by the new developments in the West

We are here concerned only with the matriarchal joint family of the Nairs and other communities in Malabar Legal changes introduced in Malabar in relation to the matriarchal system of family structure among the Nairs however afford a striking illustration of the dangers arising from allowing purely imitative sentimentalism altogether divorced from reason to determine sociological changes of far reaching importance in India

We shall now proceed to a detailed and specific consideration of our subject proper But at the outset we have to note that matriarchy is a rarity in the present-day world and as such also a novelty and a mystery to many outside Malabar A brief description of its main

features will not therefore be altogether out of place

Matriarchy in its latest phase of development in Malabar exhibits the following characteristics

(1) Descent is traced through females and succession and inheritance are regulated accordingly

(2) The centre of the matriarchal system is the matriarchal family The matriarchal family is composed of all the male and female descendants in the female line of a *common female ancestor Hence, necessarily* it is a joint family Partition is allowed and is based on the principle of universal consent. In other words *partition is allowed provided all members constituting* the family agree to it

(3) The family properties are owned in common *by all the members and distribution is regulated by the* communistic principle From every one according to ability to every one according to need" Separate ownership of properties is also recognised in the case of self acquisitions

(4) Males and females enjoy equal rights and their functions are determined by sex distinctions and limitations. The seniormost male member is generally the head and manager of the family But in the absence of suitable males of mature age headship and management *pass to the females according to seniority as in* the case of males

(5) All matrimonial relations are characterised by *perfect equality on both sides, and since matrimony* does not imply the discontinuance of the wife's original connexion and rights in relation to the family of birth *dependence of the wife or children for maintenance* or material welfare on the husband or father is also absent

The matriarchal system in Malabar has evoked unstinted admiration from many outsiders including numerous eminent British officials of the administrative and judicial departments of Madras who had *opportunities of* studying it closely It lays stress on the natural importance of the female in society and perpetuates the natural and early family relationship between brother and sister without a break or discontinuance at the matrimonial stage It *recognizes* complete equality between man and woman and as such is perfectly free from all the ills of inequality between man and woman characteristic of patriarchy, the prevailing type of social structure in the world and against which women *are fighting all the world over in modern* times In striking contrast to the patriarchal system with its undue emphasis of the importance of man and his rights in society it has thoroughly eliminated all the *factors leading to the subjection of woman* to man or undue exaltation of man over woman The joint family with its unlimited economic resources and working on communistic principles is besides, a powerful institution incomparable in the richness of opportunities which it *provides for the material* and cultural advancement of the members

The rapid spread of Western education among the Nairs in Malabar for which the joint family afforded abundance of facilities and the influence of Western ideas, customs and manners have, however, led to the growth among them of a sentimental and unreasoning prejudice against *the matriarchal system Indiscriminate criticism* of everything matriarchal and exaltation and imitation of everything non matriarchal, foreign or Indian, have also become the fashion of the day

Matriarchy is attacked as unnatural, inhuman and antiquated The joint family is *regarded as unworkable unwieldy and difficult* of selfless or proper management Even the unique equality and freedom which characterise marital relations under matriarchy are assailed and sought to be curtailed on the ground of their abuse

We have here to examine these criticisms in some detail with a view to exposing their hollowness and fundamental baselessness

As regards the criticism that matriarchy is unnatural it may be observed that in matters of descent and inheritance the matriarchal emphasis of the female is as natural as the patriarchal emphasis of the male In comparison to the patriarchal system the matriarchal system has also the merit in this respect of resting itself on direct evidence rather than on indirect inference Again the matriarchal emphasis of the *fraternal relationship* is also as natural as the patriarchal emphasis of the marital relationship Here also in comparison to patriarchy, matriarchy has the merit of emphasising an indissoluble relationship based on birth and early association rather than a dissoluble relationship *based on accident and later association*

Matriarchy may be uncommon But it cannot be regarded on that account as unnatural Nothing unnatural can exist for a long time and the long history of glorious achievements to which matriarchy in Malabar can lay an undoubted claim is *itself an adequate refutation of the* charge that it is unnatural To regard it as unnatural is simply to confuse the one with the other

It is also common to regard matriarchy as inhuman *on the ground that it denies property* rights to wife and children But this criticism is purely the result of superficial observation based on the analogy of patriarchy Matriarchy as we have already seen dispenses with the necessity for such rights on the part of wife and children by providing for all their material requirements through a few more permanent and powerful agency in the form of the matriarchal

joint family This criticism rests on a thorough ignorance of this fact and as such is devoid of any real substance More than that compared to patriarchy matriarchy has also the advantage of freeing the parents from the worries regarding the material position and welfare of their children and thereby enabling them to conserve and release so much of their energies for *cultural advancement*

Far from being an antiquated system matriarchy has also proved itself in some respects more advanced and more modern than patriarchy The matriarchal ideas in many respects and particularly those relating to the position of women in society are being accepted everywhere in the modern world as more sound This fact alone is at once an emphatic refutation of the criticism that it is antiquated and an unequivocal assertion that it is more advanced than patriarchy

The criticisms which are levelled against the joint family may also be examined in some detail The critics regard the communistic ideal of the joint family as impossible of realization in actual practice Their size and management are also attacked the former on the ground that bigness is incompatible with happiness and the latter on the ground that the manager is more likely to be actuated by motives of selfishness and the desire to enrich his wife and children than by any genuine desire to advance the interests of the matriarchal family

None of these criticisms however rests on any substantial foundation In modern times when *communism is being advocated as suitable and* practicable for larger groups of people on a state and even on a world basis and also demonstrated to be feasible and successful to regard the communistic principle as unsuitable and impracticable for a family group is only to cling to a position which is no longer tenable and which is fast becoming out of date

Again to connect the bigness of the joint *families* and unhappiness in family life is only to connect two unconnected things as cause and effect through losing sight of the real cause It may also be observed that if bigness has any connexion with happiness in relation to family life it is only for enhancing it by placing at the disposal of the family larger human and material resources than otherwise possible and not for destroying it

The real factor that determines happiness or unhappiness in family life is management and not size Instances of well managed big families enjoying unparalleled happiness and ill managed small families undergoing untold miseries are too common to need specific mention

The criticisms levelled against the management of the families are also devoid of any weight They rest on too narrow a view of human nature and betray a thorough ignorance of the past

The prosperity of almost all the existing *joint families which are now admittedly* in affluent circumstances can easily be shown to be due to the selfless endeavours of the managers in the past As such the criticism that the managers are naturally and generally selfish is to be regarded as having no real foundation The criticism that under matriarchy the manager of the joint family is liable to be actuated by the desire for promoting the material interests of his wife and children at the expense of the matriarchal family is also devoid of any substantial weight We have already seen that under matriarchy wife and children do not depend for their maintenance or material welfare upon the husband or father We have also noted that the managers of the matriarchal families are really entitled to a proud place in the history of matriarchy In these circumstances no substantial weight can be given to such criticisms They can only be regarded as the outcome of ignorance of one of the basic conceptions of matriarchy and its splendid practical working *under varied conditions during the* period of its long history All the defects in managements are also easily removable as will be shown afterwards by the introduction of necessary changes to make it more broad based

A few words may also be said with reference to the criticisms directed against the marvellous principles of equality and freedom which regulate all marital relations under matriarchy The fact that *principles* are abused in practice cannot be advanced as an argument against the principles themselves The remedy for abuse lies also not in abrogating those principles in any form It lies rather in the creation of a strong public opinion against their abuse by salutary methods

We are now in a position to proceed to a discussion of some of the main features of the legislation introduced in relation at present to the Nair families but doubtless intended also to be extended in due course of time to the families of the other matriarchal communities in Malabar

The following aspects of the legislation deserve particular attention in this connexion

(1) Regulation of family partition (2) Regulation of rights to the self acquisitions of

the members of the family (3) Regulation of family management (4) Regulation of matrimonial relations We shall discuss each of these separately

Under the new regulation the principle of universal consent as the basis of family partition is either partly as in the case of Cochin and British Malabar or totally as in the case of Travancore dispensed with by the introduction of branch or individual partitions Universal consent for partition is however one of the fundamental principles of matriarchy When partition is allowed except on this basis the matriarchal character of the family can no longer exist Matriarchy implies as the term Maru makkathayam used in Malabar to denote matriarchy shows three elements in the family group—brother sister and sister's children Branch or individual partition by effecting separation of the male and female descendants of a female makes such grouping impossible Partition introduced by law thus strikes at the root of the whole structure of the matriarchal family

By emphasising equality in distribution legal partition has also undermined the communistic character of the family The possibility of partition of properties in equal shares at any time as legally provided creates among the members an irresistible desire for a similar equal distribution of income at all times This makes the operation of the principle of distribution according to need difficult or impossible of attainment In the place of the old principle a new principle the principle of distribution according to equal proportion comes into practical operation All chances of harmonious family life it is needless to observe also disappears with this

Legal partition has thus introduced altogether a new type of family thoroughly different from the old in all respects It has introduced in the place of the old family of unlimited size resources and limited ills—a new family of limited size resources and unlimited ills All the ills of the old family are not only reproduced in the new family but they are also reproduced in multiplied and aggravated forms and with none of its advantages. The old principle of partition which operated automatically whenever the family became unduly cumbrous or harmonious working difficult has thus amply demonstrated its wisdom not only by its practical success in the past but also by the contrast afforded by the disastrous results attending its deviation

Again under matriarchy the family is entitled to inherit the self acquisitions left unbequeathed by the members of the family But this right of the matriarchal family is deprived partly or wholly by making wife children and husband heirs to part as in the case of Cochin and British Malabar or whole as in the case of Travancore of such properties That this is incompatible with the matriarchal system of inheritance is obvious Besides it has also to be noted that members of the matriarchal families owe not only their birth but also their making and position to these families As such deprivation of the right of these families to inherit the self acquisitions of the members constitutes also a glaring injustice to them The new principle introduced by legislation is thus both irrational and unjust in the extreme

We come next to the regulation of family management Here we shall consider first the maximum fixed by law as remuneration for the head of the family It is well known that most of the matriarchal joint families in Malabar are considerably rich and enjoying large annual incomes The heads of such families often also enjoy greater social prestige than even the greatest state officials To fix the maximum of remuneration for the heads of such families at Rs 75 a month as the law has done is in the circumstances nothing but ridiculous

Further the prosperity of any institution depends upon the efficiency and honesty of its management Particular care has therefore to be taken to see that the man at the head of the affairs is paid properly to secure such efficiency and honesty But curiously enough here the law does exactly the opposite thing Further comment upon this is needless

A deplorable want of constructive acumen in the shaping of the legislation affecting the management is revealed also by the failure to deal with it satisfactorily in other respects A study of the factors that have largely led to the decay of the joint families reveals that two causes contribute mainly to their ruin These are

(1) Want of planned forethought in management resulting in reckless expenditure and leading to ultimate collapse and (2) bickerings among members particularly between the manager and others affecting injuriously the management and welfare of the family

It is obvious that the obligation legally placed on the manager of the family for making periodical presentation of accounts to the other members is in itself totally insufficient for removing these ills

They are removable however by the applica-

tion of the principle of budgetary management in the case of these families By making it obligatory on the part of the manager to present a periodical family budget to all the adult members and making their participation in all possible ways a feature of the management the elements of forethought collectivity and publicity are secured in sufficient measure to make the management thoroughly honest and efficient The family also become free from the curse of bickering when publicity removes misunderstandings from among the members which generally constitute the real and main cause for all bickering in joint families

In this connexion it has also to be emphasised that the conservation of the matriarchal joint families is eminently practicable by a well regulated system of management which takes adequate account of the principles of large scale management The legislation introduced at present in relation to the Nair families is however fundamentally defective in that it rests on a realization rather of the destructive than of the constructive importance of management But the attempt to demolish these families for reasons of mismanagement real or imaginary on the part of the heads and by way of getting rid of these heads altogether is as foolish as seeking to get rid of the mouse in the house by setting fire to the house itself

Coming lastly to the regulation of matrimonial relation we have to note that insistence on the registration of marriages and the imposition of special pecuniary obligations on the males in respect to dissolutions deserve particular attention

We shall deal with insistence on registration in a few words It cannot be denied that the Nairs are culturally a highly advanced community with a corresponding sense of all social responsibilities In the case of such a community an obligation for the registration of marriage for prevention of evasion of responsibilities is obviously not only superfluous and annoying but also highly insulting

Unhampered freedom on both sides in the matter of dissolution of marriages accorded under matriarchy will also be admitted to be by far the most salutary principle in respect to the same The only deviation from the old practice which has to be made and which can also be made consistent with the matriarchal system is a recognition of the rights of the wife and children to maintenance in the case of the former until her remarriage and in the case of the latter until they attain mature age Anything more than this is unwanted under matriarchy and likely also to be mischievous

The cumulative effects of the various legal changes have also to be considered The danger of substituting sentiment for reason in determining sociological changes and breaking up social systems each of which has its own completeness and rational foundation becomes at once manifest In the attempt to create a patriarchal family out of the matriarchal family law has destroyed the old system and has produced something new out of the old which is neither patriarchy nor matriarchy but something in the middle of the two In composition the new family resulting from the operation of law is akin to the patriarchal family and consists of the husband wife and children But the rights and responsibilities of the members of this new family are different from those of the patriarchal family They are rather akin to those of the husband wife and wife's children under matriarchy

This also suggests a name for the new system In Malabar matriarchy is denoted by the term 'Maru makkathayam' *i.e.* system based on matrilineal descent and patriarchy by the term 'Makkathayam' *i.e.* system based on patrilineal descent To give the new system the name 'Sambadhathayam' *i.e.* system based on 'sambadham' or simple matrimonial connexion as is denoted by the word under matriarchy in Malabar seems in the circumstances most appropriate

Sambadhathayam is now generally defended only as a transitional arrangement by way of preparation of the maru makkathayam communities for the reception of full fledged makkathayam But in the first flush of enthusiasm in the early days of its introduction it used to be almost universally regarded as a happy compromise between maru makkathayam and makkathayam system and capable of combining the advantages of both without their disadvantages The family in Cochin which is more typical of the Sambadhathayam system than the family in Travancore used even to be regarded as superior to the latter though in fact the family in Travancore has at least the merit of greater approximation to the makkathayam system in comparison to the family in Cochin

Sambadhathayam however has none of such advantages imagined or claimed for it and it can be regarded only as an unmitigated mischief Both maru makkathayam and makkathayam have each a completeness of its own and there is rationally no place for anything mutilated by way of a compromise between the two To

attempt to create any such compromise is only to court disaster It is no wonder then that the sambadhathayam family which is the result of such an attempt and as such is neither communistic nor individualistic has all the disadvantages of both the maru makkathayam and makkathayam families without any of their advantages

Economically the sambadhathayam family is weaker and more unstable than the maru makkathayam family Socially it provides all the occasion for friction among members which both a maru makkathayam and a makkathayam family provide in combination

Under these circumstances the break up of the maru makkathayam system and its replacement by the sambadhathayam system can only be regarded as mischievous in the extreme The tragic experiences of a large number of families everywhere in Malabar illustrate also practically the mischiefs emanating from the replacement of the old by the new system

Even as a transitional arrangement sambadhathayam lacks adequate justification The stupendous and immediate economic waste involved in prolonged and protracted partition and other litigations and in the disuse or under selling of big dwelling houses consequent upon the reduction in the size of the new families is not in any way compensated by any promising economic future near or distant

The Nairs brought up in communistic and aristocratic traditions and with a unique perfection of character amply denoted by the Malabar term Tharawadithuam derived from Tharwad or joint family can only be infants if not altogether misfits in the individualistic and competitive world and the idea of their success in business enterprises by utilizing shares obtained by partition of family properties as capital entertained by some to justify the destruction of the old order is as foolish as the idea of a child's success with his patrimony employed as capital in business enterprises amidst a group of clever and veteran businessmen It needs hardly to be told that the child is more likely to lose all his wealth and with all hopes of future recovery also destroyed find himself nowhere in the world in no time Practical cases of such failures among the Nairs are also pathetically numerous Here it can also be observed with enough of justification as will be shown afterwards that the Nairs have better chances of success in the competitive world under the protection of the powerful matriarchal joint family than without such protection

The transition offers socially also no better prospects either immediate or distant Sambadhathayam has made the males more irresponsible and the females more helpless than ever before Family partition has violently shaken the sense of responsibility for the welfare of sister and children and the new sense of responsibility for the welfare of wife and children has still to be freed from old traditions and adequately developed It is not surprising then that with this the females are also reduced to a condition of greater helplessness than ever before Instances of women of highly aristocratic families getting themselves separated from their joint families owing to the machinations of their husbands the husbands subsequently squandering away all the wealth and ultimately all husband wife and children reduced to a condition of destitution degradation and dependence are also frequent everywhere in Malabar in these days

Coming events cast their shadows before The Nairs originally the rulers of Malabar are on their way to become the hewers of wood and drawers of water there Legislation by sweeping away the joint families has also destroyed their citadels of greatness and the ultimate catastrophe is now only a question of time

As regards the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the maru makkathayam and makkathayam systems it can be observed with abundance of justification that in respect to the economic and cultural opportunities that each is capable of providing for the enrichment of life the former is incomparably superior to the latter The difference between the two is just like the difference between an elephant and an ant All attempts at dismantling the maru makkathayam system without seeking to adapt it to the changing needs of the times particularly where it has already established itself firmly have therefore to be deeply deplored

We shall also briefly examine the adaptability of the maru makkathayam system to such changing requirements and indicate modifications wherever possible and necessary in order to make it conform to such requirements without violently or detrimentally affecting the fundamentals of the system

No system can survive long if it is rigid and incapable of adaptation The very fact that the maru makkathayam system has worked with splendid success from time immemorial to almost the present day is itself an eloquent testimony to its supreme adaptability

The main requirements of the present time are (1) Invigoration of the maru makkathayam

system by improving the management of the maru makkathayam family and (2) acceptance of makkathayam ideas in respect to (*a*) wife and children and (*b*) individualism

We have already alluded to the topic of management in sufficient detail in foregoing sections In this connexion it is enough to observe that the eradication of all the ills of *the maru makkathayam families and their* restoration to a healthy and vigorous working condition can easily be achieved by the introduction *in relation to their* management of the principles of budgetary system with suitable modifications in their application to family managements

As regards acceptance of makkathayam ideas it can be shown that maru makkathayam is capable without impairing its own completeness of evolving a dual system combining th merits of both without their defects Normal and gradual evolution is itself sufficient to bring about such a consummation At the time of legislative interference the progress of such an evolution had in fact even reached almost perfection point Legislation however has not only disturbed the process of such evolution but has also destroyed all chances of any further development in that direction

The two main features of makkathayam are (1) living together with wife and children and (2) rights to maintenance and properties on the part of wife and children

As regards living together with wife and children it can be observed that maru makkathayam has not prevented members of these communities from living with their wives and children exactly as members of the makkathayam communities do The consciousness of the system of rights and obligations peculiar to their social organisation is sufficiently developed among them to enable them to make enlightened and harmonious adjustments with the marital requirements in life for the realization of the highest standards of civilized life

Again members of the maru makkathayam communities are at prefect liberty to dispose of their self acquisitions by assignments or wills Cases of disposal of self acquired properties partly or wholly in favour of wife and children are also frequent among them Maru makkathayam cannot under such circumstances be regarded as involving any absolute denial of property rights, to wife and children even though such rights have no necessity under it

The only feature of makkathayam which is perhaps absent in maru makkathayam is a distinct right on the part of wife and children to maintenance This right has to be conceded but conceded also without impairing the completeness of the maru makkathayam system

The Hindu law however concedes this right to wife and children and since all the marumakkathayam communities are Hindus it is doubtful whether even in this respect any special legislative interference is required to *bring* about *the* innovation

Finally the scope for individualism under maru makkathayam is also not in any way *inferior to that under makkathayam In fact* it is even superior in some respects The recognition of the self acquisitions of the members of the family as private properties leaves the allegation often made, that maru makkathayam is devoid of scope for individualism without real foundation It is also a well-known fact that individualism unsupported by powerful agencies is generally ineffective or feeble As such the direct and indirect support derived by the members in manifold ways from the maru makkathayam joint family with its multifarious resources has to be regarded as capable of promoting individualism much better under maru makkathayam than is possible under makkathayam

The individualism developed in close contact with the joint family is also bound to differ from the ordinary and cut-throat type of individualism by a distinct flavour of that communistic and aristocratic excellence of character already referred to as 'Tharawadithuam' and as peculiarly characteristic of the members of the joint families

It can also be observed without exaggeration that for the preservation of this peculiar excellence of character alone the maru makkathayam families have an impregnable case for their conservation Any demand for their demolition can emanate only from a thorough ignorance or imperfect realization of the full significance and overwhelming importance of excellence of character in civilized existence

It will thus be seen that maru makkathayam also contains within itself the main elements of makkathayam to enable it through the normal and gradual process of evolution to develop itself into a dual system of maru makkathayam and makkathayam without in any way seriously affecting its own completeness or considerably curtailing the utility of the other and as such capable of combining the main advantages of both without their disadvantages What is needed is therefore its overhauling for conservation and adaptation rather than its dissolution for replacement by blind imitation

The maru makkathayam communities in general and the maru makkathayam women in *particular and the Malabar ruling families* have also a special responsibility for maintaining this unique system of social structure with all its greatness and usefulness

To the members of the maru makkathayam communities maintenance of maru makkathayam means maintenance of an institution with which their greatness not only of the past but also of the present and future are indissolubly connected All attempt therefore *to meddle* with this system on the part of the few posing themselves as representatives and leaders but *representing no opinions excepting their own* and possessing more of imitative and destructive than of imaginative and constructive abilities have to be discouraged and all matters connected with it compelled to be settled on the basis of popular demand and popular assent directly and definitely ascertained

To the maru makkathayam women maintenance of maru makkathayam has a special significance It signifies their adherence to a system unique in its recognition of all their legitimate rights in society with even a partiality for them and which had throughout its existence upheld all these rights with wonderful consistency even though *everywhere else such* rights were not only unrecognised but also for a long time strenuously resented As such blind acquiescence and inert indifference on their part have to be replaced by grateful and greater *vigilance and enthusiasm for protecting* this unique social system from the danger of destruction

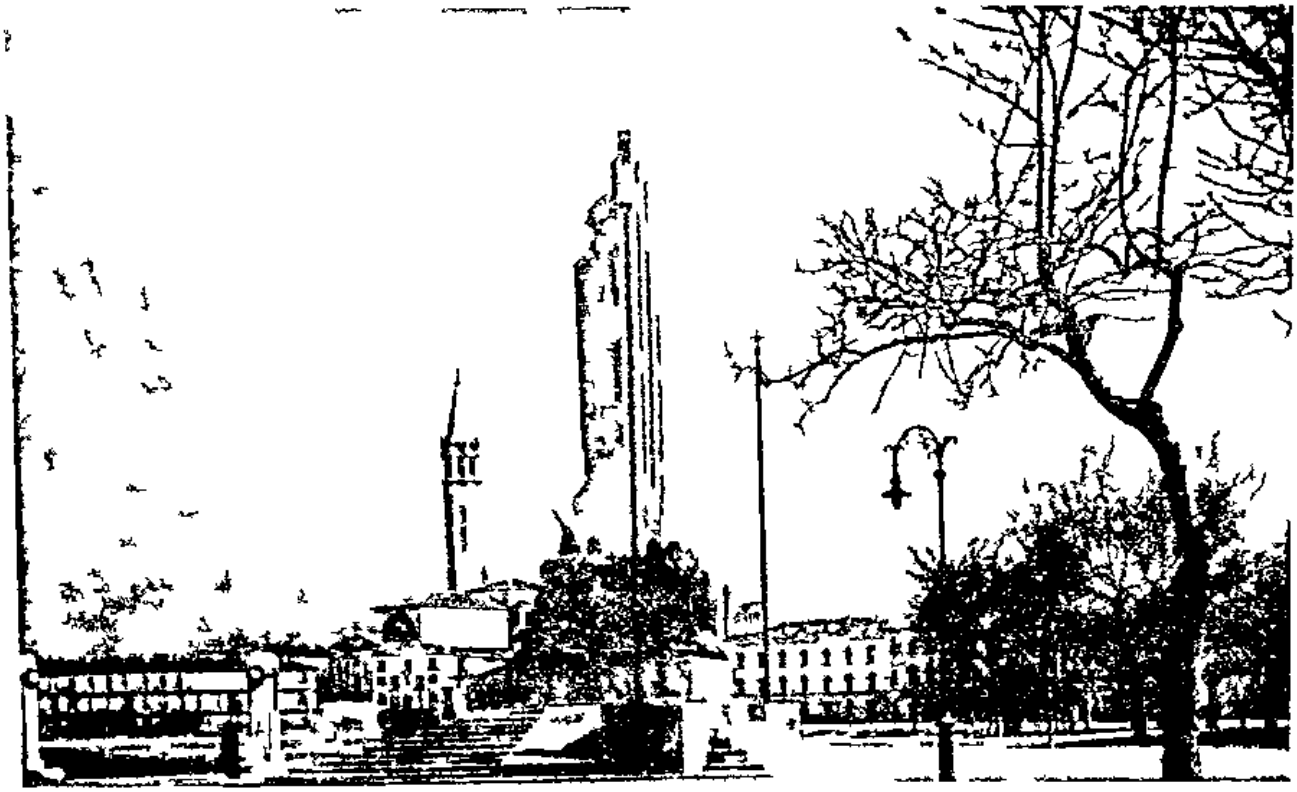
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It is to be hoped therefore that whenever questions relating to the maru makkathayam system have to be decided they will also rise equal to the occasion and without yielding to the clamour of the irrational sentimentalists and blind imitators prevent catastrophic consequences resulting from the hasty handling of a hoary institution

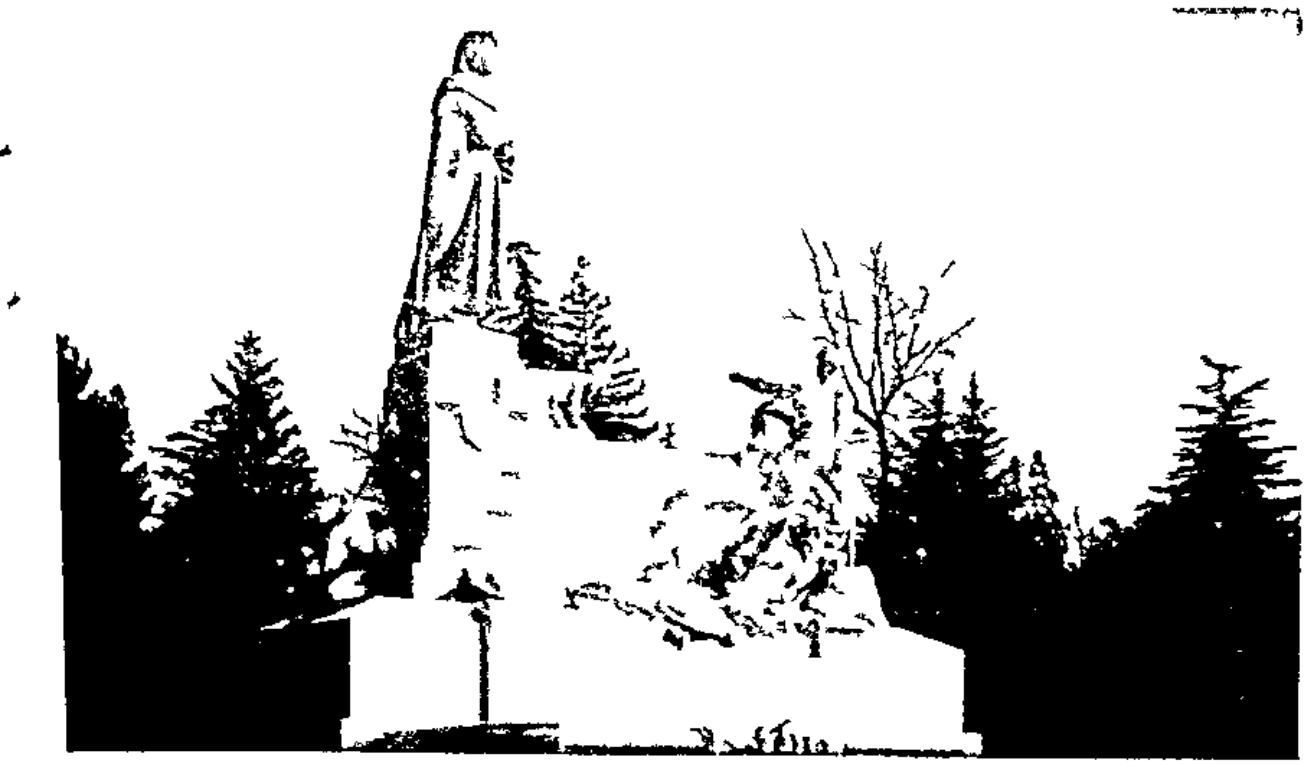
Though some mischief is already done it is as yet not too late to get it also undone Even if it is a little late the attempt to undo it is still worth making because the maintenance or dissolution of the matriarchal family is plainly a matter of life or death to the matriarchal *communities in Malabar—life at once fruitful* and glorious and death at once unnatural and premature



Linocuts By Satyendranath Bose



War Memorial Como



The Petrarch Monument, Arezzo

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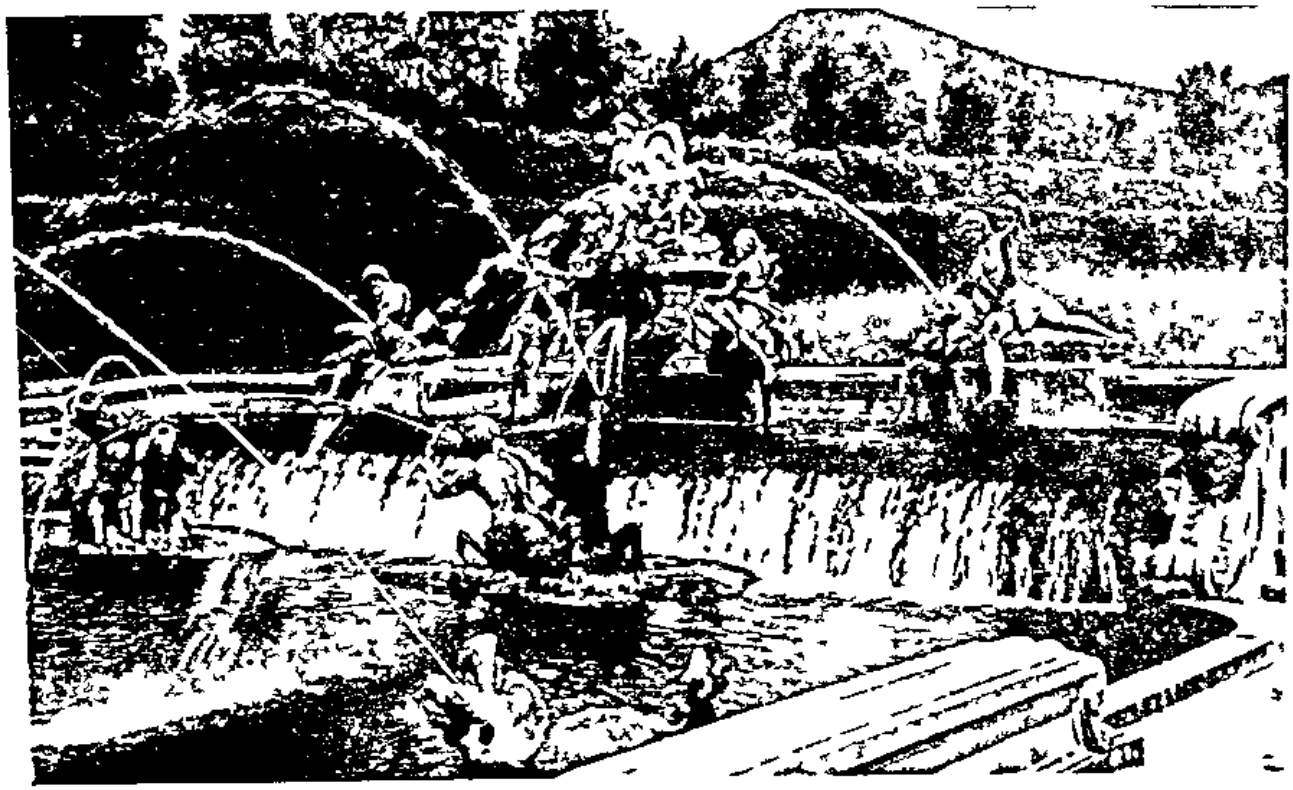
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Linocuts By Satyendranath Bisi



A Fountain in the Royal Palace Gardens Caserta



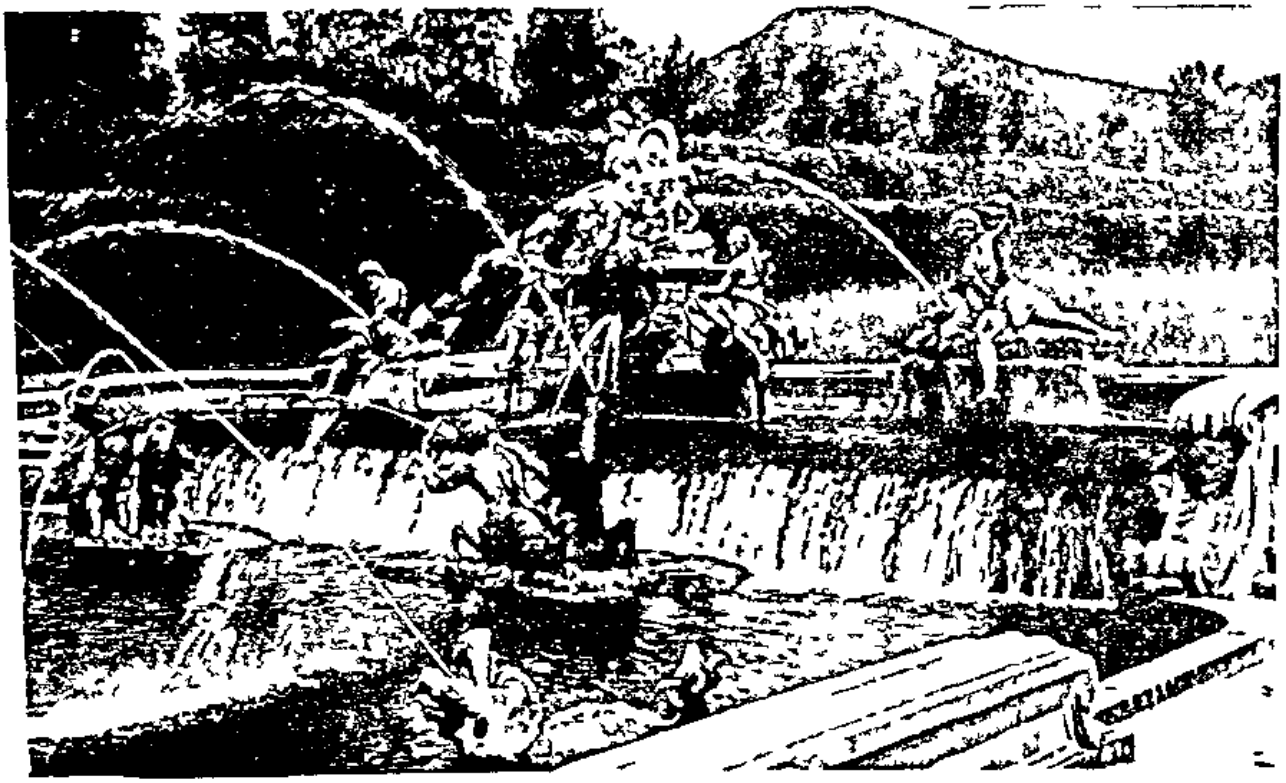
oyal Palace Gardens, Caserta (near Naples)



De a ls of a Founta n n the Royal Palace Gardens Caserta



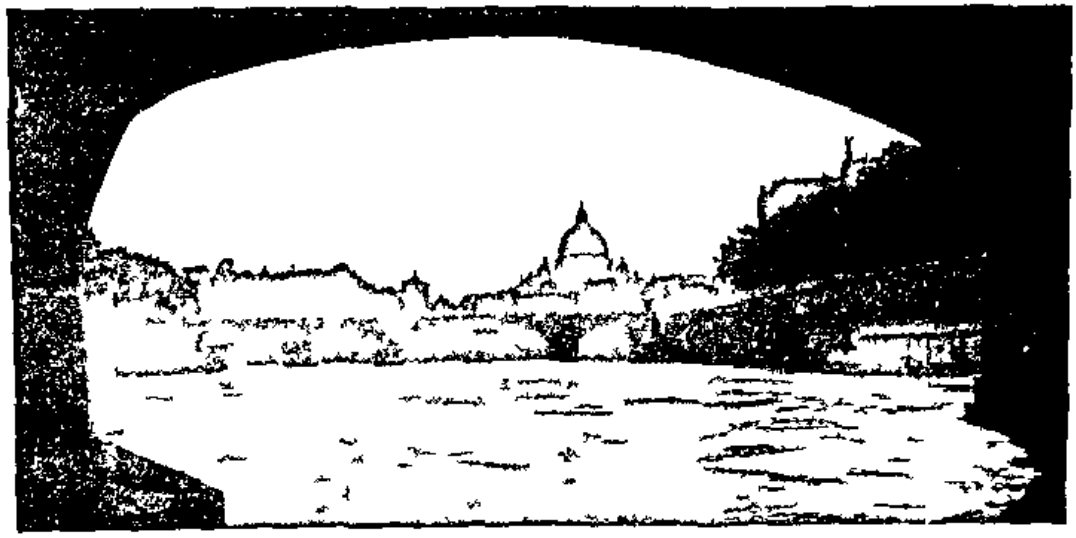
A Founta n in the Palace Gardens, Caserta



A Fountain in the Royal Palace Gardens Caserta



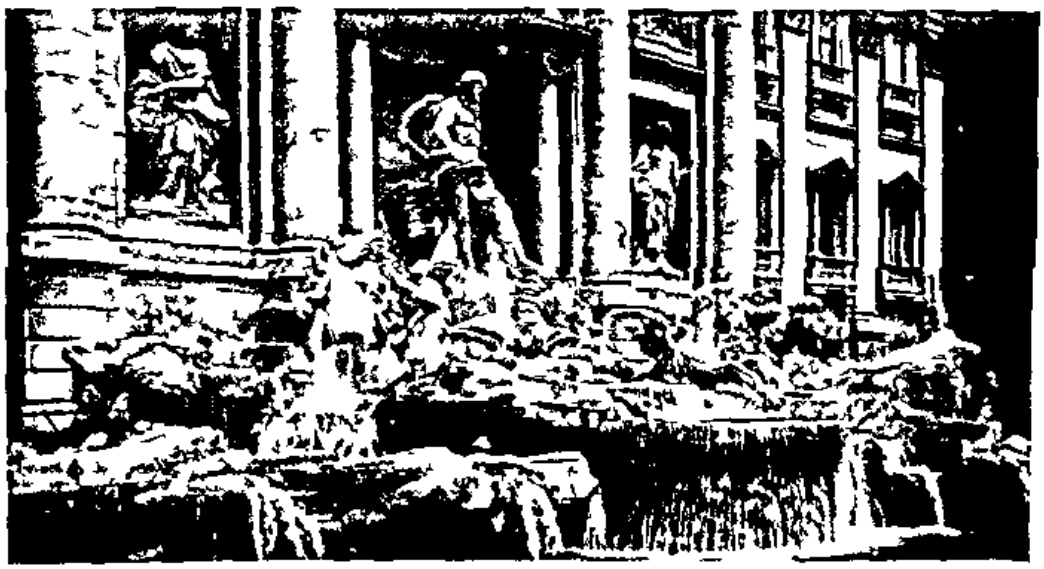
Another Fountain in the Royal Palace Gardens Caserta (near Naples)



Sunset on he T ler Rome A d stant v ew of St Peter s



M n ment o S Franc s of A s i n Rome



The Fountain of Trevi in Rome By Bernini

of a vanished age There are thousands who pay their homage of a visit to the tomb of Dante at Ravenna or to the statue of Columbus at Genoa These are but the most common items enlisted in an Italian itinerary But there are many places lying about in the little corners of this country which are not recorded by guide books and which cannot perhaps be taken delight in except by the most confirmed vagabond with a pagan sensibility for the glories of Nature The praise of these places is not generally sung by foreign poets nor recorded in the travel diaries of foreign tourists They are the unsung shrines of Italy and are so intimately Italian that they escape the attention of the *common traveller* A *glimpse of a few of these* places I shall offer in the following lines



The Fountain of Triton Rome
By Bernini

No other place outside Asia has evoked in me so strongly the *memories of Sarnath and* Hastinapur as a small Umbrian town in Central Italy where little seems to have changed since the day when the greatest of Christian mystics said his last prayer in the solemn stillness of its composed air I refer to Assisi Its ancient shrines, its lanes and hill paths, its basilicas immortalized by the brush of Giotto, its comparative insignificance as a modern town, being composed of a cluster of old houses on the slope of an Umbrian hill, all bring back to me the picture of the Saint who, through his pantheistic intuition could visualize, like the seers of ancient India the unity of life and the oneness of the Universe Like Lord Buddha, St Francis was a rich man's son, and as a youth he was gay, careless open handed, in love with chivalry and ambitious of a soldier's career A sudden illness brought about his conversion and revealed his original religious genius as much loving and chivalrous as it was swift and instinctive in its response to suffering I enquired in vain from the *local people about the situation of that place* where one day meeting a leper he dismounted from his horse and kissed him But many could point out to me the place where he used to feed the pigeons everyday With his own hands he repaired and rebuilt many churches and chapels in the neighbourhood He broke with his family became a hermit and lived on alms Barefoot he went out into the world to preach repentance He lived to become the greatest mystic of the Christian world exercised a tremendous influence upon the culture of the middle ages and established an Order of religious brotherhood whose ideals corresponded in a large measure with those of the Buddhist monks St Francis was naturally not liked by the Pope but his movement which might have done enormous injury to the ecclesiastical order of the day since the Italians found in St Francis's message the opportunity of an open revolt against the Church was reconciled to Pope's authority

> The poor Brothers of St Francis (*Frates Minores* or Grey Friars) wandered through Italy, preaching in Italian as simple folk to simple folk and going everywhere as well into remote hamlets as into the poor *quarters of large towns*, with their call to poverty and repentance The movement was all the more effective because the early disciples were neither churchmen nor *schoolmen The illiterate multitude could understand a* message pure of all subtilety or artifice and delivered in vulgar tongue by men and women who practised the *abasement of poverty and contentment love and humility* which they preached to others By such manifest enthusiasm those who were merely orthodox before were *tempted to become religious now and those who were* heretical discarded their heresies"

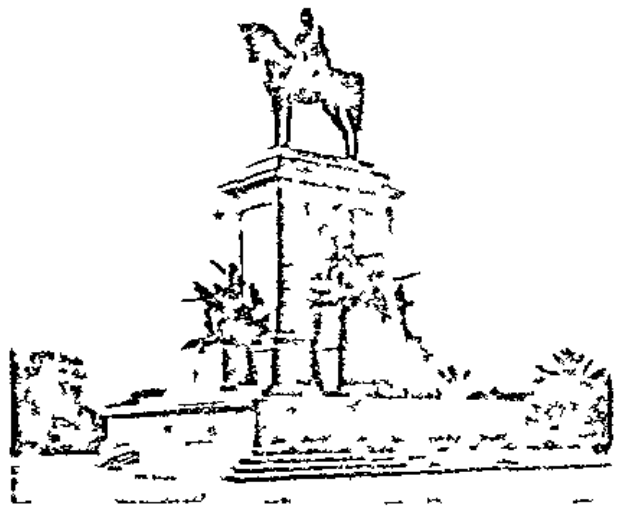
One can almost feel the grandeur of the Christian humility in which St Francis lived his life and preached his message when one finds himself face to face with his tomb in the ground-floor of the Lower Church of St Francis at Assisi In that dim light accentuating as it were, the solitude of the grave, his mortal re-

mains lie buried beyond a screen of steel bars covered with flowers No monument, no mausoleum has been allowed to be erected over his tomb He was buried where he had lived and died praised and agonized for the conquest of human suffering through love and peace Neither the imposing St Peter's and the luxury of the Vatican City nor the architectural marvels of Gothic Churches in Germany in Nuremberg and Cologne have brought me those emotional experiences which I derived from a short sojourn in Assisi Assisi is the Dakshine war of Europe where centuries ago Ramakrishna Paramahansa was anticipated in the mystic figure of St Francis The memory of a sunset beyond the hills which I watched *from the height of Assisi in the full splendour* of the Umbrian spring will never fade away

Italy is renowned for its beautiful islands round about the coast line of Naples Innumerable poets have sung of the beauties of Capri and Ischia of Amalfi and Sorrento, the picturesque little towns on the Neapolitan coast at the foot of the Vesuvius Byron characterized Capri as a couple of waves rising with inspired swiftness into the sky *from the depths* of the Gulf of Naples What motley crowds could you not see on the pebbly beach of this wonder island and the archaic little square on the top of the bazar hill which is more cosmopolitan than London and more friendly than the most intimate corner of a Viennese cafe! Its rose and grapes its lanes and temptations its intoxicating evening air saturated with perfumes are indeed things *that bring nostalgia* Every citizen of northern Europe where Nature is less friendly looks forward eagerly to a visit to this island paradise The *faraglioni* emerge out of water and stand in supreme indifference to the march of time and parade of fashion and when the daylight fades into darkness the lights of Naples begin to shine weaving a garland of twinkling stars around the belt of the gulf The *tourists in Italy never forget Capri or Ischia* Amalfi and Sorrento But there is another island to the north east of Sardinia a few hours' journey from Genoa not less picturesque and interesting because of the lack of tourist traffic in it of which not only the foreigners but also Italians themselves take little notice Those who are acquainted with the story of Garibaldi's retired life would of course remember Caprera Garibaldi the military hero of Italian independence retired from active life when he had reached the apex of his renown but when Papal Rome had still to fall before the armies of the Risorgimento

"He had won and surrendered the south he had held and resigned a dictatorship He had been offered and refused titles, wealth decorations Civilized respectabilities meant nothing to this child of the Pampas He knew that wild fowl languish in the cage With a sublime simplicity taking with him some seed-corn, some vegetable some salt cod and a little borrowed money he turned his back upon the plaudits and vanities of Naples and sailed away to a life of hard work and *poverty in the island of Caprera There among the* shepherd and goat herds he meditated how best to complete the redemption of Italy"

Garibaldi is one of those rare military figures of Europe whose last days were characterized by a spiritual energism typical of the Oriental genius which recognizes the utility of struggle but at the same time puts a premium on the bigger heroism involved in the realization



Monument to Garibaldi on Gianicolo in Rome

of one's own self in relation to the universe Critics will say that Garibaldi however, successful as a General was a failure as an orator *and as a financier But that does not nearly* explain his retirement There was an inner urge in him which was as much spiritual in its content as it was removed from the luxury of sentimental abandon The liberty loving spirit of Garibaldi which conducted him through many a victory on the battle field in his youth yearned for a bigger emancipation from the vanities of political life in his later years The Republican Garibaldi heard in the shepherd's flute and fisherman's song at Caprera the call of a distant shore—the eternal call with which the spirit of Nature tempts the love of Man on to the path of spiritual experience

The admirers of Venice with its captivating canals seducing gondolas inviting delicacies and beautiful women hardly care to enquire if there is anything beyond the limpid lagoon that might arouse their curiosity and interest. The splendour of St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace claims nearly all their admiration and those who are a little bit more fastidious exhaust their fund of energy going round the wonderful art galleries where some of the masterpieces of the Venetian school can still be seen. But during the long summer days while navigating in small motor launches around the cluster of small villages in the lagoon of Venice I have often wondered if there is anything half so fascinating as those exquisitely characteristic fishing villages in the city itself. For example Burano. It has to be admitted however that an American tourist would feel uncomfortable there. There is neither the thrill of a monumental past nor the cleanliness of a metropolitan city in those sweet little island villages inhabited by a sturdy and simple folk born to fight against storm and rough weather who give to mediæval Venice the tradition of its great world wide commerce. They are the descendants of that race of sailors which for centuries dominated the commerce of the Adriatic Mediterranean and the Levant and who made Venice the name sake of commercial prosperity as it was then. These villagers are modest in their conduct as well as in their ambition. The women folk assist the men in repairing their nets stretched along the sandy beach while the latter enjoy a smoke in the shade of cypresses that defy the claims of weather in their ever green verdure. When darkness falls upon these villages the lights of Venice far out in the distance dance in vain on the still waters of the lagoon to draw them away from their simple pastimes of games and drinks in their modest huts. Here as well little seems to have changed. Modern civilization has stopped short at its doors and has not been able to contaminate these honest and tough people with its gospel of comfort. They still retain their faith in the inevitability of fate and treat life not as an art but as a gift of God lived for and dedicated to the service of mankind. The same heroic conception of life pervades the entire peasantry of Italy. A member of the French diplomatic service who had been for many years Ambassador in Rome wrote a book on Italy after his retirement and opined that the Italian peasant is the most frugal industrious heroic and witty of all the peasant communities of Europe. His attachment to the soil is almost religious, his hospitality is proverbial in Europe, his ingenuity and native humour are remarkable. He is a good soldier a good husband and a good father. His strength is the strength of Italy.

Evenings are rather dull in Rome. Anybody who is accustomed to cosmopolitan life is annoyed with Rome for this reason. There is practically no night life. There is no *Rosen Tom* in Rome—that familiar figure of the Viennese girls with a scarlet scarf round her neck who goes round to sell roses in the evening in all public places of amusement. At midnight there is hardly any traffic even in the most central thoroughfares of the city. Italians say that it is according to the wish of the Pope that too much of reckless ness is not allowed here. Foreigners however try to explain it away by the comparative poverty of the Italian capital and by its little commercial importance. At any rate for those who are used to cabarets and dancing places in the evening Rome offers but few attractions. And yet there are sights round and about Rome to be seen in the evenings which are unique and which are offered by few other places. For example the old *Via Appia* or the Appian Way within two miles of the city offer a spectacle on moonlit or limpid nights which so far as my experience goes cannot be seen in any other place in Europe. The Appian Way contains the ruins of the ancient Roman road which connected the old Imperial City with Ostia the then port of Rome. It was formerly about ten miles long and was really the Imperial Way over which marched the armies and merchandise caravans that had found their way to Rome from across the seas in the days of its greatest glory. Later on, the Appian way was used as the common burial place by the Romans and on both sides of this magnificent road may still be found a host of odd looking pagan tombstones nearly all in ruins. Rows of cypress trees line both sides of the road interspersed here and there with the tall umbrella pines which look like brooding giants in the faint glimmer of spring twilight. The ancient Roman pavement made of black stone slabs although repaired and metalled in many places in modern times running through the elevated tracks of the enchanting *Campagna Romana* bring back the memories of an age when Rome was the leader and dominator of Europe and when Christian morals had not yet come into conflict with the pagan exuberance of Roman life. The Appian Way is not illuminated at night with modern Rome's lavish electricity. Its ancient sanctity is still preserved in its contact

with the infinite horizon by the praying cypresses guarding its religious silence and by the broken bricks of diversely shaped pagan tombstones. From any one of the promontories of the Via Appia you can see a sight which if the night is clear you can never forget. On the left the glow of modern Rome resembles that of a great city in fire rising high up into the evening sky; on your right the distant villages of the *Castelli Romani* on the slopes of those well known hills which produce the exquisite wine celebrated throughout the world by the name of *chianti* look like twinkling islands with their cluster of lights; and in front of you are the undulating fields of the *Campagna* the charms of which have been immortalized in the poetry of Robert Browning. The spectacle which resembles very much the first vision of Christminster by Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* does not lead you either to shout in joy nor to say an indifferent superb splendid or lovely. It makes you silent even meditative and time seems to fall asleep. It embodies in a palpable form the longing for what is far away and the yearning of wanderlust. Sometimes when the wind rushes through the leaves of the pines you can almost hear the whisper of invisible souls hovering around you and a faint echo of the steps of marching soldiers of old seems to reverberate in the air.

Remarkably enchanting sights are also offered by the Tiber sometimes in its evening moods. Its strong if tireless palpitating current playing with the thousand reflections of its shining strand often produces spectacles that are hard to forget. A characteristic view of the St Peter's from the Tiber seen through the arch of one of the bridges always reminded me of the hallucination of David Rossi in Hall Caine's *Eternal City* where he sees his mother's apparition across the river pointing to the Vatican city while David Rossi was preparing for a suicide by drowning himself in the Tiber. Those who have never seen Father Tiber as it is called in Italy in its romantic mood think of it only as a dirty drain and a carrier of germs.

There is another shrine in Rome of which the travellers are hardly aware. It is the Protestant cemetery where lie buried two of the immortal citizens of the world the greatest poets of English romanticism—Shelley and Keats. The graves are very modest. On the grave of Shelley there is only a white marble slab on which are inscribed the following famous lines from Shakespeare's *Tempest*:

> Nothing in him that doth change
> But doth suffer only a sea change
> Into something rich and strange

Admirers of Shelley know what this transformation stands for in the philosophy of Shelley. In one corner of the cemetery under the canopy of a big tree lies buried Keats. On the marble slab erected on his grave is depicted a broken lyre and the touching inscription recording the tragic circumstances which have embittered the last days of the young English poet. On the adjoining wall covered with ivy is a portrait of Keats engraved on white marble erected by his English and American admirers. Once in a while the Poetry Society of England makes a pilgrimage to Rome to pay their customary homage to these two great sons of that country who died on the foreign soil. But for that they are hardly taken notice of by others. The Italy that Shelley loved and Keats worshipped has been fast disappearing.

The greatest delight of my stay in Rome today consists in this that I have taken my abode at a spot which might well have been a place of pilgrimage had it been located in England. The first thing that I see on opening my window in the morning and sometimes the last thing at night is a shining inscription on white marble on the facade of a house which records that P. B. Shelley lived there and it was in this house that he wrote his *Prometheus Unbound* and the *Cenci*. The tablet was erected by the people of Rome on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1892 in recognition of his championing popular liberty at a time when the whole of Europe was opposed to it. The building now houses an Italian Bank the *Credito Italiano*. I guard this delight of mine very jealously against other neighbours and I often wonder how many of my housemates are conscious of this great privilege of living face to face with a Shelleyan shrine.

AN AFTERNOON WITH MADAME SOPHIA WADIA

By MOTILAL DAS

It was a beautiful July afternoon. The water rippled and sang as I took my seat on the deck chair on s.s. *Corteverde*. The sun shone and in the silence of the lone deck I went on thinking of the beloved one I had left behind.

The clock struck four and Madame Sophia Wadia came out as punctual.

Madame Wadia is known all over India as the founder of the Indian P.E.N.—a brother



Madame Sophia Wadia

hood of intellectuals but very few except those who have come into contact with her, know what a benign personality she is.

She nodded graciously as I took my seat by her side. She spoke charmingly. I gave her the essays that I was taking to Europe. She glanced through them and was delighted to see them.

I told her that my European tour was primarily a cultural one. She laughed. She gladly consented to answer my questions which I had already handed over to her.

I paused and looked up to her and said, 'I may wait if you want to think over them.' 'Oh no' she smiled and said 'I can answer them now.'

It struck me very much that she must have dived deep into the mysteries of Indian philosophy. Otherwise she would not have ventured to say her say on abstruse matters in so free and off hand a way. I learnt later on that she had deep erudition and that the Gita was her daily companion.

The first question was: 'Do you believe in religion? Can civilization survive without it?'

Her words came free and sweet: 'I believe in religion as an inner way of life—not in religion as it exists today the form without the soul the shadow without the light. Civilization cannot survive without true religion. False or outer religion will kill civilization."

She did not stop and paused at once to the next question. 'What do you think about the future of religion?'

'There is no future of religion unless it returns to universal basic principles and becomes a matter of living. Sectarian dogmatic and orthodox religions must perish.'

She looked at the next question and said: 'This is beyond my province—but still I would say what I believe on the point."

'What is your attitude towards the world's

economic system. Do you believe that there can ever be peace and plenty for all?'

The seer paused but her words floated in a mellow moving voice. 'There cannot be peace outside unless there be peace within our lives. War in the outer world is only the reflection of the turmoil which is raging within man's own being.'

'There is plenty for all already but because of the system of profit and competition good nourishment is being destroyed in many places to keep up the market prices. I do not believe that all men can ever have the same amount but an economic system based on unselfishness instead of greed could provide for all.' She looked at me in her kind friendly way and added that the questions were broad.

'But I want only short answers,' interrupted I, 'answers that tell much.

'What is your idea of progress? Is perfection ever attainable on earth?'

She paused and replied. 'I do not call mere material advancement progress. True progress is to be measured in terms of mental perception and moral expression. Yes, perfection is attainable on earth—that is perfection which is possible after a long cycle of lives spent in self discipline in the service of others.'

The questions turned to the problems of the day. 'What is your view about the modern theory of marriage? What do you think would be the future of it—'

She spoke—with that indignation which only an Indian in soul and heart must feel in the matter. 'I do not believe at all in the present theory of companionate marriage. I believe that it will die when its evil consequences will become visible to all. Already in Russia the State is making propaganda in favour of marriage, the building of homes and the bringing up of children.'

'What is your idea on divorce? Do you approve of it? What is your idea about the future of woman?'

She could not forget her link with European society and answered. 'Under certain circumstances and in the present state of our civilization divorce can be justified—but not divorce as it is spreading today—making men and women free to give way to their lower impulses.' She warmed up as she spoke about the future of woman. There was a fleeting splendour in her face—a radiance of hope. Her words were no pleading for the cause of woman. 'To me the differentiation between man and woman is only in the body. Real self is sexless. As souls, therefore, women have as great a future as men.'

The calmness of the afternoon spread all around. The next question took us to the world of calm meditation. 'Do you believe in creation or creative evolution? What is your idea of the future of men? Do you believe in after life? Have you no wish for immortality?'

'I believe in the doctrine of emanation—involution preceding evolution. I believe in reincarnation—each life on earth being succeeded by a period of rest and the latter in its turn succeeded by rebirth on this earth.

'Death is certain to all things that are born and rebirth to all mortals.' She quotes from the Gita.

'I have no wish for the immortality of my personality. The latter is but the necessary vehicle for my work in this life. I have every wish for the realization of that immortality which already is—namely the immortality of the Spirit.

'What is evil? Do you rebel against this universal order? Is it necessary?'

'True Evil exists in the human kingdom. I call evil deliberate wrong doing and only man can choose to do wrong self consciously. Such evil necessarily brings about painful reactions. It is not Nature who is cruel but man himself, and the law gives to each one the legitimate effects of his own doings. Suffering has therefore its beneficent aspects. It is the great teacher. I do not rebel against this universal order. I appreciate it and I am grateful that it exists.

'Man is a slow learner and therefore nature is compelled to repeat lessons again and again—the moment man wakens to the realization that the purpose of life is to learn, he becomes a diligent pupil and much suffering is then spared.'

I thought that it would be tiresome to her. No it was not. She spoke quickly and joyfully. Her luminous words showed that she was deeply stirred.

I changed the question. 'Do you believe in love? What is your idea on Freud's theory?' She was amused but continued, checking her smile. 'I believe in true love—as a spiritual *affinity rather than the infatuation of the senses* which passes today for love. Freud's theory grossly exaggerates one aspect of our complex nature and makes it the basis of all our reactions. This is neither true nor desirable. His theory has done great harm to our c[illegible].

I told her of the Neo-Bengali [illegible]

PANDIT KRISHNAVARMA HONOURED IN PARIS

By MADAME I MORIN

Some year ago during a trip to Switzerland as I entered a bank to change some money a friend who was with me murmured in a hushed whi per Here is Mr Kri hnavarma And following his gaze I aw a very old gentleman sitting in a corner looking over some papers as if lo t in a dream The face ivory pale appeared almost tran lucent in the morning light and the thin silvery hair that urrounded it like an evanescent halo seemed to create around the ilent figure an additional atmo pher of unre lity

Thi feeling vi ion returned to my memory a I was attending the reception given some day go by the Pari Univer ity and the Institute of *Indian Civilization to the Indian colony in* Paris Mr Rana being the guest of honour

The purpo e of thi meeting was to celebrat Mr and Mrs Kri hnavarma memory and the generous donation made by them in view of creating scholar hip re erved to Indian student Pre ided over by the Rector of the Univer ity the gathering included mo t of the Indian resi ding in Pari as well as the profe ors and student of the Indian In titute A number of prominent personalitie had al o been invited

Several intere ting speeches were delivered but the mo t brilliant as well a the mo t substantial was no doubt Profe sor Foucher s which included an account of Pandit Kri hnavarma s versatile and picturesque career

Shyamaji Kri hnavarma was born in 185 in Mandvi a small port in the gulf of Cutch Even as a boy he di tinguished himself in Sanskrit and Engli h studies

At the age of twenty he became one of the first adherents of the Arya Samaj and conducted a brilliant campaign of lectures in San kri throughout Indi Soon after he met profe o Monier William Highly impre ed by the young man s eloquence and ability Monier William urged him to come to Oxford a hi a sistant The pay wa meagre yet Krishnavarma decided to go

Admitted to the Balliol College he ma tered both Greek and Latin with amazing rapidity and ea e At the ame time he became a barrister at law in London

On his return to India he settled in Ajmer as a lawyer He also became a member of the municipality there And beside hi legal and nun cipal dutie he managed to find time to



Mr Rana deli ering h speech

establi h in Ajmer three ginning factories which mu t have been among the first—if not *the* first— of the kind

Pandit Krishnavarma also endeavoured to translate his ideals for reform into practice by acting as Dewan in Native States After three successive experiences thoroughly disgusted with court intrigues he returned to England in 1897

This Sanskrit scholar became such a fervent admirer of Herbert Spencer that after the latter's death he made a donation to the Oxford University so that an annual lecture should perpetuate Spencer's memory

About the same time Krishnavarma founded and edited for several years a newspaper called *The Indian Sociologist*

He also opened a residential centre for Indian students in England and created a Home rule for India Society One can hardly believe that the idea of Indian autonomy which has become so widespread in our days was still viewed as seditious in those times! Krishnavarma left London in 1907 to settle in Paris where he could breathe an air of freedom and move among people less hostile to his ideas

He always had a special liking for France and its democratic institutions Once even in some enthusiastic mood he translated the "Marseillaise" into Sanskrit!

Yet early in 1914 he decided to leave Paris for Geneva and he was to live there in peaceful retirement until his death in 1930

But no account of Pandit Krishnavarma's life would be complete that did not allude to Mrs Bhanumati Krishnavarma his devoted collaborator during these long years full of varied activities It is interesting to note that theirs was a marriage by choice—a very rare occurrence indeed in those olden days

At the age of eighteen Krishnavarma had obtained a scholarship to study in the Bombay Elphinstone High School where he soon became the best pupil and made many friends One of his comrades invited him to his home and he became a favourite there The parents had liberal views, and when Krishnavarma decided to ask his friend's sister in marriage the young girl was consulted as well as the parents In fact his happy marriage with a companion of his own choice was perhaps one of the reasons of Krishnavarma's militant enthusiasm in favour of social reform

Mrs Krishnavarma survived her husband by three years only and during this short span of time her dominant preoccupation was to perpetuate her husband's memory by devoting thier fortune to the furtherance of ideals that had been dear to them both

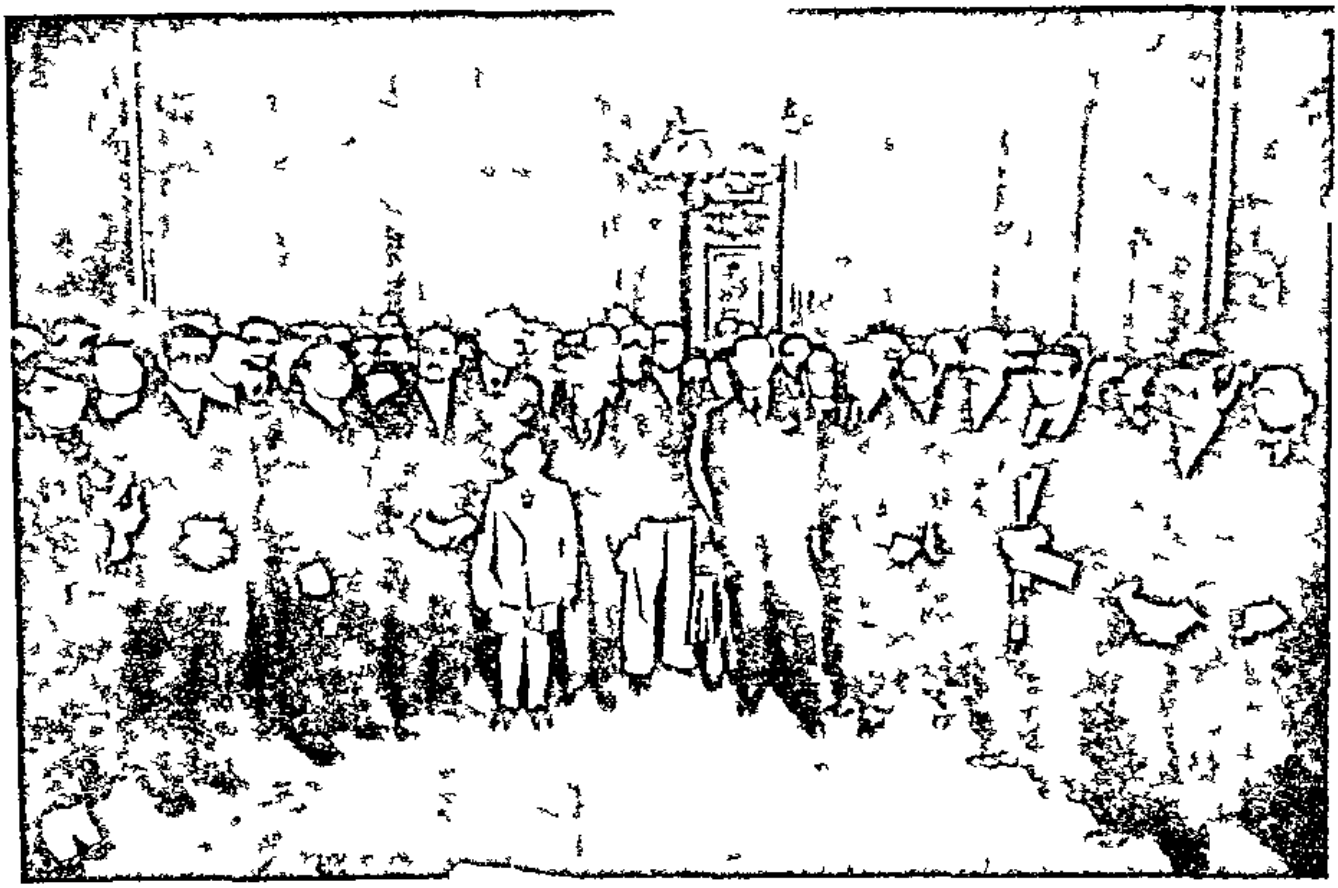
She did not forget the hospitable welcome they had received in Geneva, and generous donations were given to the Hospital and University of that town But Paris also had a large share in her liberalities

Mrs Krishnavarma liked the informal and friendly atmosphere of the Institute of Indian



Prof F cher addressing the meeting

Civilization where Mr and Mrs Sylvain Levi had welcomed her with that simple and genuine cordiality which those who have known them remember so well Soon after her husband's death Mrs Krishnavarma gave to the Institute Library his collection of Sanskrit books She



A group photograph of the gathering which met to celebrate Mr and Mrs Krishnavarma memory in Paris

contributed financially to the publication of the Sanskrit French dictionary prepared by three scholars of that Institution She also helped the Association of Indian students in France and secured two rooms for Indians in the Cite Universitaire (the international residential center for students in Paris)

One of her cherished plans was to create scholarships in favour of Indian students from the Bombay Presidency especially for girl students engaged in scientific or technical researches However when she decided to leave the greatest part of her fortune by will in view of that purpose she did not specify which University would inherit the legacy She left the decision in the hands of the executors of the will Mr Rana who had been a close friend of her husbands and her constant adviser since the latters death shared this responsibility with Mr Maurice Hesse Mrs Krishnavarmas banker in Geneva

Mr Rana is an old and staunch friend of Indian students in France He was also greatly attached to Professor Sylvain Levi and to the cause of Indian studies here His active sympathy played no doubt an important part in the verdict by which two million francs were entrusted to the Paris University for the creation of scholarships for Indians The students are to be selected by a committee in Bombay

It may be interesting to recall here that Mr Ranas initiative was also an important factor when the Sylvain Levi Foundation was created—its aim being to send young French scholars for study and research in India Nothing could be more in harmony with the spirit of the great Indologist who was for so many years at the head of Indian studies here and always insisted on accurate and first hand knowledge

Indian scholars coming to France French scholars going to India this double current of give and take can do much to enliven cultural and human relationships between the two countries

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed Newspapers periodicals school and college text books pamphlets reprints of magazine articles addresses etc are not noticed The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered No criticism of book reviews and notices is published —Editor The Modern Review

ENGLISH

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA *By G N Joshi Macmillan and Company 1937 Pp XVIII 464 Price 7s 6d*

India may not be politically the world's hottest spot at this moment but judging by the reports which manage to leak out in America it is apparent that India is burning in blue flame of discontent Manifestly the *new Constitution was cooked up to win over the insurgent India* What are the aims and principles of this *Constitution*? *How does it work*? Mr Joshi looks *it over and finds it good* G N Joshi M A, LL B, is a professor of constitutional law in the Government Law College of Bombay and is also a practising lawyer on the side He is supposed to know his onions at least from the angle of the right wing Moderates"

In his *The New Constitution of India* he provides us with a narrative of the machinery of Indian government under the new dispensation His approach is however legalistic He discusses how the various provinces of British India and the feudally ruled Princes States are to be welded into one federated *structure* He goes into details and tells how the federal executive, the federal legislative the provincial legislatures and other gadgets are created *and what their political and* financial powers are He also offers throughout the volume short historical comments on most of the *subjects discussed* as a clarifying background

Undoubtedly the most striking features of the Constitution is the creation of the All India Federation Joshi justifies federation on the alleged necessity of stabilizing elements in the central government It is a sham justification There is already too much centralization of power No one can say for sure that a system under which the "democratically elected (?) representatives of Indian Provinces, checkmated by the autocratic Princes, will function satisfactorily Professor Joshi is constrained to admit *that the London made* Constitution is "not a natural Constitution' In his own words 'Indians look upon the New Constitution as an imposed *Constitution* which is incapable of growth from within It is encompassed in a strait jacket" Yet in the very next breath he comes right out with the *prophecy that* "it will *inevitably* result in securing for India full responsible government" That's your soothsayer! It will be hard for any political scientist who knows the history of English rule in India to make such a streamlined prophecy But if Joshi could do this successfully he should leave the field of constitutional law and go in for crystal gazing To me political necromancy doesn't make sense

Scattered through the tome there is much evidence of wishful thinking on the part of the author He even seems to think that the League of Nations which is by now like a dead cat in a gutter will 'help" India to acquire full legal status" in the eyes of international law

In studying the new Constitution one can see with half an eye that the big Stuffed Shirts of English imperialism in India are trying to go two ways at once *to retain the system* of domination and exploitation yet to hold out liberal promises and slogans to fool the *people* Joshi is one of the writing brigade which *squirts numbo jumbo legalism into his eyes and sees the* millennium coming

Under the new Constitution self government in India is a fiction and a poor one at *that* India has *about* as much self government as has Manchukuo Oh yes, the Constitution is good for years of gaiety yet

India is the victim of imperialism And imperialism to put it bluntly, is a prison Its inmates can scarcely be blamed if they are not over-enthusiastic about the prison regulations of their dear old wardens

G N Joshi is neither original nor profound He has hewed close to the line of British imperialism letting the principles fall where they would He has accomplished one thing he has given the world a friendlier picture of the philanthropic John Bull Such a book should find a considerable number of readers among *those who believe that the British empire is an "altruistic"* internationalism and that John Bull in India is its prophet Can I say more? No!

"When do we eat?"

Sudhindra Bose

ORIGIN OF THE CHALUKYAS *By Ranjit Sing Satyasraya Published by Prof S C Ghose M A Calcutta, 1937*

This is the first volume of the series "Studies in Rajput History" in which the author proposes 'to discuss the historical evidence regarding the origin growth culture and creed of the Rajputs In the first part of the volume the author has sought to disprove the hypothesis about the foreign barbarian origin of the Chalukyas He has successfully demonstrated the weakness of the various theories held on the subject and we agree with him that the foreign origin of the Chalukyas still remains to be proved He has next tried to establish *the theory that the Chalukyas were descended from a* Brahmanical sage In spite of the learning and industry with which this theory has been laboriously built up every unbiassed critic will admit that it is as indefensible

as the one he has tried to demolish. The hypothesis is evidently based on the fact that a Gotra pravartaka Rishi of the name Chuluka is mentioned in the Ganapatha. The author concludes from this that "the Chalukyas were a Brahmana family in the beginning and they were the descendants of an ancient sage Chuluka." He altogether ignores the all important consideration that the Chalukyas themselves never knew about this illustrious ancestry and although they and their court poets and contemporaries give all possible and impossible stories of their origin none of them has ever even hinted at such a connection. The author has given evidence of wide study in his dissertation about the *gotras* of the Chalukyas but we feel that it was wasted on a fruitless task. We draw his attention to the very pertinent remarks of Dr. N. K. Dutt in the foreword of his own book. "*Gotra and pravara names of the kingly families*," says Dr. Dutt, "are not by themselves very reliable anchor sheets for fixing origin and descent. If Ravana the Rakshasa king could be acknowledged as a descendant of a well-known Brahmin sage Pulastya and some of the Kirata barbarians were called Atreyas and Bharadvajas, ... how could the reciting of gotra and pravara names prevent the tranduised foreigners from claiming descent from Vedic Rishis and Kings?" Unfortunately this foreword (presumably) reached the author after his book was finished. Otherwise he would not perhaps have wasted his money and time in a fruitless search after the origin of the Chalukyas on the strength of Gotra and pravara names. Incidentally it may be noted, that the author has entirely forgotten that even non-Brahmans have Gotra names connected with the Vedic Rishis.

In the first part of his work the author has very rightly discarded various stories about the origin of the Chalukyas which were evidently invented in later times. But this critical spirit has entirely forsaken him when in his attempt to establish one novel theory of the origin of the Chalukyas, he has accepted as historical statements in an eleventh century record that the Chalukyas were descended from Manavya Harita and Panchasikha. Curiously enough he has altogether brushed aside the further statement in the very same record that the family name Chalukya, was derived from an eponymous hero Chalukya son of Panchasikha. We entirely agree with the writer of the Foreword that "to prove the origin of the Chalukyas from barbarians is as difficult as to trace their unbroken descent from Pauranic sages and kings." Indeed the Foreword of this book may be regarded as its best comment and criticism and the author would do well in trying to comprehend the sound principles enunciated in it.

The third part of the work seeks to establish a relationship between the different Chalukya dynasties ruling at different times in different places. This part *is as inconclusive as the second. The author possesses* undoubted talents and wide knowledge but they should be devoted to more fruitful and profitable subjects of study.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN CERTAIN RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS. *By countries of origin and consumption. 1936. Series of League of Nations Publications—1937. II. 4. 21. Pp. 164. Price 3 s., $1.25.*

This volume, the second of its kind to be published by the Economic Intelligence Service contains provisional statistics for 1936 and complete statistics for 1935. *Like the previous volume the statistics contained in the* volume are confined to 30 commodities principally raw materials and foodstuffs of importance in international trade. These include wheat, sugar, rubber, wood in various forms, hides, wool, cotton, silk, iron and steel, copper, motor spirit. A detailed descriptive list of the commodities is included in the volume. The publication represents an important improvement over the previous one in that the number of importing countries covered by the various tables has been increased from 42 to 122, thus making the statistics practically world wide. These 122 countries represent 98% of total world trade in 1935 as compared with the 84% represented by the 42 countries covered by the previous volume.

The volume is the outcome of the extremely important conclusion arrived at by the Committee of Statistical Experts four years ago that the incomparability of international trade statistics (i.e. the discrepancies *between import statistics given by an importing country* and the export figures relating to the same transactions returned by the exporting country) could only be eliminated by furnishing of all countries of their import data by country of origin. Governments were therefore asked to furnish import data on this basis and the Secretariat authorised by the Council of the League to collect, aggregate and publish such data.

The volume contains an introduction which draws the attention of the reader to the various causes of discrepancies and possible errors involved in trying to secure comparability of exports with the corresponding import data. Whilst the volume is only a first attempt to solve the problem of the comparability of trade statistics by the adoption of uniform principles it is believed that the figures given afford a valuable indication if not a precise record of the flow of goods from the producing to the consuming countries.

Though British India was not one of the thirty countries which had sent replies to the League's questionnaire on the subject some figures for this country are to be found in the book.

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK 1938. *Published by the City of Birmingham Information Bureau. Pp. 344. With numerous Illustrations. Very finely got up.*

This year's edition of Birmingham's annual civic review—"The City of Birmingham Handbook"—deals appropriately with the progress of civic government in that City through the century and illustrates the evolution of the vast municipal machine of today from its *vague and distant origins. For in July next it is to* celebrate the centenary of the grant of its Charter of Incorporation. Beginning with an account of Birmingham's historic associations—the City has a well defined history reaching back to pre-Conquest days—the handbook describes the town of a hundred years ago and the conditions then existing. Subsequent pages in this 344-page book relate chapter by chapter the duties and responsibilities of each of the twenty-six main administrative departments of the Corporation, concluding with a description of the great Airport scheme, the newest form of local government activity which is due for completion this year.

It is perhaps appropriate that in the year of Birmingham's Centenary Mr. Neville Chamberlain who following the example of his distinguished father gained experience in municipal government in Birmingham before entering upon a Parliamentary career and was elected Lord Mayor of Birmingham from 1915 to 1917 should hold the highest office in the Government at the time his native city is celebrating its municipal beginnings and the civic progress to which the Chamberlain

tion and the conception of public service which it embodied has contributed so much

The bigger municipalities in India will note that some of the amenities and services provided by the civic administration of Birmingham are many museums and art galleries, public libraries City of Birmingham Orchestra parks and recreation grounds, town hall mental hospitals and other hospitals institutions for elementary and secondary education evening institutes and colleges institutions for education in arts and crafts and commerce University of Birmingham, public baths gas electricity water tramways and omnibuses markets municipal bank and Birmingham airport

THE EPIC OF TRAVANCORE *By Mahadev Desai Navajivan Karyalaya Ahmedabad Price not mentioned*

This book is a history of the struggle for obtaining the right of the so-called untouchable Hindus to enter Hindu temples in Travancore and fittingly opens with the Travancore Maharaja's proclamation conceding to all Hindus the right of entering or worshipping at temples controlled by him and his government His Highness the Maharaja has shown both courage and statesmanship in issuing the proclamation Gandhiji's speeches are very instructive—particularly his exposition of the first verse of Ishopanishad

We have read the book twice to find out whether anywhere in Mahatma Gandhi's speeches reported in it he has clearly stated that image worship in temples is not the highest teaching of the Hindu scriptures We have found no such passage A reader of the book who does not know the highest that Hinduism stands for will naturally conclude that in Gandhi's opinion Hindu worship is synonymous with image-worship But that is not true And Gandhiji himself said years ago that he did not himself worship images and that the idols in temples did not awaken any feeling of reverence in his mind

It is to be regretted that in the speeches of Mahatma Gandhi contained in this book there is no information relating to the highest form of worship enjoined in the Hindu scriptures

XIV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE P E N CLUBS, *September 5 to 15, 1936, under the auspices of the P E N Club of Buenos Aires. Speeches and Discussions Buenos Aires 1937 Crown 8vo Pp 294*

The frontispiece gives a picture of the opening session of the 14th International Congress of the P E N Clubs The list of delegates and guests shows that forty one countries were represented in this Congress. From Asia delegates went from India Irak Japan, and Palestine India was represented by Madame Sophia Wadia of Bombay centre and Dr Kalidas Nag of Calcutta centre Madame Wadia's speech on "The Place of Philosophy in the Life of the Masses" is given in English as translated by the organizing Committee from her speech in Spanish and also in her own original English version

The speech by the president of the P E N Club of Buenos Aires Dr Carlos Ibarguren on "The World Spiritual Movement in Literature," was very thoughtful and inspiring The other speeches and the discussions make instructive and interesting reading

INDIAN TEMPLES 136 PHOTOGRAPHS CHOSEN AND ANNOTATED *By Odette Bruhl with a preface by Sylvain Levi Oxford University Press Rs 6*

The photographs chosen are excellent and the reproductions also are excellent Professor Sylvain Levi's preface is at once scholarly, eloquent and full of literary charm It has been translated by Roy Hawkins It begins —

"In classical times India was the land of wonders Four hundred years before the Christian era, a Greek physician Ctesias of Cnidus, chronicled the extraordinary tales of India which were current at the Persian court When Alexander the Great's Macedonian troops crossed its boundaries and entered the Punjab they were amazed at the appearance of the streets at Taxila these soldiers who had traversed so many countries suddenly felt themselves in another world And after more than two millenniums while the face of the earth has been transformed by so many successive revolutions, the traveller landing at Bombay still feels the same shock of surprise

The illustrations relate to the Hindu Jaina, Buddhist and Islamic faiths

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS *By Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Editor, "The Bengal Co-operative Journal," and Benoyendranath Banerjea, Professor of Economics and Politics Vidyasagar College, and Lecturer, Post graduate Department, University of Calcutta Issued under the auspices of The Politics Club Post Box 175, Calcutta Price Rs 2*

This is a clearly written and adequately documented work treating of the study of politics evolution of the State the modern State, functions of the State, forms of government, democracy political constitutions unitary and federal constitutions separation of powers, structure of government, local self government, nationalism, citizenship law and liberty, liberty and equality public opinion, political parties elections education for citizenship world order—the League of Nations, and the civic ideal In the Appendix the authors have given extracts from Giovanni Gentile's "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism" Mussolini's "Fascism Doctrine and Institutions" Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "Soviet Communism A new Civilization?," and S S Shipman's article on Russia's New Constitution in *Current History* (December 1936) The short bibliography will be found useful

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA *By Sudhir Kumar Lahiri and Benoyendranath Banerjea Second Edition revised and slightly enlarged Issued under the auspices of The Politics Club Post Box No 175, Calcutta Price Rs 4 8*

When noticing the first edition of this book we praised the authors for the excellence of their work In this second edition which has been called for within a year and a half of the first they have brought the historical introduction up to date, and duly utilized the Niemeyer Report the Welgwood Report and recent Government of India Act Two new sections on the New Constitution of Burma

AIMS AND IDEALS OF ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE *By Professor Brajasundar Ray, M A, B L. R Roy and Co, 2A Radhaprasad Lane, Calcutta Rs 2*

This book is the outcome of the author's earnest study of ancient Indian literature and of European literature, history and philosophy, pursued for years. He has come to the conclusion—a correct one we believe, that there was a system of thought developed in India since the days of the Rig Veda up to the days of the decline of Buddhism from which our education has cut us off, making it almost unintelligible to us "Any one seriously

going through the writings of our Rishis will discover that they had a different outlook on the problems of life and this difference was due to the different objects pursued by them" The author has presented to the reader the aims and ideals of the life of our ancestors and the method they followed in the pursuit of those aims and ideals. Those whose education has given them a foreign a European mind, as it were, will find a corrective in this book Those also who have not been Westernized will find it instructive and interesting reading Those of our College and University students who have to acquire knowledge of ancient Indian culture will find it of considerable help to them

CONGRESS—ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STUDIES No 8 PUBLIC REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE IN INDIA *By Z A Ahmad B.Sc Ph D (London) Re 1* No 9 INDIA ON CHINA *By Dr Rammanohar Lohia, with foreword by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru As 8* No 10 THE INDIAN FEDERATION *By Z A Ahmad As 8* No 11 INDIANS IN FOREIGN LANDS *By Dr Rammanohar Lohia, with foreword by J B Kripalani As 4 Congress Office Allahabad*

These are careful and serious studies Publicists will find them very useful

Pamphlet No 8 has been divided by the authors into two parts In the first part the Central and Provincial revenues and expenditure are considered together, in order to give a picture of the financial arrangements of the country as a whole In the second part the revenue and expenditure of each province are shown separately, and the period covered is the period of Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, extending from 1921 22 to 1936-37 At the end the important changes introduced by provincial budgets of 1937-38 have been briefly noted

SOCIAL REFORM ANNUAL, 1938 *Editor Mr P S Bakhle B.A LL.B., Advocate High Court, Bombay, Associate Editors Mrs Krishnabai Wagh, Mr V R Gadkari, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay Mr G S Gupte, M.A., LL.B Advocate, High Court, Bombay Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association Servant of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road Bombay Re 1-4*

In years gone by there used to be sessions of the Indian Social Conference along with the sessions of the Indian National Congress. That they ceased to be held years ago cannot but be regretted The publication of the Annual under notice will serve a useful purpose if it reminds the public that our political and economic problems are not the only or the main problems that have to be tackled

It contains messages of good wishes from H H the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda and others, foreword by Mr S S Patkar ex-Judge, Bombay High Court and *the full wing papers Slow pace of Social Reform and its causes* by Sir Govind Madgaonkar Kt., I.C.S. (retired) Position of Women, by Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill by Mr S S Patkar, Social Reform, its hard corners and its crucial ties by Prof V N Naik, M.A., Position of Women under Hindu Law Past and Present by B N Gokhale M.A., LL.B., Social Reform in India, real methods of approach, by M N G N Acharya opinions forwarded to Government by the Social Reform Association Social Reform in Indian States The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act Amendment Bill, Social Reform organizations

There are also some editorial notes

HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS (*Associations, Bureaux, Committees, etc*) *Series of League of Nations Publications—1937. XII B 4 Pp 491 Price 12/6d, $3.00*

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has just published a new English edition of the Handbook of International Organisations, which is a companion copy to the last year's French edition The volume gives, on nearly 500 pages, the names addresses, names of officers, notes on finances, objects and activity, and other details of nearly 760 international organisations Included are international bureaux placed under the direction of the League, official central bureaux and private associations and federations in so far as they have international objects and are not run for profit.

In order to facilitate the use of the Handbook, the organizations have been classified according to their objects or activities in the following groups Politics and International Relation (Pacifism), Religion (Humanitarianism and Morals) Arts and Sciences, Education, Students and University Organizations, Medicine and Hygiene Law and Administration, Press, Feminism, Labour and professions Agriculture, Economics and Finance, Trade and Industry Communications and Transit Sports and Tourism Miscellaneous. In addition, three indexes have been provided for further convenience of the user a subject index, an alphabetical index, and a geographical index From the last, it appears that nearly half the total number of international organizations have their seats in France and Switzerland There are 183 in France (172 in Paris alone), and 140 in Switzerland (80 in Geneva), Great Britain follows next with 78 organizations and Belgium close behind with 77

The Handbook will prove invaluable to all those who are engaged in international life As India does not yet possess a fully developed national life with corresponding independent political status, no wonder there is no international organization in India We could find none in any of the three indexes.

K.

MALWA IN TRANSITION OR A CENTURY OF ANARCHY (1698-1763) *By Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Sinh M.A., D.Litt Bombay, 1936 Pp 391 Price Rs 5*

The book under review *Malwa in Transition*, is the first historical study ever made by a Rajput prince, Rajputs had been makers of our medieval history but not compilers of it Maharana Khumbha and Maharajah Jaswant Singh Rathor were writers of considerable fame, but their interest was in fields other than history During the great Indian Renaissance in the reign of Akbar, the contagion of learning spread even among the Rajputs, devoted to arms as they had been We are told how under Akbar's orders, Rajah Ramdas Kachchawaha, who had spent his whole life in active and strenuous military service, wrote a Sanskrit commentary on *Setubandha nataka* in *Apabhramsa* dialect by Kalidas. The warrior commentator makes an appeal to readers not to bear any prejudice against his work only because he is a soldier and not a literary man by profession. Kunwar Raghubir Sinhji need not feel the same diffidence about his literary effort as that Rajah Ramdas did, because his work has successfully stood a most severe test and won for him the highest distinction that any University has in her gift

During the last decade of the seventeenth century nowhere the popular commotion caused by Aurangzeb's policy of temple destruction and imposition of *jaziya* had been so great as in the province of Malwa Hindus took to insulting the *jaziya*-collectors, generally bigoted *ulemas*, and sometimes putting them to death with much

STAVA SAMUDRA First Pravaha, compiled and *translated into Bengali verse By Purna Chandra De Udbhata-sagara. Calcutta Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, B E 1325 Price Rs 2*

This is a very useful compilation which gives the Sanskrit texts (printed both in Bengali and Devanagari characters) of forty Stotras of varying lengths, along with a running Bengali verse translation the Stotras referring to various Hindu deities, such as Ganesa, Siva Visnu Chandi Durga Ganga and so forth It does not pretend to be a comprehensive collection like the Brihat Stotra ratnakara, published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press, but it rescues from oblivion a large number of floating hymns and will appeal to devotionally minded readers

S K. De

BENGALI

VIDYASAGAR GRANTHAVALI SAHITYA OR THE WORKS OF PANDIT ISWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR, *Volume I Literature Editorial Board Sunit Kumar Chattopadhyay, Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay and Sajanikanta Das Published by the Ranjan Publishing House 25 2, Mohan Bagan Row Calcutta, for the Vidyasagar Memorial Committee Price Rs 5 Crown 4to 475+10+12 There is a fine characteristic portrait of the Pandit on the cloth cover*

This sumptuous volume is the first of the four volumes of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's works to be published by the Vidyasagar Memorial Committee of Midnapore under the presidentship of Mr B R Sen Magistrate of that district and with the munificent help of Kumar Narasinha Malla Dev B.A Raja of Jhargram

It contains a learned and thoughtful introduction by Professor Dr Sunit Kumar Chatterji a bibliography by Mr Brajendranath Banerji four plates containing portraits etc., and the following works of the author

Betal panchabinsati ("Twenty five stories told by a Spirit") *Sakuntala, Mahabharat* (Introductory portion), *Sitar Panabas* ("Exile of Sita") *Prabhabati-Sambhashan* ("Lament addressed to Prabhabati"), *Ramer Rajyabhisek* ("Coronation of Rama") *Bhrantibilas* ("Comedy of Errors") *Vidyasagar Charit* (by himself) (An Autobiographic Fragment)

Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was one of the fathers and moulders of modern Bengali prose as we know it In his hands it acquired a chasteness a classical dignity and a music all its own He was the first and one of the foremost of literary artists in Bengali prose No one's knowledge and enjoyment of Bengali literature can be complete without a study of Vidyasagar's works

Of the man Vidyasagar this is not the place to speak Nor can his character and achievements be briefly described A Bandyopadhaya by birth he signed his name as Iswar Chandra Sarma By his vast and varied learning he *won* the title "Vidyasagar" ("Ocean of Learning") To this his countrymen added the title "Dayar Sagar" ("Ocean of Kindness") He was besides, an educational pioneer and reformer a social reformer a pioneer in life insurance and in various other fields and an active philanthropist. Above all was his literarally unique and towering personality Stern as the thunderbolt true as the polestar tender as a flower unbending as the Himalayas, he was like himself alone Bengal never had another son like him nor perhaps will again have another

Four of the works named above are based on Sanskrit originals, one on a Hindi original and one relates the story of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* But none of them are mere translations or compilations. The author's creative genius aesthetic taste and artistic talent are in evidence in them all

The Committee and the Editorial Board are to be congratulated on the expedition and care with which the first volume of this memorial edition has been brought out *The Raja of Jhargram* has earned the thanks of the public for the munificence with which he has financed the project Those who revere Vidyasagar will be grateful to Mr B R Sen I C S., for the energy and enthusiasm with which he has been carrying out his self imposed task.

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH OR ENCYCLOPAEDIA BENGALENSIS *Chief Editor Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, with a staff of competent assistant editors and co workers No 20*

This great work has been noticed before several times. It continues to be edited with as much care as before and to be published regularly The principal *articles in the number under notice are Ajmer* Merwara by Naresh Chandra Mitra and Aatasatru by Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan who tries to give an impartial view of the character of that ancient monarch

KURAL. TRANSLATED INTO BENGALI *By Professor Nalinimohan Sanyal M A, Bhashatattvaratna. With forewords by Prof Dr Sunit Kumar Chatterji, Dr Dineschandra Sen D Litt., and Mr A Sattanathan M.A Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Calcutta. Price Rs 2-8*

The author has rendered good service to Bengali literature by translating this ancient Tamil classic into Bengali

Mr A. Sattanathan says in his foreword "What the *Bible is to the Christian World, the Kural has been and* is to the Tamils It is a unique literary work, inasmuch as the whole realm of knowledge of the ancients is traversed by the 3,330 aphorisms—the greatest masterpiece of literary brevity" "Tirukural is the work of one of the greatest Tamil saints—Tiruvalluvar This saint like others strove for and obtained his spiritual salvation not by renouncing the world but through "Grihastha Asram" (or householder's life) Like the great saint of Sabarmati he was a weaver and a farmer He preached through three thousand three hundred and thirty couplets of the Kural the message of clean life. There is no mention of Hindu gods, or of ritualistic worship throughout the pages of Kural"

In their respective forewords both Dr Sunit Kumar Chatterji and Dr Dineschandra Sen have borne witness to the literary excellence of the Bengali translation of this ancient Tamil classic

PRAG-AITIHASIK MOHENJODARO OR PREHISTORIC MOHENJO-DARO *By Kunja Govinda* Gosvami M.A., Calcutta University Research Fellow and *Late Scholar Archaeological Survey Department With an introduction by Rai Gopal Majumdar Superintendent Archaeological Survey of India Calcutta University*

This neatly printed and well written handbook contains a map of Sind a plate showing in parallel columns some similar or identical letters as written in Brahmi script and in Mohenjo-Daro Easter Island, ancient Elam, ancient Egypt Sumer Crete and China and ten other plates giving photographic reproductions of sites and ruins excavated and various seals, jewellery and other objects found therein

Sir John Marshall's standard work on Mohenjo-Daro

and Indus civilization is not easily accessible on account of its high price, and is moreover of no use to those who do not know Bengali Mr Goswami has been a benefactor to Bengali readers by writing this scholarly and documented work on a subject of the pre-historical age which has revolutionised the study of Indian History, civilisation and culture The book is divided into twelve chapters, *the first is introductory* The remaining chapters treat of the discovery and excavation of Mohenjo-daro, the city and its urban life antiquities, the age and its inhabitants, *religion, funerals, metals, earthen objects* and colouring of earthen ware, scale, language and the area over which the Indus civilization spreads.

An index has added to the usefulness of the work

A

HINDI

SATPANCH CHOUPAI FROM RAMCHARIT MANASA *By Pandit Harigobind Tewari of Agra. Pages 446 Price Re 1-4*

This Hindi book is a collection of 57 verses from Goswami Tulsidas's Ramayana The author has interpreted a verse in that Ramayana "Satpanch Choupai" etc., *to mean 57 verses. There are various interpretations* of the sentence and Goswamiji has left the meaning to be guessed and has surely never pointed out which verses he mean An authority like late Ramdas Gour holds the sentence to mean the whole book being a collection of 5,500 Choupais Be that as it may we have here 57 verses which the author has selected from the Ramayana which, in his opinion are perhaps the best

The author has given *elaborate notes of the verses* which have not unoften gone wide of the mark. He has in many cases travelled into speculative region *leaving the plain meaning* behind.

His notes on "Hari Byapaka Sarba Samana"—"God is omnipresent," is an instance In explaining these words he obtains corroboration of the thought from what he thinks to be the evolution of life from non-life in the formation of *yeast in dough and in the presence of wood* weevil from wood He supposes that dough and wood created these lives with the help of heat and moisture etc

The *more* Tulsi Ramayana is read, the better But commentation does the cause a harm by imposing far fetched and often absurd meanings on simple matters as in the above sentence

SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MAHATMA BASAVESVAR KE VACHANA *Translated by A B Srinivasamurti and M C Sivananda Sarma. Published by M N Siddappa and M S Manjappa, Bangalore City Pp xxxii+58*

The life and teachings of Basavanna the great religious teacher of the South in medieval times are presented *in a lucid style He was the founder of the* "Virasaiva" sect and the father of the Canarese literature We are grateful to the authors for this little book *which gives* the original in Canarese also There are a few pictures The book is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi

PHULON KI SEJ *By Mr Vijay Bahadur Singh, B.A Published by the Ganga Pustakmala Office, Lucknow Pp 339 Price Rs. 2*

This is a book of advice meant for the newly married couple What a married man and woman should know are delineated in the form of dialogue We hope this book *will help* many a young couple to make *their* new home life comfortable and wise

GEHUN KI KHETI *By Mr B S Nigam, L. Ag., B.Sc Published by the Ganga Pustakmala Office, Lucknow Pp 141 Price Re 1*

As the name implies everything about wheat is the *subject matter of this book The* author a teacher of the Agricultural College of Cawnpur, has done a public service by putting together all kinds of information one *would like to know There are many diagrams, charts* and statistics Wheat culture being an important source of income to U P., this book is expected to fulfil a real *want in our scientific literature*

RAMES BASU

TELUGU

YOUVANA JWALA OR FLAME OF YOUTH *By Kundurti Narasimha Rao Pages 8* Price annas twelve *Can be had of the Author, "Sunday Times" Madras*

Mr Kundurti is already known in the Telugu literary circle as a facile writer His present work—seventy three topics in verse—is an achievement towards success. The poems on Jawaharlal and the Lake Pampa are thought provoking The work accords a good reading

PREMA DHARMA OR RELIGION OF DIVINE LOVE *By Yellapantulu Jagannadhan, B.A Pages 207+13 Venkataram Power Press Ellore*

The work is an exposition co-ordinating the three mighty religions of the world—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity The main tenets of the three religions *are drawn into analogy with regard to the conception of* God Prayer and Preaching

SWAGATAM No 5 of Yuva Karyalaya Series *By K Kutumbarao Pages 92 Price annas four Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Patapeta Tenali.*

Six short stories depicting the probabalities and pitfalls of the society The characters narrate their own stories The style throughout is crisp

R. S BHARADWAJ

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE STUDENT *By Ch. L. Sastri, B.A. Pp 39 1937 Price annas eight*

A brief study of the aims and ideals of education *from a psychological point of view*

FOREIGN POLICIES IN SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT *By Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., B.L. Chackerverty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd 15, College Sq., Calcutta, Pp 24 Price annas four*

The various factors that led to the conflict have been briefly discussed and to a certain extent China has been made responsible.

SOME POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SEPARATED BURMA *By I G Nair Pp 40*

A brief discussion of the problems and duties of the *Indians residing in Burma*

THE HINDU MIDDLE CLASS IN BENGAL

By BIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOUDHURY M.L.A

For nearly one century and a half the middle class in Bengal acquired a reputation for intellectual acuteness for public spirit for social service and for political work which was of an unique character Its contributions to social and political progress of the country have been in fact outstanding This class however is now threatened not only with paralysis but also with extinction For long and in fact too long we have looked upon the attacks upon this class with supreme unconcern But it is time that we should cease to be indifferent to this question and study it with as much sympathy and care as possible

Bengal has been a land of zemindars virtually from time immemorial In the time of Emperor Akbar and his immediate successors the zemindary system was abolished in many parts of the Empire Direct relation was established between the Government and the tillers of the soil But in Bengal even in these days when the ryotary system was in vogue in most of the *subas* the old zemindary system remained enthroned In the first three quarters of the sixteenth century when the Moghuls were not yet the masters of the province it was really parcelled out into a number of almost independent fiefs The Central Government was a misnomer It was without power and authority over the outlying districts which were administered by the local potentates Isa Khan of Mymensingh Kedar Rai of Dacca Protapaditya of Jessore were practically sovereigns of their own districts In the last quarter of the sixteenth century Bengal passed into the hands of Emperor Akbar and the local barons were gradually deprived of their sovereignty All the same however they or their descendants continued to be the vassals of the Emperor with considerable power and authority over their old fiefs The concession thus made in this respect became sacrosanct. Throughout the seventeenth century when Moghul authority was firmly planted in this province the zemindars were a most important factor of the administration Sometimes from among them the district officers (Fouzdars) were chosen Even when the Fouzdars were appointed from outside they had to work in full co operation with the local zemindar In the next century the structure of Moghul administration gradually broke down and the zemindars not only maintained the rights and privileges which they had exercised and enjoyed in the previous hundred years but also took advantage of the new situation and further augmented their position By the middle of the century we find them again firmly rooted in power They again in fact became semi sovereign magnates with powers of life and death over their tenants

The scions of these landholding families descended in many instances to the middle class In England the younger sons of a noble were never regarded as nobles unless elevated to the peerage for their own merit They became part and parcel of the middle class They might be closely related to the nobility and might cherish in most cases the same ideals and traditions as the landed aristocracy but their place was all the same in the middle class They were not members of the order of nobility which in England could not on this account grow into a caste as it did in France and other continental countries In Bengal there was never in vogue the system of primogeniture under which the younger brothers could enjoy no share of the real property of their fathers and forefathers All the sons in fact inherited their father's property usually in equal proportions This custom resulted in the partition of estates into small sub-divisions Necessarily the scions of ancient aristocratic houses gradually became the owners of only small estates from which they could realise only a small income Inevitably, therefore they swelled the middle class The growth of this class should in fact be mainly traced to this origin

That the Hindu middle class in Bengal consisted until recently of the members of only a few particular castes is due to the fact emphasised in the previous paragraph The middle class Hindus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries almost exclusively belonged to those castes only to which were affiliated the great feudal magnates of the sixteenth and earlier centuries Many of them had become absolutely impoverished when the Britishers took hold of the province They had nothing to take pride in except their lineage and past tradition These constituted their only capital

on the basis of which they were to begin afresh a career of usefulness in the new regime Fortunately the establishment of the British Raj opened out to them a two fold opportunity Some of them became associated with the officers of the East India Company in the pursuit of trade and commerce In this capacity they found it possible to replenish their depleted purse and exercise again their old influence in society Others again of this class picked up as much education as possible in those days and became employed in those minor offices under the British Government which were then open to the children of the soil Thrifty and industrious they made considerable savings out of their slender income and set up families which came to fill important roles in society

It should be pointed out here that both those who amassed money out of trade and those who made savings out of their income as petty government servants invested virtually all their money in land This was regarded in those unsettled days as the only sure investment Small estates were purchased by these thrifty people and the innumerable small zemindary and talukdari houses which we notice in this province were founded in this manner If any small talukdar in our country side is asked today about his ancestry and the founder of his family he would reply that he is descended from some sixteenth century magnate say Protapaditya in the twelveth generation and that the small estate of which a share he now owns and enjoys was purchased by his great grand father who was either the Sheristadar of a District Judge or the Dewan of a Collector

During the first six or seven decades another class of people has made rapid headway in this province It also should now be regarded as part and parcel of the Bengali middle class It is that thrifty and industrious body of small traders and merchants who previously did not enjoy any important status in the social organization of the province Gradually, however, they not only made their economic and financial influence increasingly felt but they also stormed the citadels of education and culture and broke down the distinctions between themselves and the old middle class Many of them willingly or unwillingly, also became talukdars and estate holders But still it should be known that this portion of the Bengali middle class today is engaged in banking industry and trade If it has to own and manage any landed estates that it does only as a side business

So we may summarize the position of the Bengali middle class today as follows It consists not merely of about three or four million high caste Hindus who usually trace their descent from the feudal magnates of the sixteenth or earlier centuries It consists also of a large body of other people who may not have such long traditions behind them but who during the last few decades have forced their way to the forefront and have now virtually the same occupation and the same standard of living as the members of the old middle class I am not including the Mahomedans for the time being in this class For long after the Battle of Plassey when the centre of political gravity shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta, the Mahomedans continued indeed to be prosperous in this province but they became more and more ere t fallen as decades passed The transfer of political control from the hands of their co religionists to those of the British, however, so disheartened and discouraged them that gradually they lost their foothold and economically became increasingly depressed The old Mahomedan families became impoverished and their scions unable to accommodate to the new situation practically descended to the proletariat They set their face definitely against the new learning and on that account became shut out for a long period from Government service Nor did they make themselves useful to the European merchants or industrialists On this score except in the case of a few land-holding families the Moslems in Bengal became by stages only a body of mere agriculturists We shall see at a later stage that during the last half century the situation has been considerably improved and a middle class is slowly emerging among them But until recently virtually there was no such class among the Moslems of Bengal and by the middle class we meant only the Hindu middle class

The contributions of the Hindu middle class to the economic social cultural and political progress not only of this province but of the whole country are well known The members of this class were the first to take to the new learning It was they who first assimilated the learning of the West and drew inspiration from the great writers philosophers and poets of Europe They became familiar with the ideals of the great philosophers and statesmen who ushered in the French Revolution and who were mainly responsible for introducing in Europe the traditions of liberalism and freedom They became inspired by the gospel which Rousseau had preached and by the doctrines which Bentham and Mill had enunciated It was be-

cause of this inspiration which they received it became possible for them to break away from the thick crust of tradition which had undermined the old adaptibility of the Hindu society and made life a miserable burden to a considerable section of the people It was from among them were sprung the great religious leaders and prophets who declared a crusade against these unreasonable traditions and unthinking practices of Hindu orthodoxy Keshab Chunder Sen Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Vivekenanda were if anything the great leaders of the Indian renaissance They were sprung from the middle class of this province Their contributions to the social and cultural progress of this country I need not pause to estimate and calculate They are today writ large on the face of our society Without their services the awakening among the depressed classes and their accession to the seats of power would Hindu middle class of Bengal that its members have been out of the question

Sometimes a charge is brought against the have always hankered after Government jobs and have shown little initiative in the fields of trade and industry As Government servants or as employees in other capacities they might have lived comfortably and exercised some influence in society but their real contributions to the economic progress of the country were nil This point of view is absolutely erroneous It may be admitted at once that the members of the middle class in Bengal took a fancy to fixed and secure jobs which brought them only a moderate income and avoided the avenues of adventure and risk But it should not be forgotten that these people were uniformly very thrifty and the savings which they made from their moderate income were invested not only in the purchase of landed estates and in the building up of houses but also in tea gardens and in large scale industries Bengal was never well known for its town and cities If town life has considerably developed during the last hundred years and more and if a new municipal civilization is developing apace in this Presidency for that the thrifty middle class is largely responsible Many of the large scale manufacturing industries whose growth is a new feature in Bengal would also not have been possible but for the alacrity with which the middle class subscribed to the shares of these companies It is also a new sign of the times that the members of this class can no longer be said to be passive and sleeping shareholders alone of the Joint Stock Companies They are also gradually taking the initiative and evincing the enterprise in floating companies and establishing industrial firms on their own account The old charge is in fact absolutely belied by the activities of the middle class Their contributions to the economic and industrial progress of the province are by no means negligible They are immense

This class which has contributed so much to the progress of the country is now threatened with extinction There are of course, some factors at work now over which we have no control There was a time when the members of the educated middle class of Bengal had an opportunity of useful occupation all over India Their services as civil servants teachers legal advisers and judicial officers were requisitioned in the other provinces as well as in the States Such employment not only brought money into their pocket but also added to the talent and experience of the middle class in Bengal This source of employment has because of local competition in other parts of the country, almost dried up We must not count any longer upon any demand upon our services from outside

Within the province also the old Hindu middle class cannot expect to hold its own in certain fields of activity In the local civil services on the bench at the bar and also in the medical profession it must reckon with considerable competition on the part of the members of other groups of people who even some time ago had no ambition in these spheres

But although the old Hindu middle class is prepared for facing competition from the new comers in these fields it was unprepared for some of the frontal attacks which have been otherwise hurled upon their interests in recent years As already stated many of the members of the Hindu middle class are small talukdars estate holders and scions of ancient land holding families The interests of these persons were adversely affected by the Tenancy legislation of 1928 They will be more vitally and drastically undermined by the Amendment Bill which is now before the Upper House By the reduction in the percentage of the transfer fee in 1928 the middle class has already suffered some loss of income By the present Amendment Bill their income from this source will be washed out altogether What is more still is that an atmosphere has been created in the province in which it has become a difficult if not almost an impossible task to collect even 50% of the legitimate dues from the tenants The landholding portion of the Hindu middle class is consequently ill off now If the present situation continues its position will be desperate

It should also be known that at present about fifty thousand people are employed by the zemindars and talukdars in the management of estates Many of these employees hold responsible posts and earn a decent income and thereby they have made themselves useful members of their society But with the periodical attacks upon the rights and privileges of the zemindars and the consequent loss in their income the number of employees will also be lowered and another source of decent employment for the middle class will also dry up in this fashion

That portion of the middle class in Bengal which was engaged in indigenous banking and was so long well off on this score has also been menaced by the different legislative enactments The passing of the Agricultural Debtors Act in 1936 has especially handicapped this group of people in the province It is true that the problem of rural indebtedness has become acut in Bengal as elsewhere in India Some measures for the conciliation of debt were therefore necessary and even I should say urgent But the form in which the measures for conciliation have been prescribed has subjected money lenders and bankers to a difficulty and a handicap which are becoming a cause for their ruin Already an atmosphere had been so created in the province as to make the realization of debt a very arduous job The establishment of the Debt Conciliation Boards under the Act of 1936 has made hostile and in some places even corrupt people the arbitrators between the creditors and the debtors A situation has been created in which the legitimate dues of even the most benevolent creditors have become hard to realise The portion of the middle class which was so long thriving on indigenous banking is in this fashion threatened with ruin and extinction

While those members of the middle class who are creditors have been brought within the jurisdiction of the Debt Conciliation Act those who are debtors do not profit by it in the least The Act of 1936 is intended to give relief only to those who are engaged directly as agricultural farmers or labourers As the members of the middle class are not usually so engaged they cannot have their debt conciliated under its provisions They have to pay their pound of flesh as originally contracted for So the situation has come to this that while the middle class people cannot realise the money which they have lent, they have to clear the debt which they themselves have incurred This is a condition of things which cannot be said to be just and equitable

The fury against the middle class which we now notice in the province is to a great extent the result of the communal rivalries in Bengal As already referred to, the Moslem middle class had long ago been washed out as a result of the shifting of political power from Murshidabad to Calcutta During the last hundred years while the Hindus in most cases were the estate-holders and creditors the Moslems were the tenants and debtors The relations between the creditors and the debtors can nowhere be very pleasant and happy In Bengal they became more bitter because of the communal affiliations of the two classes. It is true that a new Moslem middle class is now in the making in Bengal The Moslems are profiting more and more by university education and are being increasingly employed in both higher and lower services under the Government In the Provincial Civil Services they have 45% of the vacancies reserved for them In the Judicial Service they have, by recent order, 40% so reserved In some of the posts again, it is alone the Moslems who are virtually being recruited They are making headway also in the professions They have again the lion's share of the comparatively lucrative membership of the legislature The Moslems thus honourably employed and occupied are founding families which must be counted among the middle class

If this Moslem middle class had developed earlier no communal zeal could have made the attacks upon the interests of the Hindu middle class in this province so persistent and bitter as they have become The Hindus and the Moslems would have then the same rights and privileges to protect and maintain Unfortunately before the growth of the new Moslem middle class in Bengal the invasion upon the rights of the Hindus of this order began in earnest So the prospect from the standpoint of the Hindus appears rather to be gloomy While a new Moslem middle class is slowly developing the old Hindu middle class is being washed out It is high time that people lay their heads together and devise means to maintain the class which has not only made Bengal what it is today but whose services are still necessary for the steady progress of the country

WORLD AFFAIRS

In a French journal *Vu et Lu*, a writer point out that of the political figures of the present world Herr Hitler uses the word peace more frequently than any other Certainly, after his peaceful victory in Austria no one can deny that the Fascist dictators are our best safeguards for peace It is a paradox no doubt but the situation itself is paradoxical It brings into prominence the bewilderment which has overtaken the peoples and politicians of the world A civil war is raging for about two years in Spain other nations are pouring in their volunteers in the country while their politicians sit and discuss non intervention War has not been declared—there need not be any war officially—but thousands of Chinese soldiers have been mowed down innocent citizens bombed to death flourishing cities and valuable properties destroyed for ever while Japan is making of the Chinese a friendly people The world is being whipped into a mad crusade against Soviet communism by the Fascist powers of East and West while in Moscow itself Stalin the dictator of the proletariat is shooting the last of the orthodox for what others suspect to be nothing but their crime of communism Powers on the one hand are sacrificing all old codes of honour and principle for negotiation and appeasement of the mighty and on the other a race of armament proceeds in feverish haste The very economic structure of society appears again to creak under the strain in many parts of the world So while three divisions of the Reich army were entering the Austrian territories the British Premier and Foreign Secretary were expressing their grave concern for the country at a lunch with the German Foreign Minister and regarded the conversation as specially valuable Austria's fate as an independent country is sealed There is no fear of a war any more nations will meet violent death like China and Abyssinia or peaceful death like Austria These inherent contradictions of the situation in the rapidly moving world leave people bewildered

The End of Austria

Herr Hitler occupies the world stage now Less than a month ago he had forced the Austrian Chancellor Dr Schuschnigg to share his authority with the Austrian Nazis The triumph began Dr Seyss Inquart the new Minister and his followers were not slow to make it plain at Graz and Linz Never reconciled Dr Schuschnigg and his Fatherland Front at first tried weakly to stem the tide—Austria must remain Catholic and independent The issue was about to be forced and the Chancellor at last put up a good fight He even looked to the workers who had been so long suppressed A plebiscite for a free German Austria was to be held on the 13th March last To Berlin this appeared more than dangerous Three divisions were sent two air squadron landed at Linz and over Vienna flew bombers carrying Swastika markings The plebiscite was cancelled as the ultimatum told and Dr Schuschnigg resigned and was replaced by Dr Seyss Inquart with a Nazi Cabinet while the Fuehrer crossed the frontier marched through Brannau his Austrian birth place and proceeded to Vienna 'Our goal is reached one people one Reich one Fuehrer' declared the Austrian Nazi leader Herr Klausner A country can be conquered it is evident without war if the war lord is ready to use his guns

The Anschluss—Desired and Resisted

For Austria the fate may not be too unwelcome Belonging to the same German race Austrians would naturally be in favour of an Anschluss The old graces and refinements of the great Habsburg days are faded out of the life of the post war Austria and its entrancing capital Vienna The Viennese however a profoundly civilized people still drank gallons of beer and the best coffee in the world discussing placidly the really important things of life like Mozart and whipped cream' But they had also to adjust their life to 'this shrinkage from imperial greatness' into a poor and declining city which ate up more than its hinterland produced Imports exceeded the exports and Austria mainly lived on international financial borrowings Nations at the League were zealous of keeping it on its leg anyhow as a buffer State in a key position Even the Customs Union of 1931 proposed between Austria and pre Nazi Germany was frowned upon by France Italy and Britain Nemesis thus waited for her hour The step of the Allies provoked the well known crisis—the

collapse of the Credit Anstalt and the crash in banking credit and exchange that complicated the slump—and that in a great measure paved the way for the Nazis to power in Germany in February, 1933

Until the rise of Hitler an Anschluss was what the two German-speaking people desired and what the friends of the Stressa front disapproved Up till then the dominating *motif* of Austrian politics to quote the author of *Inside Germany* was the disequilibrium between Marxist Vienna and the clerical country side' The rise of Hitler shook the two who should have combined in opposition at the hour if they could foresee things Dr Dollfuss found himself dictator in March 1933 when the Austrian parliament committed suicide Hitler's intentions regarding Gleichsaltung was already known—the very first paragraph of *Mein Kampf* clearly avowed what this German from Austria considered to be the destiny for himself and his people It is in opposition to this that Dr Dollfuss stood The Nazis were gaining adherents in Austria Flushed with victory in Germany, they thought of carrying this poor Austrian republic by storm But for their usual method of violence Austria would have been theirs In 1932 Austria was probably eighty per cent pro-Anschluss By the end of 1933 it was at least sixty per cent against Reason the Hitler Terror The Heimwehr an armed semi Fascist body at the time disapproved of the Nazi personnel The socialists of Vienna its rival must never of course surrender to Hitler The Jews of Austria knew what fate awaited them if the Nazis won the day Average Austrian was a good Catholic and must fight Nazi paganism Austria and Hungary, both again were in favour of a restoration of the Habsburgs To all these Anschluss with Nazi Germany was now unthinkable But Dr Dollfuss was not eager to cement the anti Nazi forces of Austria in one opposition Though not altogether happy in his relation with the Heimwehr of Prince Starhemberg and Major Fey (who recently committed suicide with his family on the Nazis absorbing Austria), the Austrian anti socialists Dollfuss was bent on crushing the socialists of Vienna as early as possible The Heimwehr 'forced the hands of Dollfuss who by his drastic measures provoked the Austrian socialists into an armed resistance in February, 1934 and then ruthlessly suppressed them by the use of artillery with a loss of many hundred lives" (*A Short History of International Affairs*—Gathorne Hardy) A bulwark against Nazism was thus destroyed Some respite for Dollfuss as against Hitler was of course gained by the *demarche* of the Great Powers Britain France and Italy, declaring to maintain Austrian independence But in July the Austrian Nazis planned the coup which failed except for the elimination of Dr Dollfuss a victim to the Nazi gunmen The indignation of the powers was a check on official German pronouncement Signor Mussolini went so far as to move troops to the Austrian frontier in defence of Austria The *Putsch* thus ended Austria now found Dr Kurt von Schuschnigg a devout Catholic, as its Chancellor Prince Starhemberg was next pushed out in 1936 for his indiscretion in congratulating Mussolini on his Abyssinian success The Heimwehr was also cleaned up and dissolved and incorporated into the Government militia A Fatherland Front was organised instead Meanwhile, Hitler and Mussolini were being drawn nearer by the German refusal of sanctions against Italy in the Abyssinian war, and, as the German boycott was killing Austria an agreement in July 1936 between Schuschnigg and Herr von Papen the German Minister to Austria recognizing Austrian independence came as a relief to all The interlude lasted till the Berchtesgaden meeting in February last And now the Nazi drama begins on the Austrian stage with the Fuehrer as the Fuehrer of Austria

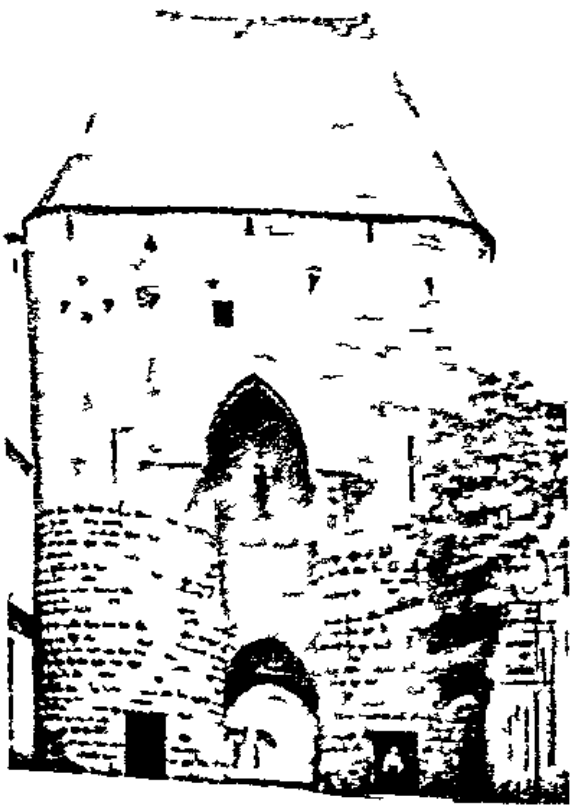
Austria under the Swastika is not a happy thing to contemplate Even without the reports that pour forth speaking of the plight of the Jews of the Catholic and Fatherland Front leaders of the number of suicides of the arrest of figures like Dr Freud Dr Neumann the Archbishop of Salzburg one can well imagine the conditions that prevail there now under the Nazis But that an Anschluss was the only solution for this small State every body even now must recognize Austria's fate is indissolubly connected with that of Germany concluded Mr Gunther even in 1936 the only eventual path of Austria is in the German orbit And it is not impossible if Austria long an obstacle separating the two Fascist States may become a bridge connecting them It is so now

The Nazi Coup and its Reaction

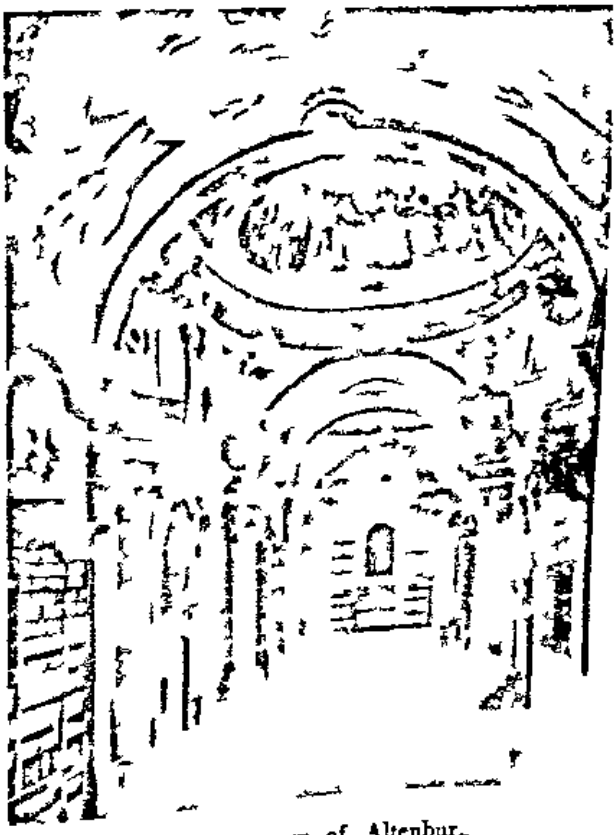
Europe is at the moment reacting to Hitler's steps It produced a 'magical effect' in French politics where the usual Cabinet crisis vanished M Blum of the Front Populaire finding himself at the head of a sort of National Cabinet supported by all parties of



City and Castle of Salzburg



A City gate in Lower Austria



Library Monastery of Altenburg



Fe oe n he Ca h d al of C k



Mona ery of Al enburg



Na onal Library V enna

Right and Left The problem of the franc remains to be tackled, but France is agreed on the speeding and expansion of the defence programme A prompt overture was made to Mussolini, the former Lord High Protector of Austrian Chancellor, for concerted action to restore its independence Italy refused it the Fuehrer had already telegraphed to Il Duce reminding how he stood by the Fascist dictator at the time of the Abyssinian war He assured that he had guaranteed the Brenner Frontier "That decision will never be touched or questioned" Mussolini agreed Perhaps he expects in future some consideration for this in the shape of German support for Italy in her claims to an additional advantage on the Mediterranean sea board against British or other interests Britain pledged to Austrian independence, coolly and dispassionately considered the situation With Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary and the present Cabinet in power the Nazis are assured of that no doubt The Premier in the Commons, after stating that the government remained in the closest touch with the French Government, said

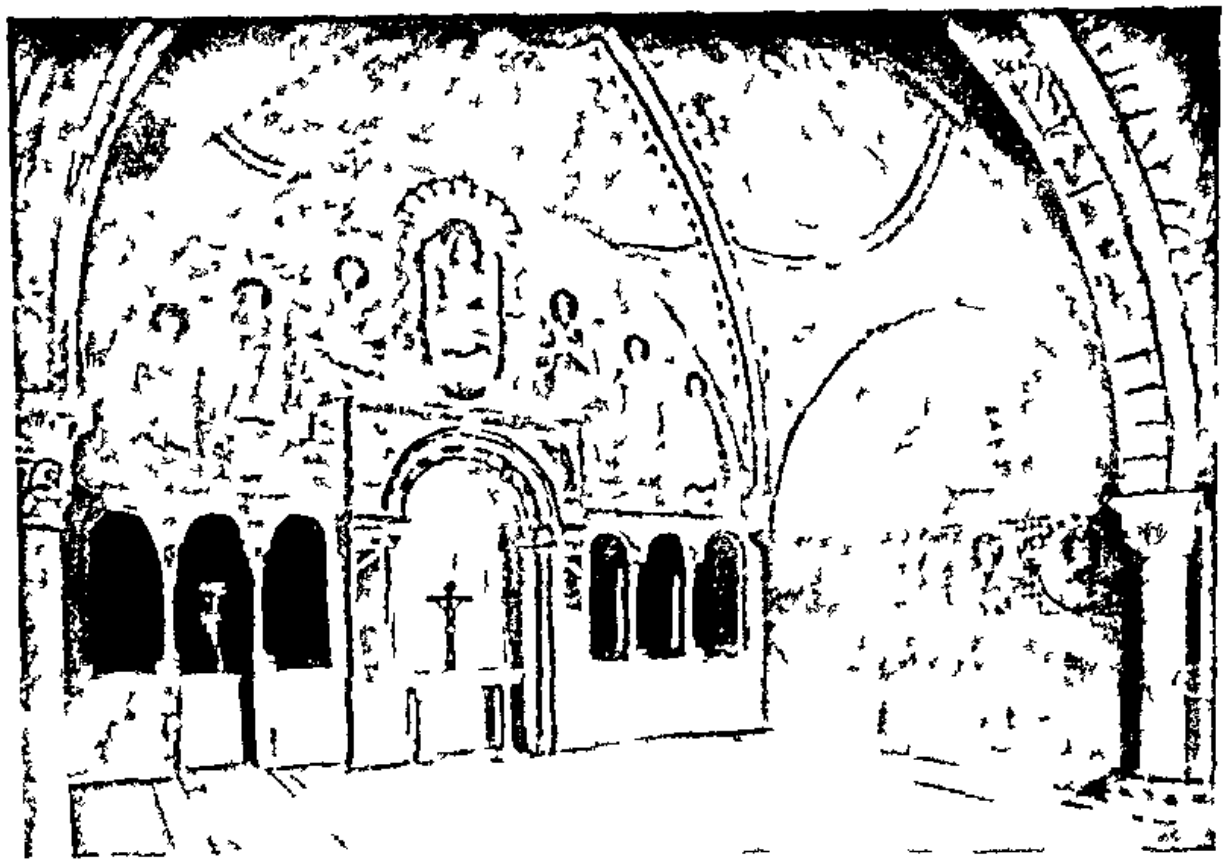
"It seems to us that the methods adopted throughout call for the severest condemnation and have administered a shock to all who are entrusted with the preservation of European peace It followed that what had passed could not fail to have prejudiced the hope of the British Government of removing misunderstandings between nations and prompting international co-operation" (*Reuter*)

The policy of the British Government is indicated to be no more commitment in Europe, and, therefore, no further guarantee for Czechoslovakia or any other small powers against the Nazis or Fascists A stronger defence plan was decided on with a bigger air arm It has been long whispered though stoutly denied, that Britain would give a free hand to Germany in Central Europe for an agreement—whatever be its value—with Herr Hitler who is to forego his claims to the return of the German colonies May be the Austrian affair may prove to be useful to strike a bargain now on the line, if it is intended

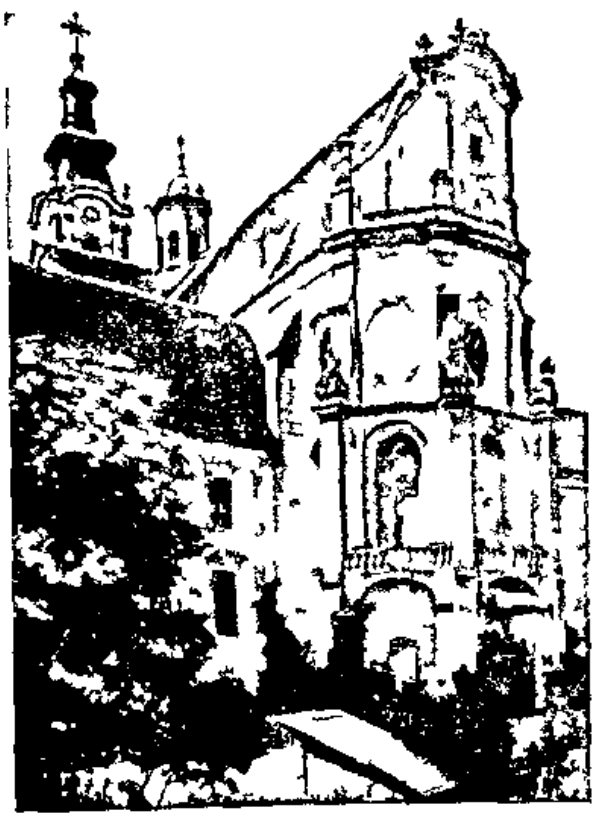
Mitteleuropa

The shadow of Hitler has fallen on Mitteleuropa for a long time It now darkens the Central Europe and Danubian regions Germany, we are reminded by a writer in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, "cherished dreams of a German controlled *Mitteleuropa* long before the advent of National Socialism which has but intensified the campaign, and by reason of its racial doctrines, provided it with a new and formidable technique The eventual aim is the Union of all the German-speaking peoples of Europe in the Third Reich This Greater Germany, while avoiding the absorption of non-German peoples, would reduce the Czechs to political impotence, and would bring Hungary and the Balkans into the German sphere of influence

So Czechoslovakia stands perhaps next in the Nazi programme of German Expansionism 'An autonomous Sudetenland within a federated Czechoslovakia' was the talk so long It may be made a reality soon by the Nazis Mr Chamberlain in the Commons statement referred to the present German attitude in regard to the country 'He said that he was informed that Marshal Goering on March 11 had given a general assurance to the Czechoslovak Minister in Berlin that it would be the earnest endeavour of the German Government to improve German-Czech relations The same day the Czechoslovak Minister was assured by Baron von Neurath that Germany considered herself bound by the German Czechoslovak Arbitration Convention of October 1925"—(*Reuter*) One would do an injustice to the Premier if one holds that he believed in that Nazi profession or asked others to believe it Czechoslovakia too knows that well enough, and already the Nazi temper is rising there Its hope is centred on itself and on the Czecho-French and Czecho Russian Defensive Pacts The pledge was repeated now by France M Hodja, the Czech Premier, some time ago replied hard to the Fuehrer, but he was striving equally for appeasement of the three millions of Sudeten Germans at home and for consolidation in the Danubian The task becomes harder after the recent Nazi success M Hodja wanted his agreement with the German minority—the "German Activists"—to work, but would in no case tolerate any Berlin dictation or accept the proposals put forward by the Sudetendeusch Party, with the approval of Berlin, for granting the German minority autonomous status within a federated Czechoslovakia The plan of that Party is or was,—for the plan may change according to the changing Nazi temper, whatever assurance Dr Goering might give,—that "all nationalities in the republic should be formed into autonomous administrative bodies," the relation between the Sudeten Germans the Germans of the Reich is to be based on the principle of the *Volksgemeinschaft* and an approach to the *Fuehrer Prinzep* made in the election of its speaker of the Presidium (*Nineteenth Century and After*—Feb 1938)



Frescoes in the Cathedral of Gurk



Monastery of Altenburg



National Library Vienna

Right and Left The problem of the fran remains to be tackled, but France is agreed on the speeding and expansion of the defence pro gramme A prompt overture was made to Mussolini, the former Lord High Protector of Austrian Chancellor, for concerted action to restore its independence Italy refused it th Fuehrer had already telegraphed to Il Duce reminding how he stood by the Fascist dictator at the time of the Abyssinian war He assured that he had guaranteed the Brenner Frontier "That decision will never be touched or questioned" Mussolini agreed Perhaps he expec in future some consideration for th in the shape of German support for Italy in her claims to an additional advantage on the Mediterranean sea board against British or other interests Britain pledged to Austrian independence, coolly and dispassionately considered the situation With Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary and the present Cabinet in power the Nazis are assured of that no doubt The Premier in the Commons, after stating that the government remained in the closest touch with the French Government, said

"It seems to us that the methods adopted through out call for the severest condemnation and have admin istered a shock to all who are entrusted with the preservation of European peace It followed that what had passed could not fail to have prejudiced the hope of the British Government of removing misunderstandings between nations and prompting international co-operation" (*Reuter*)

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Czechoslovakia and Germany, "should act in permanent friendship and unity of aim 'zu gleicher Hand im Donauraume' Broadly speaking" pointed out the writer in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, it means a community of interests and an approximation of the German and Czech policies in the Danubian regions Theoretically it would mean an equal partnership But as between a State of 66 millions and a State of 15 millions such an equality could not exist It would inevitably mean that Czechoslovakia would have to serve the interests of Germanism in the conduct of her foreign policy This would create a state of affairs in which the entire present European equilibrium would be radically changed and in consequence Czechoslovakia reduced from substance to shadow"

This is the very possibility—or certainty?—that the Czechoslovaks have to face now The last of the 'German Activist' Minister in the Cabinet has resigned and that in spite of the concessions that the State is making to its German minority Nazi aims and ambitions rule now the Sudeten Germans completely What helps can the State count on?

Of the allies of Czechoslovakia France has responded Of Soviet Russia too it may be sure M Litvinoff called for a conference of Powers, which, we doubt, will never sit Again, for the moment Stalin is busy 'liquidating' the Old Guards It would be an amusing account were it not so tragic Confessions and revelations and self condemnation of the repentant accused, of the Left and Right are a peculiarity of the Soviet trials These however are being repeated too long to carry any conviction with the initiated or uninitiated Even the Independent Labour Party of Britain came out with a statement condemning the 'regime of blood' The Revolt of the Marxist Angels is proving what Anatole France depicted in another connection The Revolution is being consolidated—Stalin would maintain and so all other good communists And by the hard and cruel logic of events it also means perhaps that the Revolution is being betrayed, as Trotzky from his exile cries For ordinary men the old truth suffices—'Revolution eats up its children'

Any way, it is clear, that everything is not so sound within Soviet Russia, and a first class war perhaps will show that in spite of the biggest army and the biggest air forces the Soviet has foundered as the old Czarist Russia did In the present crisis naturally the Soviet voice is not heard so loudly today

Of the Central European and Danubian powers, Yugoslavia stands in a peculiar position She is at once a Central European, a Balkan and a Mediterranean State" The States of these regions set some value on the friendship of this little power, and, M Stoyadinovich the Premier and Foreign Minister, had had successful deals in economic and other concessions from Mussolini on the Adriatic Coast had friendly economic links with Germany, and retains the French alliance and British friendship, and so far announces no bloc

In Rumania, Goga's Rumanianism and anti Semitism has suffered a sharp decline because of the Nazi method of doing away with the Soviet Ambassador The present regime is equally authoritarian, but probably unlike Goga's no great admirer of the Nazi's

There may be an attempt to reorient the policy in the Little Entente following the Nazi triumphs France is no longer looked upon as the essential protector for these small powers An opinion is being freely aired in European press that "in view of the commanding position of Germany and the re-exposed weakness of France, the Little Entente had better regard itself as dead and buried and its members had better revalue their alliances with France" (*Reuter*) This 'flight from France' is not a remote possibility for the Little Entente Powers

The events in Central Europe have of course loomed large in the month These are pregnant with big possibilities for Europe and the world Yet, mighty and significant events are going on in other parts There is crisis in every corner Poland settled a border quarrel with Lithuania by the Hitlerian method of an ultimatum, which made the Baltic State reopen the frontiers closed after Poland's seizure of Vilna in 1921 It is another triumph of 'peaceful method' And, it may open the Leningrad road for Poland and its friend Germany A harried world, indeed, can hardly keep pace with our daily crop of 'menaces' The big victories of the Spanish Fascists under Franco over the Spanish Republicans may prove to be a turning point in the Spanish Civil War France is already alarmed at this possibility and the consequent weakening of her position on the Mediterranean Britain may look forward in unision with France to reach an agreement with Franco to keep the sea clear for an Empire route In China Japanese victories are as expected big and great

These political thunder-clouds naturally darken human horizon more than others But a proper perspective of the world affairs

as they are growing more and more complicated would be misled if we forget that every nation big or small, is busy with an armament programme which may blow up the civilization and under the weight of all this, the economic foundation of this civilization at any rate may give way Dr Tagore declares the doubts and suspicions, as well as the hopes and prayers of thousands of his fellowmen when he writes in the *Manchester Guardian*

"I can hardly imagine that the catastrophe can be avoided, since all the European Powers are engaged in paving the path of mutual annihilation In spite of this I hope the misfortune and suffering if inevitable, will not exceed the limits of retribution, for there is much in European civilization worthy of cherishing"

European civilization, we should remember, is practically the modern civilization of all world It is to be hoped that the contending forces within it that are about to come to a clash soon rather than late, will leave it at a higher and stronger level, and with old and obsolete forces shed off, open up a new vista for humanity for free and noble growth Is a catastrophe necessary for that?

G H

AN INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGIST

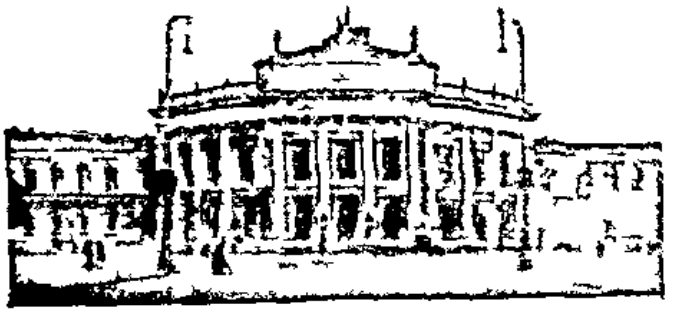
Dr B K. Chatterjee has recently come back to India after taking the D.Sc. (State Doctorate) from the University of Paris in Pre-historic Archaeology and Anthropology Before proceeding to Europe Dr Chatterjee worked for several years in the Anthropological Laboratory of the Indian Museum Calcutta under Dr B S Guha and published an important memoir on the Comparative Anthropometry of the Brahmins of Bihar which received high commendations from European Anthropologists In Paris he worked in the Laboratory of Prof Paul Rivet in the Natural History Museum and under Profs Marcelle Boule and Henri Breuil in the Institute of Human Palaeontology He worked also for a little while under Prof Otto Schlaginhaufen at Zurich and Prof Th Mollison at Munich

Besides receiving theoretical training in the latest methods of Pre-historic Archaeology and Anthropology Dr Chatterjee took part in excavations of Palaeolithic sites at La Quina, Dordgone and Charante under Prof Henri Martin and in Abbeville under Prof Vayson de Praddenne He spent also one summer in the excavation of Neolithic and Roman age sites in Maiden Castle in England under Dr Wheeler

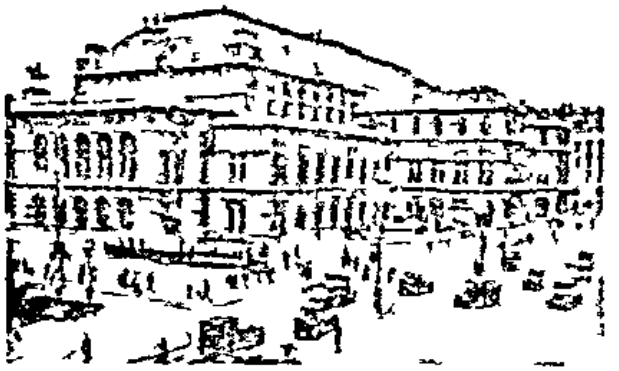
Dr Chatterjee is the first Indian to have received such high training in Prehistoric Archaeology and to have actually taken part in excavation of several important sites from the Palæolithic to the Roman times under such world famous Archaeologists as the late Henri Martin Prof Vayson de Praddenne and Dr Wheeler



Dr B K Chatterjee M.sc (Cal) D sc (Paris)



The Burgtheater



The Opera Vienna

MUSICAL LIFE IN AUSTRIA IN 1937

By Frau HEDDY FUCHS-MILLER (Austria)

GREAT achievements of the past bring obligations. If to these are joined living forces of the present then the prospects for the future are favourable throughout. And so—one cannot repeat this often enough—there are still remarkably strong and vigorous forces alive in the musical life of Austria today. To be sure they are no longer always to be found in the magnificent opera palaces in the sumptuous music halls; much that is new and promising takes place in a small modest room but the love for the cause is all the greater!

Externally the state opera house is still the centre of the musical events. Internal *difficulties—the one all too many guests will* have to find some solution—has not succeeded in suppressing entirely the desire for new achievement. And so some novelties were heard: Wolf Ferrari *Schmuck der Madonna* Baumgartner *Rossini in Neapel* the *Sulne* by Wenzl Traunfels Marco Frane *Fremde Frau* and finally Weinberger *Wallenstein* and Respighi's *Fiamme*. A proud number—if we think of past years. To this must be added more than one new production to round off the picture. Here only the *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* under Furtwängler and Pfitzner *Palestrina* under Bruno Walter can be mentioned. The Volksoper (people's opera) too introduced trial Saturday afternoon operas which found a friendly reception. Under Paul Comka an international opera society performed works by Milhaud Ibert Rossini and Monteverdi operas were also given in a Theater für 49 (theatre for 49). Bittner's *Höllisches Gold* Reznicek's *Spiel oder Ernst* may be mentioned. The Volk hochschule (People University) Ottakring has arranged a studio for opera and the Vereinigung (society) der Lustigen actes of Mozart *Marriage of Figaro* in various theatre halls in a kind of wandering stage. If we add



Wallenstein"

to this studio performances arranged by the Ravag (Vienna's broadcasting company) under Oswald Kabasta (for instance Cornelius *Cid*) and mention further the free air perform

faithful to their well earned reputation last year they had the opportunity of showing their artistic ability abroad It is most welcome to note that all these societies devote a large



Joseph Haydn

portion of their program to modern contemporary production

The Vienna Singerknaben occupy a special position and last year too they were able to consolidate their reputation abroad Altogether greater attention is beginning to be attached to boys choirs a fine example of this is the Sangerknaben von Wienerwald who are at home in Modling near Vienna and were also most successful on tour

The various Jubilees which had to be celebrated gave opportunity for music of all kinds The gratest celebration was the one to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the Gesellschaft der musikfreunde which took place with fitting solemnity and brilliance For the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde have been invaluable and unique furtherers of the concert life and musical development of Vienna and the preservation of valuable music documents in their archives among other things 130 of Beethovens letters are preserved there—is of great importance And so the festival concerts the series of which was opened by Bruno Walter conducting Mozart's G Minor symphony and in which Kabasta conducted Bruckners VIII and Furtwangle Haydn's 'Schopfung' were veritable sensations in the musical life of Vienna Backhaus with Brams B minor concerto Casal with the Haydn concerto, the philharmonic and symphonic orchestras all did their bit to make the whole a success We will also take this opportunity of mentioning the Singverein and the Orchesterverein of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde which consisting of amateur have achieved much of value during the last decades and which are also ready to welcome new production This was confirmed once again by a performance of the Requiem by Vittorio Giannini under Kabasta

Other celebrations were made for the 150th anniversary of Glucks death for the memory of Michael Haydn Franz Listz Carl Prohaska as well as for the living artists Emil v Sauer, Alexander Wunderer Bernhard Paumgartner and others

And now we must turn to the musical festivals of last year They began according to tradition in the Vienna festival weeks, in June The festival weeks closed with a magnificent performance of Wagners Ring conducted by Knappertsbusch in the state opera Shortly



Mozart

after the Upper Austrian Bruckner festival was celebrated which under the name of "Danube festival weeks 1937" can boast for the third time of a really brilliant success Linz, St Florian and Steyr were the places where Kabasta, Ormandy and Weisbach con

ducted works by Bruckner Beethoven and Schubert and also and this must be suitably emphasized works of present day composers quite the contrary to Salzburg which seems to avoid most anxiously all modern production

Salzburg once again attracted thousands of people (50 000 in all) for whom the unforgettable magic of the landscape was combined with the unforgettable magic of the performances to form an entity Once again the opera beginning with Fidelio and ending with the Magic Flute the orchestral concerts the cathedral concerts under Josef Messner the serenades under Bernhard Paumgartner etc proved most impressive experiences and offered such a varied picture that it is difficult to pick out individual achievements all the more so as the whole world was full of the successes which for instance Knappertsbusch had with Rosenkavalier and Electra Toscanini with Fidelio or Falstaff or the Magic Flute and Bruno Walter with Gluck's Orpheus with Don Giovanni and Nozze di Figaro An achievement of particular note was the IX symphony of Beethoven with Furtwangler This festival summer added to its triumphs a concert with Lehmann—Bruno Walter two evenings of the Strasburg Cathedral choir as well as a few Mozart performances—in one of which Mozart's own piano lent its melancholy tones—and it led on almost without transition into the musical season in Vienna

Though the present description is of necessity extremely limited and much of importance has had to be left out yet those who are interested will be able to appreciate the signs of varied life in the world of music to realize how in spite of limited means friends and lovers of music are doing all in their power to further and develop it May the future bring full success to their efforts

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Srimati Kamala Roy passed her Matriculation examinations from the Bethune Collegiate School at Calcutta in 1932 The same year she was married early in May to Dr Dhirendra N Roy Professor in the University of the Philippines Manila and went to Manila with him At Manila she immediately entered the University of the Philippines and began to specialise in science In 1936 she obtained the B Sc degree with a major in Botany In this University she took some special graduate courses in algæ under the instruction of Prof H H Bartlett Chairman of the Department of Botany, University of Michigan U S A who came there as an exchange professor Next she visited with her husband China and Japan and finally came to Europe At Paris she began her post graduate researches in the cytology of algæ under the guidance of Prof Pierre Allorge Director of the Laboratoire de Cryptogamie of the National Museum of Natural History and President of the French Botanical Association She has recently finished writing her thesis It has been accepted for her Doctorate degree (D Sc) at the University of Montpellier The title of her thesis is *Recherches sur la Structure du Noyau Quiescent et sur les Mitoses Somatiques de Quelques Fucacees* It has been published in the *Revue Algologique* Paris Mrs Roy has also been elected a member of the Botanical Association of France



Dr Kamala Roy D Sc (Montpellier)

Srimati Kamala Debi B A daughter of Sj Asutosh Bagchi Assistant to the Controller of Examinations was awarded the Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal by the Calcutta University for her Bengali essay on the Life of Sir



Srimati Kamala Deb



Mrs Kamala Janklanh

Surendranath Banerjea the subject was selected by the Syndicate and was open only to lady graduates of the University Srimati Kamala Debi when an undergraduate student of the Vidyasagar College in 1936 was awarded the Basanta Gold Medal for 1935 for her essay on Health Education Through Schools in Bengal which was published in *The Modern Review* of October 1936

She passed the B A Examination with Distinction in 1937 from the Vidyasagar College

Mrs Kamala Janklandi ba bt (Bom) td (Dublin) the Karnatak Educationist whose services were lent by Bombay Government to H H the Aga Khan Education Board Zanzibar has returned to India by ss *Tarrea* recently after her successful work there for two years

The sixth biennial Conference of the National Council of Women was held at Daryaganj Delhi during the first week of March In the absence of Her Highness the Maharani of Travancore Mrs Brij Lal Nehru presided

Lady Linlithgow in a message advocated that the prevention and cure of Tuberculosis is a matter that might well take a foremost place in the activities of the N C W I and urged the increase of Purdah Clubs where girls and women could play Tennis and other outdoor games and have classes of physical exercise in the open air

On the following days several important matters were discussed under the presidentship of Mrs Manek Lal Premchand and following resolutions were adopted

(*a*) A protest against the existing discrimination in Hindu law against the right of women

(*b*) A recommendation to take immediate steps to provide for adequate machinery to make the Sarda Act effective

(*c*) A recommendation that Provincial Committees should approach their respective Governments to formulate schemes of vocational education for adult women and to urge that lady teachers should be employed in Municipal and District Board schools The Conference further urged that immediate steps should be taken by the Government of India to abolish all recognised brothels in order to prevent traffic in women

Notes

Appeal To Governments To Lift Ban On Communist Party In India

An appeal, signed by some two hundred Congress and Labour leaders belonging to various parts of India—mostly to Bengal, urging the provincial governments specially those run by the Congress to lift the ban on the communist party in India, has been recently issued and published in some daily papers

As published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Town Edition, March 20, 1938) and *Advance* (Town Edition, March 21, 1938), it runs as follows

The Congress Ministries in seven provinces have removed the ban on all *bona fide* political and nationalist organizations which had been suppressed by the bureaucracy, but the ban on the Communist Party of India and its Provincial and District branches continues. A prosecution of two young men on the charge of assisting the operation of this body is proceeding in the United Provinces In Bengal several young men are being tried under the same charge and the provisions of repressive measures originally designed for the suppression of terrorist activity are now freely used both in Bengal and in the Punjab against the Communists

It is well known that the Communists or the Communist Party do not contemplate the *immediate* organization of violence This can be proved from their writings as well as from the judgments in the several prosecutions launched against them in the past They may believe that a radical change of the present order of society and the establishment of socialism can be achieved only through the organization of the toilers on the basis of the principle of class struggle *and that in this process mass violence will have to be used against those who forcibly resist the change*

We consider that the Communists should have a right to propagate their views like any other *bona fide* political party This right is guaranteed in other democratic countries like England France and America All honest persons who love liberty of thought whether they agree with Communism or not concede that in a civilized country the Communists ought to be allowed to exist as a party and enjoy the freedom to propagate their views. Even the Allahabad High Court in its judgment in the famous Meerut Case laid down that it was not criminal to hold Communist views. The guaranteeing of civil liberties requires that every citizen should not only be free to hold any political views he considers sound but also should have the freedom to persuade others to his way of thinking Freedom of opinion and of organization is an elementary civil liberty the basis of our modern civilization, the guarantee of its safety and any further progress. We, therefore consider that the Communists in India should have a right to exist as an open political party just as in other democratic countries We are of opinion that the Congress Ministries who are commanded in the election manifesto of our great National organization, the Indian National Congress, to restore the civil liberties of the people, should immediately lift the ban on the Provincial section of the Communist Party and pass resolutions in the Legislative Assemblies demanding from the Central Government to lift the ban from the Central All India organization of the Party its Central Committee

In doing this the Congress Ministers should be taking another bold step towards freeing the political life in our country from the shackles of imperialist repression and forging links of solidarity with a brother party which is struggling for the complete National Independence of our country" [Italics ours.—Ed., *M R*]

We are certainly for the lifting of the ban on the communist party in India, for as a party it has not done, nor does it propose to do, anything unlawful But we are sorry we must criticize the appeal We can only hope that no communist has drawn it up

Every individual and every organization should undoubtedly have the rights asked for in the appeal printed above, provided that the exercise of these rights is not incompatible with the object of the State in the country *in which the individual and the organization carry on their work Therefore, in the* abstract we think that the communist party in India should have these rights Some of the laws in British India are unduly restrictive and repressive All public spirited persons should try to get these laws repealed or suitably amended In the meantime those who feel hampered in their legitimate, if not also 'lawful,' activities owing to the existence of these laws, can only go on if they feel they must, and take the consequences

We are at one with socialists and communists in their fight with poverty, though we may differ as to the means and methods and

the spirit in which the fight should be carried on We also agree that land and the natural mineral, vegetable, and animal wealth of the country should be nationalized adequate compensation being paid to the present owners wherever necessary

But we do not think there ought to be any separate socialist or communist party in a subject country The first duty of all who love the land in which they live as subjects is to combine to attain the full status of citizens India cannot become a communist or socialist state all at once or before she has become an autonomous or independent state Moreover the masses in India are at present far too ignorant and backward to understand socialism and communism with all their implications

Congressmen socialists and communists are all struggling to make India free Hence socialists and communists should all join the Congress and make a combined effort with Congressmen to win freedom for India As for their other ideals if they can convert the majority of Congressmen to their views their purpose will be better served than if they worked separately

As regards the appeal printed above and the agitation which is being carried on in Bengal for the lifting of the ban on the communist party, we are sorry we must say that, so far as Bengal is concerned, these are a singularly unfortunate example of the art of doing a thing at the wrong time and in the wrong way and explaining it in the wrong language"

As to the "time,' Mahatma Gandhi has not yet concluded his conversations with the Governor and the Ministry of Bengal relating to the release of detenus and political prisoners—we write this on the 23rd March, 1938 It is unnecessary to explain in detail that negotiations for the release of these political sufferers carried on by the high priest of non violence on the understanding that the persons to be released do not believe in violence, and an agitation carried on simultaneously for the 'legalising" of the communist party—a party which in its stronghold abroad has not been famous for non-violence, cannot consistently be parts of the same strategic or tactical move

As to the "way" the right way should be to take the advice of Mahatma Gandhi in all such matters and be guided by it Nothing should have been or should be done which might or may even indirectly stand in the way of the fulfilment of the mission of his visit in Bengal

As regards the "language," the appeal says 'the Communist Party do not contemplate *the immediate organisation of violence*" It is further said, "*that in this process* [of establishment of socialism] *mass violence will have to be used against those who forcibly resist the change*" (These words in italics do not occur in the version printed in the *Hindusthan Standard*, Town Edition March 18, 1938) While complimenting the writers of the appeal on their frankness, we are constrained to observe that those who do not contemplate the immediate organisation of violence may not be against its subsequent organisation As regards the use of mass violence "against those who forcibly resist the change," the resisters may be either private parties or the State itself If the resisters be private parties, the Communists of India should seek the proper legal remedy, if available, they cannot expect the State to allow them to take the law into their own hands, for the 'legalising' of the party by the State on the strength of this appeal would be indirectly sanctioning such procedure on their part If the resisters be the State itself, how can the State, by 'legalising' the party on the strength of the appeal agree in advance to the use of mass violence against itself?

All Congressmen are committed to non-violence, at least as a policy Therefore it is their duty to scan every word of every statement or appeal affecting or involving the policy or principle of non-violence, before signing it, if they are asked to do so

Socialism and Communism In India

In the foregoing note we have not discussed the principles of socialism and communism Perhaps we are not competent to do so But we may be permitted to write a few words of casual comment Before doing so we shall quote a few sentences from a "highly provocative book" *Heredity and Politics*, by Professor J B S Haldane "one of the most outstanding and challenging personalities in science and politics to day'

This book was published in England on the 8th February last and has been just received

In the first chapter, devoted to an examination of "The Biology of Inequality," Professor Haldane writes

> I wish to examine certain statements regarding human equality and inequality some of which have been used to justify not only ordinary policy but even wars and revolutions.
>
> We will *first consider the doctrine of the equality* of man I will quote from a great revolutionary document of the eighteenth century, the American Declaration of Independence which was published in 1776 and is

mainly due to Jefferson—"We hold these truths to be *self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they* are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" This or a very similar doctrine of equality was important for the French Revolution What did it mean in practice? *The thirteenth and* fifteenth amendments to the United States' constitution were needed to abolish negro slavery and racial discrimination in the matter of the franchise For whites it meant a very considerable measure of equality before the law, and it has, I think meant a somewhat *greater* equality of opportunity than exists in England but it did not give rise to any systematic attempt to bring about economic equality"

Coming to more recent times the author observes

Modern revolutionary theory is much more modest in its statements regarding equality though in practice it goes somewhat farther in that direction "The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes Any demand for *equality which goes beyond that of necessity* passes into absurdity" So wrote Engels,* and the passage was considerably amplified by Lenin Modern revolutionary theory looks forward to two types of society Socialist society in which each citizen works according to his *ability and receives* in accordance with the amount of work done and Communist society in which each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs There is a certain approximation towards Socialist society in the Soviet Union, but Communist society remains an ideal. Neither of these theories is equalitarian. Stalin in a report to the seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. said "Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity either in the period of Socialism or the period of Communism" Further so far as I know, official Communist theory includes no clear statement of the *origins of inequality other than economic.*

Now although Jefferson regarded the truth of human equality to be self-evident there is remarkably little positive evidence for the Jeffersonian theory, and its interest is, I think mainly historical

The Soviet Union has possessed and exercised sovereign power for a good many years It has exercised this power most ruthlessly, never hesitating to imprison, banish, or execute *those who stood in the way of the realization* of its ideal, whatever their number Yet, we are told *in the foregoing* passage by *Professor* Haldane in his latest work published less than two months ago that, "*there is a certain approximation towards Socialist society in the Soviet Union*'—only a certain approximation, not full realization! As for a Communist society, why even in the Soviet Union, that holy of holies of Communists, it still remains only an ideal! We do not for these reasons say that no one in India should cherish socialistic or communistic ideals—and we know that, even if we were to say so, our opinion would not influence Indian socialists and communists at all What we say is that the first duty of politically-minded Indians of all schools is to concentrate all their efforts on winning freedom for India When freedom has been won or all but won, different groups may try to remodel society and the State according to their ideals

In the modern Indian languages of Sanskritic origin, the word Communist is generally translated as *samyavadi* That word connotes that communists are for human equality Yet we have seen that *neither socialist theory nor communist theory is equalitarian* and that Stalin himself has said that "Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements *are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or the period of Communism*" Engels wrote that "any demand for equality which goes beyond that [*viz*, "the abolition of classes"] of necessity passes into absurdity" But the idea underlying the word *samyavadi* is that there is to be equality, economic, political, and what not *Our masses are completely* in the dark as to economic, political and social *theories, and even our educated classes do not* possess much up to-date and definite information *on these subjects Hence, the declamatory* preaching of communism under the name *samyavad among the former and among the* latter also to a great extent is likely to raise expectations of a coming equalitarian Utopia which must remain a dream

There are people in all countries, including ours, who will not listen to commonsense unless one quotes 'high' authority for what is said Hence we have been obliged to bring in Haldane, Engels, Marx, Lenin and Stalin But ordinary experience and commonsense show that, not to speak of work requiring genius, expert *knowledge, or special skill, even in fields of* unskilled labour the amounts of work done in a stated period of time by different persons differ to a considerable extent If several persons are set to breaking stones or bricks, using the spade or the axe driving the plough, or copying from manuscripts or books, it will be found that they have not done the same amount of work during the same period and the quality of the work done will not be the same in the *case of the different workers* Therefore, they cannot justly claim the same remuneration, though *all may be entitled to a minimum living* wage The man who does more and better work may generously forgo his claim to higher wages

*Friedrich Engels, the socialist, "is best known as the friend colleague and continuator of Marx" *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*

in favour of less competent persons and be satisfied with a living wage But that is his generosity, inferior workers cannot demand any share in his just earnings

This is not a plea for paying any man a hundred, five hundred a thousand or ten thousand times as high a salary as another man gets,—enormous differences in salaries are unreasonable and unjust What we are trying to show is that complete equality of remuneration is neither natural nor just even in the case of ordinary unskilled work of various kinds And the scale of remuneration to be just must be different in the case of different kinds of work requiring varying degrees of expert knowledge special skill or genius Even in Soviet Russia the authorities have been obliged to pay some workers a hundred or five hundred times the wages paid to ordinary labourers in order to secure the services of experts and specialists

The Communist Fascist Struggle

In Europe the Communist-Fascist struggle has been for more than a year very fierce and ferocious in Spain and promises to be more widespread and intense in course of time spreading to other countries Fascism is in the ascendant now Except in Spain nowhere else has its challenge been accepted Britain is neither fascist nor communist—perhaps it has a soft corner in its heart for fascism But it will not take up the challenge of either party unless and until its own interests are directly affected Soviet Russia wants to take up the challenge of fascism and has recently done a little kite flying to ascertain if it can expect to have any allies Nazi Germany has conquered and annexed Austria without actual fighting though this conquest has been followed by treks and numerous 'suicides' Czechoslovakia may be the next victim

The communists have got the upper hand in Russia by bloodshed and it is by continuous purges involving very many executions that they are able to maintain their position In Spain slaughter is still going on In other European countries wherever there is a Communist-Fascist struggle violence is in evidence But nowhere in Europe is a clear and decisive victory for either party in sight

Potential Communist Fascist Struggle In India

In India there is a socialist communist party, but no fascist party yet Perhaps the capitalists and land holders (variously called zamindars, taluqdars, etc) have not yet become sufficiently dynamic We are entirely against the enactment of the communist fascist tragedy on the Indian stage Our imagination recoils at the thought of its possibility—perhaps because we are timid, not cast in the heroic mould But should there be such a struggle in India, there is sure to be violence and bloodshed, as foreshadowed in Bihar and Cawnpore And in such a struggle, at least in the beginning the fascists are likely to be better able to command up-to-date arms than the socialists communists In Europe the struggle is still going on without any bright prospect for either party If that is the case in European countries, which are all independent, socialists communists in subject India cannot expect to have a walk-over In Europe the communist-fascist conflict is a two-party fight In subject India, it will be a three-party fight fascism and imperialism being on one side and socialism (or communism) being on the other The latter therefore, cannot have a walk-over

But is such a struggle unavoidable, inevitable, in India? The Congress is the biggest and the most powerful popular organization in India The expression "slave mentality" or 'servile mentality" is more often on the lips of Congressmen than on those of others when they want to condemn their opponents We humbly venture to think that, if anybody thinks that for the economic and political salvation of India a class struggle on the European model is the only way, that India needs must have communism of the European or Russian sort, he does not betray a non servile mentality Why must we copy Europe in everything? For winning independence Gandhiji has found in *Satyagraha* a non violent moral substitute for war and Congressmen have accepted his method If there be a non violent substitute for war between country and country, between Britain and India can there not be a non-violent substitute for struggles between classes in the same country? The critic may here object and say 'You are taking for granted that class struggle in India will be attended with violence but it may be non violent' We shall be glad indeed if it be non violent But the signs point in a different direction Any struggle on the European model between Haves and Not-Haves is likely to have features of the European type

Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders have on many occasions arbitrated between Labour and Capital with satisfactory results May there not be a national board

with Gandhiji at its head to mediate between the Haves and Not Haves and to lay down the principles and policy to be followed in all class struggles?

The communal decision of the British Government whatever its intention, has accentuated and aggravated communal strifes. Communal strifes *are* a kind of class struggle. Congress proposes to find a substitute for the communal decision in an agreement amicably arrived at between Hindus and Muhammadans. Congress does not favour group struggles in this case. Nor do we in any case that may lead to violence. In the case of propertied groups however *e.g.* ruling princes, capitalists, landholders, Congressmen seem to be for a fight to the finish. Perhaps propertied persons are lost souls—particularly when they are not members *of the Congress for* there are several very wealthy men who are followers of Mahatma Gandhi. *They* are not lost soul.

Once upon a time we asked an Indian communist or socialist why he and other Congressmen do not try to win over the *zamindars* and capitalists to the Congress cause, thus leaving them to side with the foreign bureaucracy and imperialists. His reply was to the effect that those people are already allies of the foreign bureaucracy and imperialists, meaning that Congressmen have not driven them to side with the latter. That is true, but it is also true that many zamindars and capitalists are members of the Congress. But is it not also true that the vast majority of Indian Muhammadans and of their leaders are allies of the opponents of Indian freedom? If Congress can negotiate with them as it ought to, why can it not negotiate with the propertied classes?

Like other communist socialists Congress socialists are we believe against anybody having private property. But some at least of their leading men do have very comfortable *private property*. That *however is a digression*. Property is desired by people not for its own sake but because it is or may be a source of income. Jobs in government departments and offices are sources of income and are in that *respect exactly like property*. By earmarking high percentages of these jobs for particular communities the British Government in India has given these communities a proprietary right in them which is not in substance different from giving them jagirs. So far as we are aware Congress has not yet passed any resolution against this communal decision No. 2. Perhaps Congress will find a substitute for it in an agreed settlement. No. 2. But as propertied *men in the ordinary sense are lost souls there* will not be any agreed settlement with them.

Private Property of Individuals, Nations, Etc.

In socialist or communist theory individuals have no right to private property. That is to say according to British communists no *Britisher ought to own a British coal mine, iron* mine etc. according to Russian communists no Russian ought to own a Russian coal mine, iron mine etc. But the same communists hold that the British nation (that is the aggregate of all Britishers) owns all British mines and the Soviet Russian State owns all mines in Russia. That is to say the private property of every individual national is zero but the private property of the aggregate of these nationals is a big something.

Coming to India and supposing that India has become a communist state we must hold that no Indian has a right to any private property but that the aggregate of all Indians *owns all the wealth of India of all kinds*. That is plain. But is it also plain that the aggregate of all the persons living in each province and in each district of India owns all the wealth of each province and each district. If that also is clear, some other questions must be answered. Provincial boundaries and district boundaries have changed from time to time and may again change. Those changes involve much group expropriation and also much vesting of new property in reformed groups. What right has anybody to expropriate any group and vest property in another group or sub group?

Let us take some examples.

According to communist theory all wealth in Andhra desha belongs to the aggregate of persons inhabiting Madras Presidency, including the people of Andhra desha. If Andhra becomes a separate province the aggregate of *the people of Andhra will become owners of its* wealth but the aggregate of the people of the other parts of the Madras Presidency will lose their share of the right to Andhra wealth. According to what communist law of justice or equity?

Formerly the people of Bengal in the aggregate had their share of their right to the wealth of Manbhum, Hazaribagh etc. Now they have been deprived of that share. It has been transferred to the aggregate of the people of Bihar. According to what communist principle of justice or equity?

We need not give other examples or refer to district boundaries.

We have said that in the hypothetical future communist India, the aggregate of all Indians will own the aggregate of all wealth in India Oriyas, Biharis, Bengalis etc are included in the aggregate of all Indians, and Orissa, Bihar, Bengal etc are parts of India Therefore, may it be concluded that in that future-India Oriyas Biharis, Bengalis etc will have some right to the wealth of Orissa, Bihar, Bengal etc? If then, why not *now*?

The existing boundaries of all independent countries were not their boundaries in previous ages centuries, or even decades Therefore, the *National* wealth of these countries has not remained the same Some nations have by conquering and annexing new territories become owners of the wealth of these territories Does communism recognize the acquisition by a nation of such wealth by conquest? If it does as it must until there is a world revolution and the formation of a world communist state, why does it not recognize the acquisition and keeping of private wealth by private individuals by honest individual labour? Is it because the private individual in a communist country can be coerced and expropriated but communist states cannot coerce and expropriate non communist states? So might is right?

In communist theory and practice individuals must not own some acres, however honestly acquired, but large aggregates of individuals called nations can own thousands and millions of square miles, however dishonestly acquired But perhaps we are doing some injustice to communism Perhaps when the world revolution, of which they have ceased to talk latterly, comes all mankind will be the masters of all wealth everywhere But, it is to be hoped, even at that time people will have such private property as their own saris and lom-cloths punjabis and coats, pyjamas and pantaloons, shoes and sandals, pens and pencils, and the like Every one must have some minimum private property If the aggregate of nationals called the nation can have their national property, called the motherland why not allow the smaller unit called the family to have its homestead so that little children may have a home to call their own? To have a home to call one's own is necessary for the growth of personality If the earth can be rightly cut up into continents countries, provinces counties cantons or districts (divisions which are not all Nature's handiwork), owned by large or small aggregates of individuals, why stop short and draw the line there? Is it unnatural for the smallest aggregate, the family, and the smallest unit, the individual, to own something?

Communism And The Abolition Of Classes And Castes

"The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes" So wrote Engels, the socialist, friend and colleague of Marx Property, rank, a certain amount of education—these and the like distinguish the classes from the masses, the proletariat But these can be acquired Caste is one of the meanings of class and it cannot be acquired In Britain the son of a very poor man a landless labourer with little education, can acquire riches become a lord and a man of high rank He becomes a member of the classes In India one of the plebeian class can become rich and can also become a Raja a Maharaja a Nawab, a Knight, more can obtain the titles of Rai Saheb Rao Saheb, Khan Saheb Khan Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur, etc So the gulf between the masses and the classes is not impassable in India too But the kind of distinction denoted by caste cannot be acquired A Brahman is born a Brahman, and whether he be rich or poor, illiterate or learned virtuous or vicious, he remains a Brahman No amount of wealth or learning or virtue can make a non-Brahman a Brahman In ancient times Brahmanhood could be acquired as ancient Sanskrit literature testifies But one's caste is unchangeable now One can become casteless by leaving the orthodox Hindu fold, but one cannot change one's caste

If by a communist is to be understood one who stands up for human equality—social and political equality, if not also economic equality, he must work wholeheartedly for the abolition not only of classes but also of castes, too, and be an example in his own person of both classlessness and castelessness Mahatma Gandhi does not call himself a communist, and he is an advocate of *Varnashram dharma* as he understands it But his life shows that he is for a classless casteless society and for the political, social and, as far as practicable, economic equality of all persons

Members of the communist party in India should ask themselves whether their life is a concrete illustration of the ideals for which communism stands Such of them as live in substantial residences, whether inherited or built or hired by themselves, and if their standard of living is decidedly above that of the masses, they certainly cannot convince others that they are

convinced and sincere communists Again, if they preach the obliteration of classes but themselves observe caste distinctions as regards marriage and dining, such preaching cannot be convincing It is easy to declaim against titles and capitalism, but it is not so easy to give up caste

Industrialization and Capitalism in India

Most Congress leaders, including the present president of that body and his predecessor, want India to be industrialized in the sense in which many European countries the United States of America and Japan are industrialized They want big factories equipped with up-to date power-driven machinery, for large scale production Such factories can be started in India at present only by capitalists If there were State socialism in India the State could no doubt establish and work such factories But at present India being a subject country if the Government were to establish factories they would not be Indian concerns and their profits would be absorbed by Britishers to a considerable extent Indian State Railways are a big industrial enterprise But it is not India which solely, exclusively or mainly derive advantage from them There can be real State socialism in India which will be advantageous mainly to India when India becomes free and autonomous So long as India is not free, industrialization is possible only by the enterprise of Indian capitalists Hence, without sacrificing the interests of Labour, Indian capitalistic enterprise should be encouraged It is not *impossible*, though it is difficult, *to industrialize India in another* way which is the one enjoined and approved by Mahatma Gandhi It is by the revival of India's indigenous village and cottage industries and the introduction of new village and cottage industries necessitated by the march of civilization and the advancement of science This method of industrialization is preferable on moral grounds and for preventing the workers from degenerating into wage-serfs and parts of machinery, as it were It would also better serve the purpose of full utilization of India's vast man power But the Western type of industrialization can be shorn of its defects and harmful features And it duly recognizes the dignity of man's intellect and fully utilizes his inventive powers The dignity of bodily labour deserves recognition, and thinkers and workers have recognized it But one is reminded of the indignity of manual labour if it is insisted that human hands must do the work which a machine invented by man's intellect is capable of doing

Perhaps in the long run in all countries, all men will be able to utilize the time and energy, saved by the use of machinery, to make progress in knowledge culture and spirituality

Tagore's Science Primer

Rabindranath Tagore's science primer in Bengali named "Visva Parichaya" or "Introduction to the Universe" was published some six months ago Within four months of its publication a second revised and enlarged edition had to be published This second edition in its turn has had to be reprinted in a month or so This we learn from a copy of the reprint just received Happy news to lovers of literature and science

Gandhiji Deprecates Demonstrations During Political Prisoners' Release Negotiations

Our first editorial note in this issue was written on the 23rd March In that note we have said that meetings held for lifting the ban on communists are at present untimely We had expressed a similar opinion to some Congressmen before the 23rd March In the morning papers of the 25th March we found the following

> An appeal to workers and the public not to hold demonstrations and meetings and the like and to the prisoners and detenus to be patient while the negotiations on the question of release of political prisoners and detenus were going on was made by Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a short statement immediately before leaving Calcutta at 8 last night for Delang
>
> Gandhiji says "I am sorry to have to interrupt the negotiations for the release of detenus and political prisoners as I must keep an appointment in Delang I hope to return on April 1 and resume the negotiations *I would* urge workers and the public not to hold demonstrations meetings and the like while the negotiations are going on I would also urge the prisoners and detenus to be patient and feel sure that I shall leave no stone unturned *to redeem the promise I have made for* bringing about the desired relief"

The demonstrations and meetings deprecated by Mahatma Gandhi do not exclude those held for urging the provincial and central governments to lift the ban on the communist party in India

Summer Vacation

In most provinces of northern India and perhaps elsewhere too schools, colleges and universities enjoy a long summer vacation The population of India is more rural than

urban Large numbers of our students have their homes in villages If these students of ours can acquire as much knowledge as possible during the vacation, of their own and neighbouring villages, including the standard and ways of living of the rural masses that will be a valuable equipment for their future work as citizens The shouting of national and revolutionary slogans or electioneering for this candidate or that is no substitute for such knowledge On the contrary active participation in politics while one is still a student prevents one from forming one's character and acquiring knowledge—knowledge even of politics Many students shout political slogans and are carried away by the excitement of political agitation but will not sit down to read a book written even by some great political thinker

Those of our students who have scientific curiosity can make good use of their vacation and have a happy time of it if they try to get acquainted with all the wild flowers fruits and plants and the birds butterflies and various insects in their neighbourhood They may also collect different kinds of stones

In many districts there is distressing scarcity of water in the hot months It is no doubt the duty of the government and district boards unions and rich landholders to come to the rescue of the village people at this time But whatever the reason they do not always and everywhere get adequate help Older students can organize Bands of Self-help That would be doing fundamental national work, cementing real friendship and camaraderie between the classes and the masses

Illiteracy prevails to a far greater extent in rural regions than in urban areas Each student can make at least ten persons juvenile or adult, literate during the long vacation Will they do it? Illiteracy in India cannot be liquidated unless literates in general, old and young lend a hand

In more than one place we exhorted some women workers to ascertain how many girls in their part of the village or town were illiterate and were receiving no schooling and to make arrangements for their tuition But to no effect The women workers like the male workers like agitation and sensation and revolutionary slogans more than "reformist" humdrum and slow but solid work We wonder if our political leaders ever told their followers that even in countries like Russia and China where there have been and may again be revolutions the rank and file had for years done reformist' educational work

Students' Political Organizations

Those students who have attained their majority and are politically-minded may become members of the Congress or some other political organization to their liking Those who are minors should bide their time There is no reason why students should have their separate political organizations Such separate organizations mean waste of time, energy, and money We do not write this with reference to students clubs associations and the like for discussing politics Students not only may but should have their debates on political subjects

Capital has its politics, Labour has its politics Peasants and Farmers have their politics, Traders and Shopkeepers have their politics, Landholders have their politics Congress has its politics Liberals have theirs Socialists and Communists have theirs, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League have theirs But students—whose main work is study and building up the body and mind, who are mostly minors who are maintained by their guardians, who are in the formative and preparatory period of their life, and who come from different communities classes and ranks of society all having politics or no politics of their own—students as such do not have and cannot have any separate and special kind of politics of their own

It is natural and legitimate for them to expect to achieve political distinction and become political leaders but not while they are still students

Criticism of Present Social, Political and Economic Systems and Orders

The old order changeth yielding place to new And to bring in the new order—whether social political or economic, both destructive and constructive criticism are necessary The old social political or economic order has to be attacked no doubt But the object of our attack should be the order the system, which has to be mended or ended—not the persons who represent that order or system

In the existing order—social political or economic some persons or classes may occupy privileged positions Others who feel deprived of their human birthright, may become envious jealous or angry, and in criticising the old order they may be disposed to attack the persons or classes occupying advantageous positions But it should be borne in mind that these persons did not create the existing old order, they are only the inheritors of a bad

system So the criticism, the attack should be such as to be calculated to convince even the privileged inheritors of the old system of its evils It is difficult to bring home to people the evils of a system which gives them advantage They may obstinately defend it and thus make themselves obnoxious Moreover many of these persons of privileged classes may be bad men whose life and conduct are apt to rouse the wrath of others or excite their hatred or contempt These people cannot expect to escape criticism It may even be the duty of social political and economic reformers to criticise their life and conduct and make them the objects of righteous indignation or expose them to ridicule and contempt

Nevertheless, the general rule to be followed is to criticise the system the order to be mended or ended, not the persons who appear to have advantage over their fellow men

And privileged persons are not wholly to be envied They may not even be at all enviable Just as crutches do not develop men's power to walk or run fast and firmly, so privileges do not develop people's real manhood

Frightfulness in Europe

Let us take it for granted that the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Fascists in Italy, Germany, Spain are trying to make their nations great But their leaders are trying to do so by their frightfulness They may think that their end justifies their means But they are wrong

The frightfulness of the dictators and of the men who carry out their orders brutalizes them, and those who are subjected to their terrorism either die or live as wretched dehumanized specimens of humanity, in spite of their apparent strength No economic or other advantage, claimed by the dictators as having accrued to their nations can outweigh these evils Subjection and submission to dictatorship is a sign of political decadence as submission to infallible guruism is a sign of spiritual decadence

Reform of Secondary Education

We have received a brochure on the Reform of Secondary Education in Bengal by Prof N C Bhattacharyya dealing with the salient features of the existing system of school education, a historical retrospect of the various proposals made from time to time to institute a Secondary Board and a "dispassionate presentation and criticism of the problems involved" in the Draft Secondary Education Bill Though we are not in agreement with the writer's views regarding the advisability of a large Board or the constitution of District Advisory Committees we commend the historical portion, which clearly shows how at each stage the communal composition of the proposed Board has been more and more pronounced While the Sadler Commission reserved only 3 seats for Mahomedans in a Board of 15 or 18, the recent draft proposed a reservation of 15 out of 34 seats But communalism apart, there are other serious objections to the recent move to control the schools in the province with non academic objectives

"Religious" Riots

The riots which are called 'religious" have no religion in them They are irreligious

The prime minister of the United Provinces and some other ministers have made it clear in the U P Assembly to what great extent the communal propaganda carried on by the Moslem League in the Provinces and the lies of the Urdu press there were responsible for the riots in Allahabad Benares and some other places in the U P It is unnecessary to repeat here in detail what the ministers said They have quelled the riots successfully and very quickly

These riots are not only extremely lamentable they are disgraceful too in addition to being sanguinary and politically, socially and economically injurious to all parties concerned

A Non Violent Army to Quell & Kill Riots

In connection with these riots Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows in part, in *Harijan*

Time has arrived to consider the nature of Congress non violence Is it non violence of the weak and the helpless or of the strong and the powerful? If it is the former it will never take us to our goal and, if long practised, may even render us for ever unfit for self government.

The weak and the helpless are non violent in action because they must be. But in reality they harbour violence in their breasts and simply await opportunity for its display *It is necessary for Congressmen and women* individually and collectively to examine the quality of their non violence If it does not come out of real strength it would be best and honest for the Congress to make such a declaration and make the necessary changes in its behaviour

NON VIOLENT ARMY

"By this time i.e., after seventeen years' practice of non violence the Congress should be able to put forth a non violent *army of volunteers numbering not a few* thousands but lacs who would be equal to every occasion where the police and the military are required Thus instead of one brave Pashupatinath Gupta who died in the attempt to secure peace, we should be able to produce hundreds And a non violent army acts unlike armed men as well in times of peace as of disturbances. They would be constantly engaged in constructive activities that make riots impossible Theirs will be the duty of seeking occasions for bringing warring communities together carry

weaker countries against their aggressors, we do not at all suggest that it is easy to do so *now* Now all the aggressors are stronger than when they first began the game Japan's aggression in Manchuria could have been stopped, and if it had been stopped Japan would not have begun the war against China now going on Nor would Italy have felt encouraged to invade Abyssinia Italy's unchecked aggression in Abyssinia has encouraged General Franco in Spain and also Hitler to annex Austria

All the imperial powers have built up their empires by aggression, and so they hesitated and could not wholeheartedly venture to nip in the bud the aggression of the new players in the imperialist game These players have now become powerful experts and cannot be easily tackled

British Foreign Policy

The British Government were unable at present to *give a special guarantee of help to Czechoslovakia in the* event of an attack by Germany stated Mr Neville Chamberlain in the course of a long statement on the international situation in the House of Commons on the 24th March last

Continuing he said Britain is ready to render any help towards the solution of questions likely to cause difficulty between the German and Czechoslovak Governments *Meantime there is no need to assume the use of* force or indeed talk about it That will only do harm and interfere with the progress of diplomacy and increase *the feeling of insecurity"*

He added Peace is the greatest interest of the British Empire That does not mean nothing will make us fight (Cheers) We are bound by treaty obligations which entail the necessity of fighting if an occasion arose

He hoped *nobody doubted that we should be* prepared in such an event to fulfil those obligations (Cheers) There were certain vital British interests for which we *should fight, if they were menaced—the defence of British* territories and communications which were vital to our national interests There were other occasions too under which we might fight if it was a choice of fight or abandoning of all hope of averting destruction of those things we *held dearest He added, Nevertheless* our object must be to preserve things we consider essential without war if that is possible because we know that *in war there are no* winners (Cheers) There is nothing but suffering and ruin for those involved and even if we are not directly involved with our worldwide trade ramifications we will be involved in consequences which must sooner or later react on ourselves"

Concluding *Mr Chamberlain emphasized the need* for acceleration of rearmament especially of the air force and anti aircraft defences He hoped that it would yet *be possible to arrive at a reasonable balance in armaments* by agreement instead of free unlimited competition

The gist of all this is that Britain will not fight unless her own interests are directly involved and *that, too not until she has armed* herself satisfactorily That is why she has got rid of Eden to please Italy and has even agreed give financial help to Italy indirectly

Professor Meghnad Saha

We are glad for the Calcutta University that professor Dr Meghnad Saha, F R S, *the eminent physicist and mathematician,* has accepted the post of Palit Professor of Physics of the Calcutta University But we are sorry for the Allahabad University, which loses so distinguished a scientist and educationist For the present Dr Saha comes here for a year But Calcutta hopes to be able to retain his services till he is at least 60 years old Besides science, Dr Saha is interested in and has special knowledge of various "nation-building" projects, such as the resuscitation, *training and control of our rivers,* the sugar industry, the jute industry, and the like

Sino Japanese War

All lovers of national *freedom are glad* and feel encouraged that China's resistance to Japan grows stiffer In man power China is immensely superior to Japan, and in modern *military* equipment her position has been improving

Multilingual Provinces in India

Bombay Presidency is a province which includes several linguistic areas, such as Maharashtra, Gujarat and part of Karnataka Before the recent introduction of provincial autonomy, Sindh was also included in it All these linguistic *regions are not equal in extent, nor are the* speakers of Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese, and (formerly) Sindhi equal in numbers But the most numerous, or the more numerous, never *considered the others "foreigners", "outsiders",* or interlopers, or required them to produce certificates of 'domicile' to become eligible for appointments in the public service or for study in educational institutions The speakers of each language have considered and treated the speakers of the other languages as equal citizens of the Bombay Presidency

Madras Presidency is also a province which *includes several regions in each of which* most of the inhabitants use a distinct language such as Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu In this presidency the different parts occupied by the speakers of these languages are not equal in area nor are the *speakers of these* languages equal in numbers Nevertheless, as is only right and reasonable, the most numerous linguistic group or the larger linguistic groups do *not consider the others "strangers", "aliens",* "foreigners", and so forth All are equal citizens

In the Central Provinces and Berar two

main languages Marathi and Hindi, are spoken Their speakers do not treat each other as foreigners or interlopers

When we come to the *province* of Bihar we find a different state of things This province consists of the *sub province* of Bihar proper and the *sub province* of Chota Nagpur But, the whole *province* is called Bihar That has perhaps led the Biharis to think that their civic and political status is superior to that of the Bengalis in the province Before 1912 the *sub province* of Chota Nagpur formed part of the *province* of Bengal along with Bihar and Orissa And in Chota Nagpur there are area such as Manbhum which are predominantly Bengali speaking the other more or most numerous inhabitants being aborigines *not* Biharis Districts like Manbhum ought to have been and ought to be included in Bengal for they *are* parts of Bengal

Now when Bengal Bihar Orissa and Chota Nagpur formed one province the Bengalis were never so foolish illogical anti legal or unreasonable as to require Biharis Oriyas and Chota Nagpurians to produce domicile certificates

But Bengali speaking persons even in parts of Bengal like Manbhum must produce a domicile certificate to get a job in the public service anywhere in the province of Bihar! This is absurd Why they are as much citizens of Bihar province as the Bihari As for Bengali speaking men in Bihar proper we do not see why they should be required to produce a domicile certificate Some of them have been long settled in Bihar—some families have been there from pre British days But apart from that fact they are citizens of India they have not come from Peru or Patagonia or Zululand Is a Marathi speaking man living in Gujarat a Gujarati living in Maharashtra a Tamil living in Andhra or a Telugu speaking man living in Tamil nad required to produce a certificate of domicile?

As the *province* of Bihar includes part of Bengal Bengalis of that province have as much right to all the advantages of that province as the non Bengalis of the sub province of Bihar proper That the Biharis of the province of Bihar are more numerous than the Bengalis of that province is no more a justification for the Biharis to consider Bengali outsiders than the fact that the Marathi speaking people of Bombay are more numerous than the speakers of Gujarati there would be a justification for the former to consider the latter interlopers

Bengali Assamese relations in the province of Assam would excite laughter if they were not deplorable This province includes parts of Bengal like the district of Sylhet and parts of Goalpara and Cachar And the Bengali speaking population in the province of Assam is far larger than the Assamese speaking population Yet because the *province* is called Assam both the Government and the Assamese people of the province appear to think that the Bengali speaking people there can live and earn their living there only on sufferance To require the Bengali speaking people of Assam to produce certificates of domicile is no more reasonable than it is in Bihar

The reason why in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and the Central Provinces and Berar the speakers of Marathi Gujarati, Kanarese Telugu Tamil Malayalam Hindi *etc do not require one another to produce* certificates of domicile is that they can hold their own against one another in educational qualifications That is not the case in Bihar and Assam The Biharis and the Assamese did not or could not take to Western education as early as the Bengalis But that is not the fault of the Bengalis Nor is it the fault of the Bihari community in Bihar and the Assamese community in Assam that they have to try to avoid open competition with the Bengali community in Bihar and the Bengali community in Assam respectively by the assumption that they have a claim to jobs in public services and seats in educational institutions prior and superior to that of Bengali communities in Bihar and Assam

Asking For Domicile Certificates Illegal

Sub section (1) of section 298 of the Government of India Act 1935 runs as follows

"298—(1) No subject of His Majesty domiciled in India shall on grounds only of religion place of birth descent colour or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in India, or be prohibited on any such grounds from acquiring holding or disposing of property or carrying on any occupation trade business or profession in British India"

To require a Bengali in Bihar to produce a certificate of domicile goes against both the letter and spirit of this provision in the Government of India Act

It is not Biharis but Bengalis in Bihar who can ask the Governor to protect their legitimate interests according to sub-section (3) of this section 298 for they not the Biharis are a minority in Bihar This sub-section (3) runs as follows

"Nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the special responsibility of the Governor General or of a Governor for the safe-guarding of the legitimate interests of minorities."

We are not lawyers So we cannot say whether the legality of the Bihar Government's insistence on the Bengalis in Bihar producing domicile certificates can be tested in the High Court or the Federal Court

Have Bengalis Been Swamping the Services in Bihar?

The cry that Bengalis have been swamping the services in Bihar is a false cry Bihar became a separate province in 1912 At and before that time Biharis had not made as much educational progress as they have since done Moreover when the province of East Bengal and Assam ceased to exist many of its Bengali officers were transferred to Bihar For these reasons the services in Bihar had a considerable number of Bengalis in them at that time, and those of them who have not since then either died or retired are still there In judging whether Bengalis are swamping the services in Bihar one must take into account only those Bengali Government servants who have been appointed since 1912 The names of Bengali officers of the all-India services serving in Bihar should not be taken into account Lastly in considering whether Bengalis have got a disproportionately large number of berths in Government offices and departments one must bear in mind not the percentage of the population of Bihar constituted by them but the percentage of the English-knowing population of Bihar proper which they form For adult Bengalis in Bihar proper are mostly literate If all these precautions are taken in arriving at an impartial conclusion it will be found that Bengalis appointed since 1912 have not at all got more than their due share of appointments

Bengalis and Provincialism

Bengalis are no more a perfect people than *others They have their defects But they are not the most provincially-minded nor the only provincially minded people in India If some* of them, not all of them or most of them have advocated the policy of 'Bengal for the Bengalis' it was long after the policies of "Bihar for the Biharis" "Assam for the Assamese," "Orissa for the Orivas," had been formulated and followed and Bengal's business big and small and Bengal's labour market had been captured by non Bengalis Even in such circumstances cultured, thoughtful and liberal-minded Bengali nationalists like Mr Anilbaran Ray, whose article is printed elsewhere, condemn the cry "Bengal for the Bengalis"

We will mention some facts to show that perhaps Bengalis have a small amount of broad-mindedness Many streets and parks in Calcutta bear non-Bengali names, such as Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Mohammad Ali, etc We shall be glad to publish the names of cities and towns outside Bengal which have named more streets and parks after Bengalis Calcutta University recognizes all the principal languages of India We shall gladly publish the names of other Indian Universities which do so The most important chairs in the Calcutta University have been held by non-Bengalis, like the late Dr Ganesh Prasad, Sir C V Raman Sir S Radhakrishnan Mr Manu Subedar, Mr Manohar Lal Dr D R Bhandarkar, Mr *Taraporewala etc*

It is not for proving that Bengalis are a faultless people or that they are better than others that we have said these things These are intended to show that we are perhaps not wholly bad

Tagore's Plays in Orissa, Germany and Czechoslovakia

Mr Anilbaran Ray has quoted in this issue, p 405, a passage from the *Vaitarani* of Cuttack to show that its editor took it as an insult to Orissa that one of Tagore's plays had been selected to be staged by the girls of the local girls' school In 1926 we saw *Tagore's Post Office* played in Dresden and in the German theatre and the Czech theatre in Prague These three theatres and the adjoining streets were so crowded with admiring crowds that ingress and egress were very difficult at the time

Why is a Tagore play an insult to Orissa but not an insult to Germany and Czechoslovakia?

Another Charge Against Bengalis in Bihar

It had been said before and the charge has been repeated recently that Bengalis in Bihar do not merge their identity in that of the Biharis and call themselves Biharis

If this be an offence, Bengalis in Bihar are not the only offenders In Bengal there are Hindustanis, Biharis, Orivas, Marwaris Gujaratis Panjabis, Sindhis Marathas Tamils Telugu-speaking persons, Malayalis, Kashmiris, Nepalis etc, but none of them merge their identity in that of Bengalis Some of them can speak Bengali and do speak it in conversation

with Bengalis But Bengalis in Bihar also can and do speak Bihari and Hindi in conversation with Biharis and Hindustanis

Gujaratis dwelling in Maharashtra have not become fused with the Maharashtrians, nor the latter living in Gujarat with the former The Tamil-speaking and Telugu speaking peoples have not become one people by social fusion in areas predominantly Telugu or Tamil-speaking Examples need not be multiplied.

Unity is desirable Whether complete fusion and uniformity are also equally desirable, we will not discuss here It is necessary here only to say that there are socio-religious, linguistic and cultural difficulties standing in the way of a complete fusion of the peoples living in different parts of India

If Bengalis had no developed language and literature of their own, no culture of their own, and some manners and customs peculiar to themselves, or if all these were decidedly inferior to those of the other peoples of India, it would have been desirable and easy for them to lose their identity But they have their own language, literature culture and customs and they do not think that these are all decidedly inferior to those of others, though others may do so

Bengalis in Bihar are advised to make common cause with Biharis They have done so They have done their bit for the educational social, religious and economic progress of the country and gone to jail like others by taking part in the Congress movement

An Achievement of the Frontier Assembly

Among the other noteworthy achievements of the N-W Frontier Assembly is the passage of a Bill in favour of the repeal of section 124A (the sedition section) of the Indian Penal Code and of several repressive laws and the modification of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code so as to make it harmless to the cause of freedom Has it been approved by the Governor of the province?

New Ministry in Sindh

In consequence of the defeat of the old ministry in Sindh, a new (coalition) ministry has been formed The Congress party in the Sindh legislature is not represented in it, but it will co-operate with and support the new ministry in all measures in consonance with Congress principles and policy The strength of the Congress party is such that its vote can keep the new ministry in power or throw it out The new ministers appear to be giving effect to Congress ideals

Panjab Premier on Shahidganj Bill

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the prime minister of the Panjab, has shown both courage and statesmanship in opposing the introduction of a Bill drafted by a Muslim M L A for enacting that a mosque must always remain a mosque in spite of decisions of law-courts, long-continued adverse possession and use otherwise than as a mosque, and so on The Lahore High Court, on appeal having decided that Shahidganj was no longer a mosque, parties of Muslims have been continually courting arrest by going to perform worship there, and many have been arrested and sent to jail The Bill was meant to nullify the High Court verdict The Panjab prime minister has seen the danger of the blow to judicial authority involved in the Bill and also the menace to peace and communal harmony in the legislative recognition of the opinion, "Once a mosque, always a mosque" Musalmans are not the only people who love their religion and places of worship If the Muslim cry were heeded, others would raise the cry, "Once a temple, always a temple" And there would be no end to attempts at legislative enactments, litigation and communal riots

Bihar Education Minister's Appeal

Dr Syed Mahmud Education Minister of Bihar, has appealed to the teachers and students of the province to co operate with the government in liquidating illiteracy We heartily support this appeal

Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths

The Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths held its sessions in Madras on the 12th 13th and 14th March last in the spacious University Examination Hall, facing the beach It was kindly lent for the purpose by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, who also spoke at one of the sittings and acted as sectional chairman The first session opened with a prayer The Maharaja of Pithapuram the president of this fourth Congress delivered a speech worthy of a spiritually minded man and a devout believer in God The success of the Congress was not a little due to his influence and financial backing Miss Sakuntala Sastri, secretary to the Congress, had worked hard for days on end with the result that on all the three days there was a galaxy of speakers, the attendance was large and the

audience included many of the most important members of the public in Madras, including Mr C Rajagopalachariar the prime minister Many prominent persons made speeches, such as Sir P S Sivaswami Ayyar Dr F W Thomas of Oxford University Sir K V Reddi Dr G S Arundale Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Nabha Dewan Bahadur S F Runganathan (Vice Chancellor of the Madras University) Prof Kanga Sardar Sardul Singh Cavishere the Hon Mr Yakub Hasan Rev Siddhartha (a Buddhist monk) Mr S A W Bokhari M L C etc Among the foreign delegates Mrs Gasque (the director of the Congress) Mrs Elizabeth Bedlington Hopf Mrs Georgena M Gault, Prof Leesar and Mr Franz Giger made speeches Mr Watanabe a Japanese delegate read a paper on Shintoism

Vidyamandirs in C P

The Vidyamandir scheme of the Central Provinces education minister if properly worked out, will go a great way to remove illiteracy in that province

Congress and Education

For years after non co-operation began, Congress had paid little attention to education proper, its attention being concentrated on winning Swaraj in a year At present Congress leaders appear to be somewhat more in earnest about educating the masses

Premature Release of a Felon

A man of the name of Zaffar Hussain of the Central Provinces a triple graduate", a Khan Saheb, and ' an inspector of schools", was convicted last year of criminally assaulting a Hindu girl and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment and a heavy fine His conviction was upheld in appeal in the Sessions Court and the High Court, the latter expressing the opinion that the punishment was unduly lenient This fellow has been recently released by the minister of law and justice in C P, one Mr Yusuf Shareef, without consulting his colleagues! The prime minister of the province has said that he came to know of the affair only after its publication in the press It is said Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is investigating the matter In the meantime the released felon has migrated to a neighbouring Indian State and been appointed an officer in the education department The C P minister of justice and the appointing authority in this Indian State ought to be sent to an innameable region for their fine moral ideals But for the present the former ought to be dismissed and sent to Coventry

His previous history is interesting

He was not a Congressman until after the election, when in the Congress search of a Muslim Minister he was got at it appears, by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—and he signed the Congress pledge in order to become a Minister

The Hindus of C P are greatly excited over this disgraceful affair—particularly the women folk

Bombay Home Minister Criticized

The Leader writes

The action of the Home Minister of the Bombay Government in suspending for 15 days the sentences of imprisonment passed on two persons convicted under the Gambling Act to enable them to settle certain business affairs led to an adjournment motion in the Bombay Legislative Assembly by Mr Jamnadas Mehta The motion was of course defeated

The Bombay Sentinel writes

For years the Congress and other political parties in the country have been railing against abuses of its power by executive authority under the bureaucratic regime We expect something better now from a Congress Ministry We expect to be freed from these administrative scandals, but this exhibition of the misuse of executive power to serve the convenience of a couple of *suttoreas*, who have been given their deserts by the High Court, suggests that our expectations are not to be fulfilled There is and can be no defence of the Minister's conduct It has not even the excuse of a bureaucratic precedence, in this presidency at any rate

The Servant of India also has severely criticised Mr Munshi, the home minister He has deserved such criticism

The Late Maharaja of Patiala

The (late) Maharaja of Patiala died last month at the age of 47 He was a leading member of the Chamber of Princes and its Chancellor for eight years He was a keen cricketer and spent large sums to encourage sport During the last few years he had been thinking of democratising the administration of his State and giving an effective voice to the people in the management of their own affairs He set up a constitutional committee in February last to go into these questions Perhaps when the committee submits its report the Yuvaraj, who is now the Maharaja, will introduce a liberal measure of reform

Disturbed Conditions in Palestine

Palestine continues to be in a disturbed condition

JERUSALEM Mar 27

Collective fine of five hundred sterling has been imposed on the village Khanyunis near the railway line in south Palestine where a military petrol lorry was wrecked by the explosion of a land mine last Thursday when one British soldier was killed and another seriously injured

A punitive police post has been established in the

village Isolated outrages and murders of Jews and Arabs continue —*Reuter*

Indiscipline Among Bihar Students

We are sorry to read the following

PATNA, Mar 26

The Senate of the Patna University today accepted the amendment to university regulations empowering the Syndicate to take disciplinary action against students found guilty of misconduct or breach of discipline

In the U P also in some centres of high education there was indiscipline among student last year

Bride Refuses To Marry Much-married Lothario

NAHAN Mar 27

Discarding their veils a dozen Hindu women marched out of the women's quarters and stopped the polygamous marriage of a wealthy merchant just as it was about to take place Cries of 'shame' and 'Down with polygamy' greeted the bridal procession on its way to the marriage pandal (marquee) but as the bridegroom took no notice of their protests the women threatened satyagraha at the pandal The bride thereupon announced amid the acclamation of the women that she refused to go through the marriage —*Associated Press*

Opening of Bhonsla Military School

NASIK, Mar 27

A refreshing downpour of rain preceded the formal opening ceremony of the Bhonsle Military School by H H the Maharaja of Gwalior, which had to be postponed yesterday owing to the tornedo which swept over Nasik After some time the rain ceased and there was bright sunlight again

His Highness on his arrival was presented with a guard of honour and was received by Dr Moonje The open air ceremony commenced with the singing of 'Bande Mataram" sung by the cadets.

Mr Pratab Sheth, welcoming H H the Maharaja of Gwalior referred to the want of an Indian army and said that Indians should not look to the British troops for their country's defence

The Principal of the School read out a number of messages, including those from Lord Willingdon and the Governor of Bombay The Vice Principal then read out the substance of the progress of the school during last year Dr B S Moonje presented an address to H H the Maharaja of Gwalior His Highness then delivered his address

In moving a vote of thanks, Dr Moonje announced that he had received a communication from the Huzur Secretary of the Maharaja of Gwalior making a donation of one lakh for the school He also stated that it was the *desire of the Maharaja to appoint two representatives* one the Army Minister and the other some Minister from the Gwalior Government on the Board of Directors of the School so that H H might remain in touch with the progress of the school

Dr Moonje expressed his gratefulness for the Maharaja's decision He also announced an anonymous donation of Rs 5000 from Calcutta for creating a Bengal block

The Maharaja will be visiting the Maratha boarding house tomorrow

It is estimated that the damage due to yesterday's storm amounts to about Rs. 50,000 There has been some damage to the grape crops —*A P*

Sentences in Moscow State Trial

Moscow, Mar 13

All the accused persons in the Soviet treason trial except Rakovsky, Pleyney and Bessenov, were sentenced *to death today*

Rakovsky, a former Soviet Ambassador in London, *was awarded twenty years and Pleyney and Bessenov* twenty five and fifteen years respectively

Moscow Mar 16

The 18 accused sentenced to death in the treason trial were shot

All the accused held important offices in Soviet Russia and, according to the charges brought against them and according to the confessions of all or many of them, they were guilty of treason They had treasonable secret relations with many European governments What a revelation of the ethical ideals and the sense of honour of these men and of many European governments!

Successive pillars of the Soviet State have been brought to trial and found guilty of most culpable conduct It cannot be said that no high officers of State in other countries, professing some religion or other, have ever been convicted of such offences But anti God Soviet Russia appears to hold the record in such crimes

It would not be right to inquire if the present incumbents of high offices in Russia are men of higher ideals But lurking suspicions are apt to raise their head Let us hope everyone of them is the real Simon Pure Though we are not communists, we sincerely believe that the future of mankind depends a great deal upon Russia becoming and remaining free from tyranny and treachery of all sorts and from imperialism, capitalism and fascism

"National" and Foreign Education

With reference to the question of advocates of national education giving foreign education *to their children, The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay writes

In democracy everyone has the right to educate his children as he pleases and we do not see what good it does the country to condemn men's actions with political catchwords. *After all, in education a man may be trusted* to give his children that which he thinks is the best for them There is room for complaint only when a man recommends a particular type of education for other people's children and rejects it in the case of his own We have in mind the news that has recently been published in the press that Mr *Jamnalal Bajaj's son* is studying for the barrister's examination in England and a son of Kaka Kalelkar, whom one might call the prophet of the new education in India, is at Oxford If the young men had gone abroad for technical education, it would have been easy to have given the whole matter the semblance of consistency Now the *two leaders of* Congress thought appear in the peculiar position of the Troll king in Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," who proudly announces the Swadeshism of his people

"Here all things are mountain made, nought's from the dale,
Except the pink bow at the end of your tail."

Calcutta University for the conferment of degrees He struck a new vein and dwelt on the need and importance of friendship between the students and their teachers and among the students themselves and spoke of his own experiences in this regard He observed that small classes were better for gaining this object than crowded ones and also for teaching It was easier and more effective to appeal to the small group mind than to the big crowd mind He also pleaded for removing at least some colleges to the outskirts of towns All this is undoubtedly necessary Greater approach to educational ideals will be made when promoters of education get more money from the Government and rich men

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal who is the Chancellor of the University delivered a short extempore speech in the course of which he observed

If they looked round the world the East and the West they found suspicion between people and nations and they wished a little more friendship were brought out in the lives of the people of the world

While it would not be true to say that the weaker and subject nations could do nothing to foster international friendship it is the stronger and independent nations who can do most to remove suspicion between peoples and nations Without their cordial initiative and co-operation the efforts of the weaker peoples would not be of much avail

Communal schools colleges and Universities in India serve partly as obstacles to the growth of inter-communal friendship

Proceeding His Excellency said that the graduates who were entering the threshold of life had the best wishes of all present who had travelled more down life Many of the young people who were entering life would have great struggle ahead They should remember that they would go up into life equipped with chances which were denied to many millions of fellow citizens His Excellency appealed to graduates to make service the keynote of their life

We cordially support this appeal

Mr Syamaprasad Mookerjee the Vice-Chancellor declared in the course of his address

However important and fundamental the changes which we have recently introduced in various parts of our University organism, the time has now definitely come when we have to probe deeper into our educational system as a whole and strive strenuously for improvement Public opinion in this province will not for a moment tolerate any proposals which under the cloak of reform may aim at restriction of facilities We want more education and better education, and any reformer who can satisfy us in this respect will find enthusiastic support from all While on the one hand we have to guard against the dominance of vested interests, we must also recognize that existing institutions which have worked for the advancement of education under tremendous difficulties cannot be deleted by a stroke of the pen. True statesmanship must discover a satisfactory way of readjusting and utilising all existing resources, both in man-power and in materials, and evolve a new system of education capable of complete fulfilment before long

Midnapur Vidyasagar Memorial Committee

On the occasion of the silver jubilee of the Midnapur branch of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat ("Bengali Literary Academy") a day was set apart as Vidyasagar Day in honour of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar who was born in the Midnapur district Mr B R Sen, I C S magistrate of the district delivered an address of course in Bengali as president on that day We learn from it that the Vidyasagar Memorial Committee had resolved (1) to place a marble or bronze bust of the great philanthropist and author on the site of the house in Birsingha village where he was born and to build a hall adjoining the Bhagabati Vidyalaya founded by Vidyasagar in memory of his mother to locate a library and keep relics therein (2) to metal the road from Khirpai to Birsingha village at a cost of Rs 10 000 (3) to erect a Vidyasagar Memorial Hall in Midnapur town at a cost of Rs 30 000 to serve as a town-hall (4) to set apart Rs 4 000 for awarding a gold medal every year to the best research worker in Bengali language and literature (5) to publish an authoritative edition of Vidyasagar's works

Thanks to the zeal and energy of Mr Sen and the Committee many of the proposals have already begun to be carried out The public spirit and munificence of the Midnapur District Board, the Raja of Mahishadal and the Raja of Jhargram are worthy of special mention The first volume of the memorial edition of Vidyasagar's works will be found noticed on another page

Returned Emigrants' Sad Plight

"They have now one single craving which is as deep as life itself namely to get back to their own homes in the colonies and become colonials once more," said Mr C. F Andrews in the course of a broadcast talk to-night on the problem of "Returned Emigrants" from the Calcutta Station of the All India Radio

Mr Andrews said that while possibly fifty per cent of the emigrants get taken back by their own village communities there were many who were rejected There were many who had tried village life in their former homes of up-country and had failed "and their one passionate cry is for a ship to take them back to Fiji British Guiana or Trinidad where they would be able to live as they had lived before" They however fail to get a passage "for their money is all spent they are starving and even shelterless They cling together in their misery and will not go away from docks for fear they should miss a steamer"

"Some have been waiting there round the docks for twenty years! Some only came a year ago! There is one further ship due this very year which has already been chartered by the British Guiana Government If it starts, it will bring back from 600 to 900 more to add to all our troubles!"

Honour to Prof. D. K Karve

Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve *founder* and lifelong devoted worker of the Hindu Widows' Home in Poona and of the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thackersey Indian Women's University *will complete the 81-st year of* his long, beneficent and strenuous life on the 18th of this month (April) We offer him our respectful and cordial congratulations and *greetings in advance* We have *no doubt* the occasion will be celebrated with due solemnity and magnificence

Princes' Power Of Constitutional Advance In Their States

The Indian Nation of Patna writes

It is highly satisfactory to have the authoritative statement made by Earl Winterton in the House of *Commons on behalf of the British Government* that it is not the policy of the paramount power in ordinary circumstances to intervene in the internal administrations of full powered Indian states The paramount power he maintained, will certainly not obstruct the proposals for constitutional advance initiated by a ruler This authoritative declaration of policy by *the British Government should give a quietus to the speculations* raised by the statement of Sir C P Ramaswami Iyer Dewan of Travancore that the extension of responsible government in the states would involve an infringement of the treaties between the states and *the paramount power* Earl Winterton made the position clear by declaring that the consent of the paramount power had not *been required before constitutional* advances had been approved by the princes nor so far as we are aware has it been sought in such matters

Earl Winterton's pronouncement is satisfactory so far as full powered Indian States are concerned If these States do not allow their subjects *to manage State affairs in increasing* measure, their rulers are to be held responsible But Earl Winterton said nothing about States which do not enjoy full powers If there be no constitutional advance in these States will the sovereign power be to blame or the States themselves?

South Africa Does Not Train Indian Doctors

Indian Opinion of South Africa writes

A Commission has been appointed to enquire into the *facilities for medical education for all races.* No facilities exist for the training of non-European Doctors in the Union Thousands of pounds are being spent by Indians to train Indian Doctors, who, perforce have to proceed overseas to pursue their studies. It is hoped that when the Commission sits at Durban, the Indian community will not lose the opportunity to present its case

Bengal Civil Liberties Union on "Mahatmaji in Bengal"

Bengalis are grateful to Mahatma Gandhi for his strenuous *efforts* at great inconvenience to himself to release the detenus and political prisoners of Bengal, and so is the Bengal Civil Liberties Union It continues to publish its revealing statements In its statement No 51, dated 18-3-1938, it draws attention to some facts which Gandhiji may or may not know

In his Wardha statement, dated the 21st November 1937 Gandhiji had said that the Bengal ministry had travelled along Congress lines to a considerable extent The Union says

Today we give below some outstanding facts and a chronicle of events from October, from which the public may judge in what lines the Ministry has been travelling and decide for themselves upon the line in which they should travel

(i) 1106 detenus have been released in pursuance of the Communique and a few hundreds were released *with various restrictions or no restrictions before the* Communique and after the release of the 1100

But

(ii) with a very few exceptions those released detenus who are out of the list of 1100 are not getting *any allowance*

(iii) Many of the 1100 have not as yet received any allowance, and many of those who have received any are getting at the rate of Rs 10 only per month instead of Rs. 15 as promised

So

(iv) a great saving has been made by the Government *as about Rs 800 annually per head of those who* have been released from Jails or Camps and about Rs 300 annually per head of those released from the village domiciles have been freed This saving may be roughly estimated at Rs 8 00 000

(v) The Government are not utilising the whole amount thus freed in giving the released detenus proper *relief but additional amounts have been provided in the* Budget for 1938-39 for the Special Branch and Intelligence Branches of the Police Department in the apprehension of recrudescence of terrorist activities on the release made

Thus the policy seems to be Let off a detenu dog him at every step and harass him till he falls flat at the feet of the I B police' Such playing with the youths *of the province is certainly not travelling along the* Congress lines

We do not know whether this interpretation of the policy is correct If it be wrong the Bengal Ministry can contradict the Union

Proclamation Relating To Indore State Depressed Classes

We make *the following* extracts from the Proclamation issued by H H the Maharaja of Indore, removing many of the disabilities of the depressed classes in his State, which goes further than the Travancore proclamation

"Whereas we have felt for a long time past that the suppression of a large section of the Hindu community cannot be based on religious sanction still less can it be justified on moral and humanitarian grounds,

"In pursuance of the decision, we hereby declare our pleasure and ordain and command that

1 All State temples *within the limits of the State* be thrown open to Harijans for darshan according to the *rules that may be laid down by us*

2. All existing public wells as well as wells constructed by the State hereafter, be invariably open to all classes alike This is our policy but in enforcing it in regard to the existing public wells, the District Officers will act in their discretion *according to local needs and* circumstances

3 All concerned should make it possible for the Harijans to have an unrestricted use of public places, such as hotels restaurants and public conveyances

4 Our Minister in charge of Municipalities should, subject to his discretion in the light of the conditions and requirements of a particular locality, allow Harijans to build or own houses in all areas open to higher castes and communities.

5 Full and hearty effect be given to the existing orders relating to the unrestricted admission of the Harijans' children into State educational institutions

6 There shall be no restrictions in the matter of recruitment to State services except where the incumbent has essentially to be recruited from a particular class or community

7 All State Public Offices and buildings are open to Harijans for entry

8 There shall be no restrictions on the wearing of ornaments the taking out of processions and performance of ceremonies

Sir William Rothenstein on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture"

The opinion of so eminent an artist and appreciator of art as Sir William Rothenstein on the artistic genius of any people is entitled to respectful attention When delivering the Sir George Birdwood memorial lecture on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture" to the Royal Society of Arts in London Sir William expressed the view that 'no people had been so profusely inventive as the Indian people' Said he

"Their iconography is I suppose the richest and most exuberant ever evolved from the human brain They have peopled their vast heaven with an incredible number of gods for all of whom they have invented forms attributes and attitudes whereby they could be recognized

There is a tendency to pass too lightly over this prolific creation of forms gestures and attitudes perfected by the Indian genius which were adopted and taken over in all their completeness when Buddhism spread to the Far East Surely this teeming creative fertility is in itself an astonishing and supreme achievement, the more so since they showed in all the forms they conceived for their gods an equally abundant plastic inventiveness"

The lecturer recalled that it was just 28 years since he listened to an address on Indian art by Sir George Birdwood

who though he gave full recognition to the beauty of *Indian craftsmanship denied* any fine art to India "Times have changed" added Sir William Rothenstein "There is a growing appreciation of the great contribution *India has made to painting and sculpture but even* today the exalted place given to the art of China and Japan is scarcely extended to Indian art Yet in Hindu sculpture apart from its spiritual and symbolical character there are certain plastic qualities of breadth volume and *poise which* seem to me to be unique"

Sir William Rothenstein declared that nowhere had the plastic qualities of the human form, both male and female been better understood and rendered than by Indian sculptors

Bihar Congress Ministry's Recognition of "Fissiparous Forces"

Replying to a debate, a Parliamentary Secretary to the Bihar Congress Government declared that the Congress Ministry stood by the circular which laid down the principle that no community should get over representation in services in excess of their population strength *When one of the members* Mr K N Sen Gupta enquired what the Government meant by the term Community the Congress Prime Minister said

The question was a difficult one and he would not try to define it on the floor of the House The Government of India Act recognized *only* certain communities but unfortunately there were fissiparous forces at work which demanded recognition of sections within each community *Government as Government could not ignore the forces that would recognise communities within Hindus and even within Muslims*

Thus the Congress Prime Minister of Bihar is not going to rest content with the communities into which India is divided today under the Government of India Act but he is going to give *official recognition* to the various fissiparous tendencies which tend to create further dissensions within each community

French Colonial Terror

Paris (NNS)—In French Morocco the suppression of the national Moroccan movement continues under the iron hand of the governor General Nogues Last October more than 400 Moroccans of various political persuasions were summarily tried and sentenced to hard labour in the Atlas Mountains Telegrams of protest by their compatriots resulted in further arrests A Moroccan Socialist Driss Benzakour, was arrested because he had served as interpreter for the well known Socialist leader Magdelaine *Paz during her sojourn in Africa On the* other hand General Nogues suppressed an anti-fascist pamphlet written in Arabic which denounced the Italian terror in Libya" Left *groups in France* are indignant over this reign of terror under a Popular Front government

Indo Afghan Trade Negotiations

The Times of India observes

It is welcome news that the Government of India and the Afghanistan Government have decided to negotiate a trade pact on a basis of reciprocity It will be recalled that a series of questions on the subject of Indo Afghan *trade was recently raised in the Central Assembly* The salient fact emerging from that discussion was that the Afghan Government has adopted a policy of granting State monopolies in both import and export business to large concerns For instance imports of sugar cement petrol and motor vehicles are in the hands of one company, and Indian interests largely engaged in these lines have been hard hit. The export of dried fruits from Afghanistan—a lucrative industry—has recently been entrusted to another company and more Indian merchants have suffered Moreover Indian goods exported to Afghanistan are subjected to tariff duties whose minimum is 35 per cent The Government of India have refused to retaliate by imposing heavy duties on Afghan goods entering India It will not be easy to find a remedy agreeable to both parties but that some remedy is called for is obvious.

Mrs Kiran Bose

We are glad to learn that Mrs Kiran Bose has been nominated by the Government of India as a delegate to represent India at the next session of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions which will begin at Geneva on April 21 next Mrs Bose is honorary general secretary of the National Council of Women She is a sister of the late Srijut Atul Prasad Sen of Lucknow and a daughter-in-law of the late President Ananda Mohan Bose of the Indian National Congress Begum Shah Nawaz represented India before at the League Committee

Governor General's Autocracy

The Hitavada is justified in holding the opinion that

The Viceroy has acted in a high handed manner in disallowing Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's resolution recommending an increase in the recruitment of Indians to the Foreign and Political Department Eight months ago Mr Kunzru moved a resolution recommending the speedy Indianization of the Government of India Secretariat and put up an unanswerable case against the present unnational policy of Government with regard to recruitment Government could not answer his case effectively Probably the Viceroy felt that if Mr Kunzru moved his resolution Government would be forced to give an assurance on the subject Hence to safeguard probably against that danger he disallowed the resolution gagging a discussion of the subject altogether This action shows the nakedness of the autocracy in New Delhi

Jews' Pathetic Faith in League

A Geneva message states that denouncing the ill treatment of the Jews of Austria the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress has sent a petition to the League of Nations invoking the treaty of St Germain in regard to the rights of minorities guaranteed by the League and asking for the application of the emergency clause—*Reuter*

Military Training for Indian Youth

At the opening of the Bhonsla Military School at Nasik His Highness the Maharaja Scindia pointed out in the course of his speech that

Opinion in India had been widely expressed to possess institutions where Indian youth might receive military training in order to equip them for the responsibilities of the country's defence The Indian Military Academy was instituted in response to this long felt demand This school his Highness hoped would enable the Indian youth to be trained in the art of war so that they might be able to take proper place in the defence of their Motherland

The military authorities have promised to help the Bhonsla School in training its scholars

The Court of Lucknow University has passed a resolution on the subject of obligatory military training for its students It is not known whether the military authorities will provide the necessary facilities for their training

The Searchlight of Patna informs its readers that Dr Syed Mahmud, minister of education, Bihar, announced in the course of his speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Patna District Branch of the St John's Ambulance Association that "he was soon going to open a military training school for Bihar where besides ordinary military training, the students would receive training in aircraft also" Perhaps the honourable gentleman consulted the military and civil authorities concerned before making the announcement

The Madras Premier On Prohibition

Shri C Rajagopalachariar, the prime minister of Madras replied at considerable length to the discussion on the cut motion on the Excise Demand' He gave out some original notions of his *The Guardian* of Madras writes

As an expert temperance worker he met the amateurs' as he called the critics with answers that would make them chary in future of stale arguments and induce them we hope to do their little bit to make Prohibition a success Some ideas of the Premier on temperance work are such as are no familiar even to workers in the field They are reduction of shops will result in consolidation of business in a few hands greater competition in drink trade and therefore increased income and zest for drink Liquor shops if removed to remote places will continue indefinitely They must be allowed in places where they are not wanted so that decent people will observe the havoc drink works and will try to end the evil Excise Licensing Boards were not intended to abolish drink or to reduce shops They had other purposes at any rate they have not secured these results Prohibition would not have succeeded if its working had been entrusted to the Excise Department on the ground of their special experience instead of the Police The licence dealer was a source of corruption and he was in close touch with the weaker elements of the Excise Department

Severity of punishment in the case of illicit distillation is justified It is a different thing when those who drink are punished severely If temperance propaganda was not done there was no guarantee that Prohibition would be introduced just because the Premier said so Spying system against a disgrace or against the ruin of a family is nothing to be ashamed of The wife is a spy upon the husband if he is intent upon ruining her

"Cheap Justice"

We learn from the same weekly that both the premier and the minister for courts and prisons have met the insistent demand for reduction of stamp duties and court fees with a determined refusal

The issue involved is one which the Government cannot contemplate But the refusal is more on the ground that the lowering of costs would cheapen litigation and tempt the poor man to waste his meagre resources It did not necessarily cheapen justice They have hinted that the reduction would benefit lawyers at the expense of the latter If the Ministers stopped with this, we should have treated the contention on both sides as arguments that did not divulge the real truth about the demand and the refusal The Ministry however gives proof of its serious intentions to help the poor in the announcement

made during the debate on Tuesday that the Government proposed to reorganize Village Courts so as to give them greater power and to make them better bodies The policy of the Government was to see that as far as possible the people were not driven to the necessity of having recourse to Courts of Law

Mr. Jinnah and Muslim Leaguers, and Federation

We have all along held the opinion and expressed it repeatedly that the opposition of the Muslim League and Muslim leaders like Mr Jinnah to Federation was due to one-third of the seats given to the Indian States in the federal legislature not being reserved for them in the same way as the same proportion of the British India seats have been given to them in the same legislature and that, if their wishes in this respect were met, their opposition would at once vanish We find *The Tribune* of Lahore holds the same view It writes

It would not be unreasonable to assume that all the strong things said against the federal plan by Mr Jinnah and some other prominent Muslim leaders would be as quickly forgotten if the Muslim demand for one-third share of the States representation were conceded as all the strong things said by them in favour of unfettered national government were forgotten in the provincial sphere when the prospect of Muslim preponderance in some of the provinces and of Muslim representation substantially in excess of what was due to the community in other provinces was held out to them and British imperialism would once again find its strength in India's disunity

We hope the Lahore paper is right in holding that the British Government will not find it easy to meet the Muslim demand as regards the Indian States seats

The only ground of hope in this matter is that it will not be so easy for the British Government to concede the Muslim demand in this case as it did find it easy to concede the Muslim demand in the provincial sphere or in respect of representation on the British Indian part of the Federal Legislature The plea of the inability of the parties concerned to come to an agreed decision which they found so handy in the other case, is not available to them in this case The States have all been allotted their share of representation in both Houses of the Legislature by the Act itself and whether the representatives of the States 'de electeu' or nominated' the British Government have no right whatever to say to them that a particular proportion of those representatives shall be Muslims. Insistence on any such limitation of the rights of the States would amount to so outrageous a violation of the autonomy of the States that even the authors and champions of the present constitution may well shrink from it Any such insistence on their part may buy Muslim support, but it will alienate all other parties even more completely than now

Why Mr. Anthony Eden Resigned

World Youth an international news review of Boston, gives due praise to Mr Anthony Eden Britain's late foreign secretary

A steadily widening divergence of opinion between Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and the majority of the British Cabinet has resulted in Eden's resignation Captain Eden has been unable to conceal a well bred disdain for the posturings and threats of the European dictators and their controlled press has been roaring for his head during the past two years and more He epitomizes the type of liberal English gentleman that stirs an inferiority complex in the heavy fisted climber Beyond this Eden is the leader of the powerful pro-League opinion in England and has always stood for a stiffening of British policy toward Italian and German aggression The older members of the British Cabinet led by Premier Neville Chamberlain are seeking by compromise and concession to avoid trouble with the two dictators They have been loath to let Eden go because of his great personal popularity with the British public He is also a brilliant parliamentarian But it is known that many of the statements of policy which he has been obliged to make on behalf of the British Government have been bitterly against his personal convictions Long Cabinet meetings before and after the Hitler speech on Sunday gave rise to rumors that the opposing points of view within the Cabinet had been brought to a critical stage A street demonstration as Captain Eden left Downing Street indicated the affection and esteem of the British public for their retiring Foreign Minister and the courageous attitude he has attempted to uphold

Importance of Singapore to Europe & America for Purposes of Defence

The same American weekly explains how important the Singapore naval base is for the defence not only of the British Empire in Asia and Oceania but of the Dutch and French possessions in Asia and of the Philippine Islands The possible enemy is of course, assumed to be Japan Japanese activities in Siam are thus accounted for

Japan and Siam have long been friendly, and authorities in Paris claim to have evidence that Japan has been slowly filtering soldiers a few at a time into the Siamese frontier bordering on French Indo-China along the Mekong River in accord with the Siamese Government This had been set aside as a demilitarized zone by the Treaty of 1925

France has now to face the possibility of having to defend French Indo China against a Siamese attack on land supported by Japanese naval action The reason for such an attack from the Siamese viewpoint, can be seen in a map recently published by the Siamese Government and widely disseminated in the Siamese schools It shows 'Siam's former frontiers' This map shows as former possessions of Siam a large slice of Burma on the west a large part of Laos on the northeast and all of Cambodia on the southeast The last two territories are now part of French Indo China Burma is now a British Crown colony

As for the Kra Canal in Siam it is said

Japan's reason for stirring up trouble in this part of the world is twofold First the Haiphong Yunnan railway over which arms were being sent to China until France, at Japan's demand closed the railway Second, Japan knows that Singapore is the cork to the bottleneck of the Malacca Strait If Siam in return for services received can be persuaded to let Japan build a canal through the Isthmus of Kra the passage round the Malayan Peninsula and through the Straits guarded by the strong naval base at Singapore could be avoided This projected Kra Canal has long been a favourite of Japan, and British pressure to prevent its construction is evidently because it would nullify the value of the Singapore base

Congress Bulletin Number One of 1938

Congress Bulletin No 1 of 1938, promptly issued on the 12th March last, contains the authorized versions of Resolutions of the Haripura Congress a Summary of the Proceedings of (*a*) the All India Congress Committee and (*b*) the Working Committee, Ministerial Resignations in U P and Bihar Circular to the P C C s, and Congress Organisation

The condolence resolution of the Congress as reported in the dailies in February contained not more than half a dozen names not including that of Heramba Chandra Maitra As published in the Bulletin the names not printed either in alphabetical or chronological order are of eighteen men and women the name of Heramba Chandra Maitra standing last But better last and least than not at all in the Congress Roll of Fame perhaps!

By the third resolution Congress sent its greetings to the Indians of British Guiana on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the arrival of the first Indian settlers in that South American colony and sent its good wishes for their advancement and progress Our present issue contains an article on the topic by Mr C F Andrews (Please read Demerara for Denmark in the second line of the article)

The other resolutions were on Gudallo of Assam Indians Overseas Indians in Zanzibar Indians in Ceylon China Palestine Foreign Policy and War Danger Excluded Areas and Commissioners Provinces Ajmer-Merwara and the Indian States Federation Kenya Midnapore Congress Organizations National Education Minority Rights Indian States Ministerial Resignations in U P and Bihar Kisan Sabhas Constitution Committee

The Bulletin has printed the names of 18 Muhammadan gentlemen with *Shri* before them—it is to be presumed with their consent One may rest assured that Mr A K Fazlul Huq has threatened Congress with dire consequences

Gandhi Seva Sangha Conference

The Gandhi Seva Sangha Conference at Birbor Orissa was largely attended and discussed some very important questions such as tackling and putting an end to communal tension and riots by non violent means spread of a knowledge of Hindi as an interprovincial language, the adoption throughout India of the Nagari script the promotion of national education according to the Wardha scheme, etc A village industries exhibition was also held The conference was very successful and useful

According to *Advance*,

Babu Rajendra Prasad Kaka Kalelkar and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj addressed a mass meeting of villagers tonight emphasising the need of learning Hindi

Babu Rajendra Prasad paid a tribute to the Madras province for its progress in the field and urged Orissa to emulate its example Kaka Kalelkar said that it was a *shame for persons belonging to different provinces* to speak in English The greatest difficulty was the apathy of the people to learn Hindi Kaka Kalelkar also appealed to them to adopt the Nagari script by which Oriya literature could be augmented

If Kaka Kalelkar really said that it was a shame for persons belonging to different provinces to speak in English it must be, in his opinion a much greater shame for Congress to draft and pass resolutions in English and publish Bulletins and Pamphlets in English In India only 10 per cent of the people are literate in their mother-tongue So to cry shame on the non Hindi speaking portion of these 10 per cent for not knowing Hindi and on the non Hindi speaking portion of the illiterate 90 per *cent for not reading Hindi in addition to their* mother tongues shows excess of zeal more than sobriety of expectation

As for adopting Nagari as the All India script it is admitted that the Sanskrit alphabet is more scientific than any other in the world But the Nagari script requires some modifications It has more straight lines and corners or angles than the Bengali script and is not older than the latter So it may be modified to some extent on the model of the Bengali script —with which by the by, Oriyas are more familiar than with Nagari

ERRATUM

P 375 2nd line of Mr Andrews's article The Indian Centenary in British Guiana,' *for* Denmark *read* Demerara

Request to Contributors

Contributors are requested to kindly note that typed manuscripts are preferred, with adequate margin and space between the lines —though *legibly* hand written manuscripts are also considered The paper should be white and should not be flimsy One side of the paper should be left blank The ink used should be deep and black or blue black—not red or reddish

Contributions which have been sent to other journals also should not be sent to us

Unaccepted and unused manuscripts are returned, if at the time they are sent to us for consideration sufficient postage is enclosed But in no case can we undertake to be responsible for loss of manuscripts

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A MANIPUR VILLAGE
By Basudev Roy

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ENGLAND'S LOSING GAME

BY MAJOR D GRAHAM POLE

NAPOLEON knew *the strategic advantage of securing Spain in a struggle with Britain* but our Ministry seems to be as blind as bats' remarked Mr Lloyd George a week ago on the eve of his departure for a holiday in France He might have discoursed still further on the Napoleonic theme For Napoleon in common with all the most famous Generals in history was a master of the strategy of indirect approach According to this strategy you do not meet the enemy in a head on collision do not let him guess what you have in mind or where you will strike Because to do so to follow 'the line of natural expectation', is to *throw away immense advantages* In a *trice* you mobilise against you all the material and psychological factors there are on the other side What folly! So instead you save up the decisive encounter until the end You may even get all you want without it ever happening And in the meantime you exercise your strength on indirect objectives—getting rid of the smaller fry or the momentarily weaker fry (assuring the *ultimate Enemy as you do so of your* fundamentally pacific intentions!) those fry whose material resources you covet and which might have proved useful to the real Enemy or who lie in the way of the Enemy's line of communications

This is exactly what is happening today Germany wants hegemony over Europe She also wants the return of her Colonies So the ultimate enemy is England (now that the purblind English have repudiated Collective Security) who cannot allow any single Power to swallow up Europe and who holds the mandate for Germany's former African Colonies Accordingly Germany is fighting England already But following the strategy of indirect approach she is fighting not England but Spain When she and her ally for the time being Italy have conquered Spain they will be in command of the western entrance to the Mediterranean With air bases and naval bases on opposite shores of the Mediterranean—not to mention at *Majorca which both Italy and Germany are* using as an air base now against Republican Spain—England's lines *of communication* with India and Australia are cut To suggest that we can use the Cape route is of course abdication and kissing the rod No Germany and Italy however much Mr Neville Chamberlain will not see what all but he can see are fighting us now in the Mediterranean And we must either fight them now by supplying the Spanish Government with the arms we have hitherto refused to allow Spain to buy—or fight them a few years hence when Germany has become the strongest Power extant

It is said that Mr Chamberlain has been assured that Germany will not be in a to fight a major war until the year

then no doubt he anticipates that our rearmament will have reached so satisfactory a level that Germany will hesitate to strike But, in Hamlet's words, who has cozened him at hoodman blind? Time is on Germany's side, not ours While we are rearming she is sucking in her neighbours It is only necessary to look at a map of Europe to see what is happening As someone shrewdly observed, when Germany marched into Austria unopposed all France's allies on the continent were suddenly turned into liabilities Czecho Slovakia had another frontier to defend Poland sent an ultimatum to Lithuania and began what is really a penetration there the port of Memel being her envy But the inwardness of this is that Poland wants to form a Baltic *bloc* And this *bloc* of course would immobilise France's ally, Russia Roumania with its own brand of Fascism is already more than half in the stampede (And in Roumania is all the oil Germany requires Just as in Czecho Slovakia she is after the Skoda Munitions Works)

No there is no time to lose If we take a strong line now, we may avert catastrophe But nothing can save us in a few years' time If we embark on a war then we cannot win Indeed some wise men in England, such as Mr Bertrand Russell and Mr H G Wells believe that the next European War will never end

Perhaps it is worth while to digress for a moment and listen to what Mr Bertrand Russell has to say on the subject It is appallingly like the H G Wells film Indeed the only difference is that whereas in the film civilisation was brought back to the world by a race of super scientists, in Mr Bertrand Russell's view it is to be salvaged by America stepping in "after a catastrophe in Europe" Said Mr Bertrand Russell in an interview

"If I were a betting man and were laying a bet I should think the odds in favour of a big war within the next ten years about 3 to 1 If not in the next ten years, sooner or later I am afraid there will be war

"I think it will go on until Western Europe is reduced to chaos Industrialism and ordinary government would disappear The countryside would be full of marauding gangs of disbanded soldiers who would turn into bandits. There would be vast epidemics. All sanitary services would have gone to pieces There would be widespread starvation Petty chiefs would be setting up military despotisms all over the country You would have the kind of condition which existed after the fall of the Roman Empire"

I have said that if we take a strong line now we may avert disaster but that nothing can save us, or Europe, if we go on procrastinating But unfortunately there is a third alternative If we follow Garvin and the Beaverbrook star, and the Londonderrys and the Astors, we may merely deteriorate into a second class Power with Fascist leanings

Are we doing that already? Certainly the past weeks have been weeks of humiliation On February 22nd, in the House of Commons, Mr Chamberlain as a writer in the *News Chronicle* points out virtually invited Herr Hitler to invade Austria "We must not," said Mr Chamberlain on that soon to be famous-occasion "delude ourselves and still more try to delude small weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression and acting accordingly when we know that nothing of the kind can be expected" Not very surprisingly, less than three weeks later German troops marched into Austria And still less surprisingly, when our genteel Lord Halifax had with the Prime Minister put out a hand to stop the avalanche which they themselves had heralded they found the avalanche was threatening them! Has enough attention been paid to the last paragraph of that letter from Baron von Neurath which the Prime Minister read out in the House of Commons? There are two ways of reading it and one way it looks very like a threat "In this situation" wrote the German Foreign Secretary after giving the Nazi version of the state of insecurity in Austria, dangerous consequences could only come into play if an attempt should be made by any third party, in contradiction to the peaceful intentions and legitimate aims of the Reich to exercise on the development of the situation in Austria an influence inconsistent with the right of the German people to self determination"

Dangerous consequences to whom—to the third party? But the Germans in any event can spare us their threats Like a dog that has been trodden on (only the dog knows when it was an accident) we jump all round them to show how forgiving we are Just after the rape of Austria after our Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax had taken the German Ambassador to task in the matter, the two men were photographed together 'each smiling benignly upon the other" And at this very moment, at a time when the machinations of the Astors—the pro German group who have controlling interests in the *Observer* and the *Times*—have been pilloried in other newspapers and especially in a cartoon by the unshakeable Low, the Prime Minister has set the seal of his approval on this group by hastening off to-

spend the week-end with them at the Astors' home at Cliveden on the Thames

Defenders of the Prime Minister, of the mental attitude which clings to the policy of Non-Intervention, are leading us on and on to our destruction *Nothing* it seems, not the agony of Barcelona, not the heroic situation of Czecho-Slovakia, not the threat to the British Empire itself, can shake them out of their lethargy Any one who has ever canvassed in an election can recognise the type They are the optimum expression of the kind of voter who never thinks for himself, at bottom has no convictions, but has an instinct only to be on the winning side They think they are evincing an open mind when they take their tone from whatever appears to be the fashion—and all the time, of course, they are merely unconsciously seeing to it that whatever sun is in the ascendant, they will get some warmth from it That is the attitude towards Fascism in this country today Every day we hear of some notable defection Lady Astor is reported as the latest Jew-hater making attacks on the Jews at a meeting of the Conservative Foreign Affairs Committee and at a private dinner of the English Speaking Union Mr Beverley Nichols, sometime Liberal, sometime pacifist, who wrote a book exposing the armaments racket, entitled *Cry Havoc*, is publishing a book this week attacking the League of Nations, calling for fair play for the British Union of Fascists (though for the present he denies he is one of their supporters), and extolling the leader of the British Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley, as "one of the three most dynamic personalities in the Empire today" Apropos of Mr Nichols, it might be added, two things should be noted In the first place he is a member of the so-called Oxford Group, which cannot be too often shown up for what it is a Fascist mass orgiastic religion And then with regard to his plea for fair play for the Fascists Such appeals should always be resisted As the Elizabethans are said to have discovered long ago—Be tolerant of all but the Intolerant!

The trouble is of course that today's fashion suits the class in power so flatteringly that it needs a superman to disabuse them Indeed they are so sure of themselves, so powerfully aided by the Beaverbrook press, with its millions of daily circulation, which lines up behind them every unthinking little man who wants to be persuaded that we can keep out of Europe, that they imagine that the Opposition is as likely to come in with them as to provide an alternative Government May their disabusement come sooner than they think Perhaps the victory of General Franco, which they have so powerfully encouraged, will at last open their eyes to the hell they have let us all in for But for the moment the Government is shutting its eyes It is useless for the Spanish Government to continue to send us proof after proof of the arrival from Germany and Italy of more men, more guns, more aeroplanes Mr Chamberlain either has other information or repeats his parrot talk that Germany and Italy are not the only interveners They are so deliberately blind that they affect not to see what is obvious to a twelve year old who looks at a map of the Mediterranean That granted France and Russia are intervening on one side and granted Germany and Italy are intervening on the other, it still remains that we cannot afford to be indifferent For France and Russia, if they are intervening are intervening on the side that will keep the Mediterranean open Whereas Germany and Italy on the other hand can have no other hand, can have no other object in intervening but this—to gain strategic control of the Mediterranean and so emasculate Great Britain before taking her on in hopeless combat

But our ruling class insist on closing their eyes to all this In the early days of the Spanish Civil War, when it seemed that Madrid would fall, the Spanish Government got cold feet and began to flee The situation was saved by the Communists and other Leftist groups who have held Madrid together ever since. This our ruling class cannot stomach Rather throw away the gateway to our Empire than give succour to "communists"! Surely we shall not lose our gateway but fraternise rather with our opposite numbers, the ruling classes, the Fascists, in Germany and Italy. But they have overlooked one thing It isn't only the remaining democracies, America, France and the Scandinavian countries, who despise us for trying to "buy peace from the Danes" The "Danes" in this case despise us most of all and more than ever as we hasten to cover up and deny their lawlessness

It is very important to get this right The salient points in the present situation all boil down to this Mr Chamberlain's Government is sympathetic to the authoritarian Governments of Germany and Italy (They are much more up their street than are the variations on a Popular Front which are going on in Paris And they hope that their sympathy will be met half way Vain illusion!

For what is the Berlin Rome Tokio axis if it is not an axis directed against France and England? But our Government go on in the same inept way, keeping mum in face of one victory after another for the enemies of England—victories in the Far East in Abyssinia in Spain, in Austria Even when as a result of pressure from the League of Nations Union or from Mr Winston Churchill they depart from their complete mumness they stop short of making themselves plain beyond a peradventure And the only result is that they please nobody They have made an enemy of Japan without saving China They made an enemy of Italy without saving Abyssinia They have not saved Austria and if they are still in power (which Heaven *forfend) they will not save Czecho Slovakia*—but they have given Germany a pretty good hint that they are anticipating the possibility of being drawn into war in an ensuing Franco-German conflict And so Germany will go on getting ready to fight us What clumsy tactics! It merely means that in the end we shall confront an invincible Germany, confront her without a single ally except France who cannot help being in the same boat with us It makes you think of King Lear! (Do you call me fool? *All thy other titles thou hast given away* That thou wast born with)

Why are we so over-anxious for the good opinion of Germany and Italy, good opinion on their terms, and so wantonly careless of the opinion of the world at large—the only opinion worth having France has ceased to conceal her impatience with us The other day M Blum's old newspaper the *Populaire*, blew the gaff about Non Intervention "It is perhaps a unique case in history," it commented, for a great country to announce in advance that she will do nothing to prevent events which she would like, above all, to avoid But England is intervening constantly in all questions which crop up on the Continent of Europe She intervenes by her silence, by her granting of blank cheques and by the atmosphere of impunity which she creates round the worst misdeeds of international gangsters She intervenes by her silence Can anyone doubt the truth of that?

Italy at any rate was quick to take up the challenge And the Rome newspaper *Il Tevere* at once came out with the most insolent warning to France If France intervenes, it is most certain that a big mess will occur *If France seizes this occasion* for a coup, let her be ready to face other coups *If France moves a finger over the frontier* there will be a general movement"

It is eloquent of the mentality prevailing in Fascist countries that on the same day as this Italian newspaper was growling at France, and prophesying the deluge should she intervene in Spain and the Mediterranean the official Order of the Day issued in Rome was concerned entirely with a tribute to the Italian legionaries fighting in Spain Quite blatantly the Fascists demonstrate that there is one law for themselves and another for France and England when it comes to altering the *status quo* in the Mediterranean And these are the people whose favour we are courting, to whose increasing violations of Non Intervention we persist in turning a blind eye (Why do we *trouble to cover up their guilt? They glory in* it And show their contempt for us in doing so It isn't the enemies of Mussolini in this country who make Mr Chamberlain's task a difficult one It is the utterances of Mussolini himself)

If France thinks we are selling Europe to the Dictators, allowing an atmosphere of impunity to surround their misdeeds, it is nothing to what our American cousins think about it Perhaps it is one of the penalties for *refusing to be honest with ourselves, refusing* to take up the fight which is really our fight (since we are one of the greatest democracies) that we are losing the ability to see ourselves as others see us How often do we hear people in this country, who will not take up the burden of the League of Nations and its Collective Security blame America for staying out of the League? It never occurs to them that if we had put our best efforts into trying to make a success of the League into trying *to make it an instrument both of collective* security and of peaceful change America might have felt more attracted to it Why should America fight our battles for us when we are too lazy to fight them ourselves? This angle, which is to be commended to League defeatists, is amusingly suggested in the title of a book which recently appeared in America *England expects that every American will do his Duty*

One could digress along these lines but perhaps just one other thing should be said When Mr Chamberlain pours cold water on the idea of collective security when faint-hearts regretfully agree with him, let them not forget that the idea of collective security *has been going downhill ever since this present* Government came into power It is *they* who

started the chute and made the world safe for the Dictators When Sir John Simon washed his hands of far off China it was bad enough But when Mr Neville Chamberlain began his fateful work of shutting up the British Empire behind a tariff wall, he more than anyone or anything else destroyed the whole psychological back-ground for collective security or for any kind of collective action Self sufficiency and collective security—how can the two grow together?

But to return to Europe and to what is going to happen Is there any hope at all for us? Not any if the present Government and present counsels prevail There are a few men in Parliament who understand the way things are going But for the present at any rate it seems that there is little hope of their combining and putting themselves forward as an alternative Government A week ago it was canvassed as a likelihood Prominent people in the Labour Party expressed themselves willing to join with the Liberals, and with any others who shared their views on foreign policy, in a new Popular Front But alas, for the time being, *this is out of the question* because the Trade Union element in the Labour Party have rejected it All the same there remains one man whose speeches have caught the popular imagination—which have even influenced the present Government as appears from Mr Chamberlain's latest retreat from his retreat from the League ideal—and that man is Mr Winston Churchill He above all, with his genius for history and especially military history can assess the state of affairs and of peoples in Europe And perhaps he may yet find a way of getting Europe out of the mess

People these days have allowed themselves to get confused by the competing ideas of Fascism and Communism It is an inadequate way to look at men, to see only their labels Mr Churchill sees them as different countries—and as countries which can maintain their identities when given their place and their use in a general system of collective security For instance, with regard to Austria, Germany pretends that this is an "internal" affair which concerns only the German Reich And the isolationists of course would have it thought so also But, as Mr Churchill pointed out in his speech in the House on 14th March, the fact is that mastery of Vienna gives to Nazi Germany military and economic control of the whole of the communications of South Eastern Europe by road by river and by rail As a result "a wedge has been driven into the heart of what is called the Little Entente (Czecho-Slovakia Roumania Jugo Slavia), this group of countries which have as much right to live in Europe unmolested as any of us have the right to live unmolested in our native land And it is not too much to say that Nazi Germany in its present mood, if matters are left as they are is in a position to dominate the whole of South East Europe Over an area inhabited perhaps by 200 000 000 people, Nazidom and all that it involves is moving on to absolute control"

(So that is what we are up against No wonder the Dictators think we are pusillanimous to seek friendship on *their* terms Dictators do not make friends they make use of people)

Mr Churchill would go all out for a thorough going defensive alliance with France He would have France and England concert *action to preserve the independence of Czecho-Slovakia* The Nazification of the Danube States is a danger of capital magnitude to the British Empire To prevent this France and Britain should set themselves to unite the States of South East Europe To unite in their own interests Czecho-Slovakia Jugo Slavia, Roumania Bulgaria Turkey Greece All of these have powerful armies and immense resources Together they would form an immense resisting power All of these wish for nothing but to be allowed to dwell in peace with one another

Are we going to leave them to their doom? Is Mr Churchill a voice crying in the wilderness and is there no one in the Government with the courage and energy to initiate this positive programme of peace? If we shrink from it, if we allow the Nazi system to extend and envelop this vast area of Europe, can we doubt that it will one day turn on us? In that day mortal catastrophe will overtake the British nation and Empire—friendless we shall go to our doom, because while there was yet time we did nothing to save our friends in Europe

29th March 1938

ESCAPE

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE Haripura Congress was over The wonder city of bamboo that had risen on the banks of the Tapti was looking deserted Only a day or two before its streets had been full of an animated jostling crowd, grave and gay talking discussing laughing, and feeling that they were taking part in the shaping of India's destiny But those scores of thousands had suddenly departed for their distant homes and a sense of emptiness hung in the still air Even the dust storm had abated Having a little leisure for the first time since I came I wandered by the Tapti bank and, in the darkness of the approaching night, went up to the edge of the flowing water I felt a little sad when I thought that this magnificent city and camp, that had risen over the fields and waste lands would vanish soon, leaving hardly a trace behind Only the memory would endure

But the sadness passed and the desire that I had long nursed, the wish to go away to some far-off place, became strong and possessed me It was not physical tiredness, but a weariness of the mind which hungered for change and refreshment Political life was an exhausting business and I had had enough of it for a while Long habit and routine held me fast but distaste for this daily round grew, and while I answered questions and spoke as amiably as I could to comrades and friends, my mind was elsewhere It was wandering over the mountains of the north with their deep valleys and snowy peaks, and precipices and gentle slopes covered by pine-trees and deodars It panted for escape from the troubles and problems that encompassed us, for peace and quiet and the gentle sigh of the wind

At last I was going to have my way, to pander to my secret and long cherished desire How could I trouble myself with ministries coming or going, or the melting pot of international affairs, when the door of escape lay open before me?

I hastened north to my city of Allahabad and found to my dismay that some trouble was brewing I grew irritated and angry with myself Was I going to be thwarted and prevented from going to the mountains because fools and bigots wanted to create communal trouble? I reasoned with myself and said that nothing much could happen, the situation would improve and there were plenty of sensible people about So I argued with and deluded myself, possessed by the desire to go away and escape Like a coward I crept away when my work lay in Allahabad

But soon I had forgotten Allahabad and its troubles and even the problems of India receded into some corner of my brain The intoxication of the mountain air filled me as we climbed up the winding road to Almora in the Kumaun Hills From Almora we went further up to Khali riding on sturdy hill ponies for the last part of our journey

I was in Khali where I had longed to go for the past two years, and it was pleasant to be there The sun was setting and there was a glow on the hill sides and a hush in the valleys My eyes searched for Nanda Devi and her companion peaks of the snowy range, but they were hidden by light clouds

Day succeeded day and I drank deep of the mountain air and took my fill of the sight of the snows and the valleys How beautiful and full of peace they were, and the world's ills seemed far away and unreal Towards the west and the south east deep valleys, two or three thousand feet below us, curved away into the distance Towards the north towered Nanda Devi and her white-clad companions Fierce precipices, almost straight cut, sometimes led to the depths below, but more often the curves of the hill sides were soft and rounded, like a woman's breast Or they would be cut up in terraces where green fields witnessed to the industry of man

In the early morning I lay bare-bodied in the open and the gentle eyed sun of the mountains took me into his warm embrace The cold wind from the snows made me shiver a little, but the sun would come to my rescue and fill me with warmth and well-being

Sometimes I would lie under the pine-trees and listen to the voice of the wandering wind, whispering many strange things into my ears, and lulling my senses and cooling the fever in my brain Finding me unguarded and open to attack, it would cunningly point out the folly of

men's ways in the world below, their unceasing strife, their passions and hatred, their bigotry in the name of religion, the corruption of their politics, the degradation of their ideals. Was it worthwhile going back to them and wasting one's life's effort in dealings with them? Here there was peace and quiet and well being and for companions we had the snows and the mountains and the hill sides covered with a multitude and a variety of trees and flowers and the singing of birds. So whispered the wind, softly and cunningly and in the enchantment of the spring day I allowed her to whisper.

It was early spring still in the mountains though down below summer was already peeping in. On the hill sides the rhododendron flowers made bright red patches which could be seen from afar. The fruit trees were full of bloom and millions of tiny leaves were on the point of coming out to cover with their fresh and tender and green beauty the nakedness of many of the trees.

Four miles from Khali, fifteen hundred feet higher up lay Binsar. We went there and saw a sight which we can never forget. Stretched out in front of us was a six hundred mile stretch of the Himalayan snowy range from the mountains of Tibet to those of Nepal and in the centre towered Nanda Devi. There was Badri Nath and Kedarnath and many another famous place in that wide expanse, and just across them lay Kailas and Manasarovar. What a magnificent sight that was and I gazed at it spell bound, awe stricken with the majesty of it. And I grew a little angry with myself when I thought that I had missed this overwhelming beauty in a corner of my own province all these long years though I had wandered all over India and visited many distant countries. How many people in India had seen it or even heard of it? How many of the tens of thousands who visit annually the cheap and tawdry hill stations in search of jazz and bridge?

So the days passed and contentment grew in my mind but also a fear that my brief holiday would soon end. Sometimes a huge bundle of letters and newspapers would come and I viewed them with distaste. The post office was ten miles away and I was half inclined to let my mail rest there, but old habit was too strong and the possibility of finding a letter from some dear one far away made me open the door to these unwelcome intruders from outside.

Suddenly there came a rude shock. Hitler was marching into Austria and I heard the tramp of barbarian feet over the pleasant gardens of Vienna. Was this the prelude to that world catastrophe which had hung over us for so long? Was this war? I forgot Khali and the snows and the mountains and my body became taut and my mind tense. What was I doing here, in a remote corner of the mountains when the world was on the brink and evil triumphed and had to be countered and checked? Yet what could I do?

Another shock came—communal riots in Allahabad, many heads broken and a few persons killed. A few men dead or alive did not matter much but what was this disgusting madness and folly that degraded our people from time to time?

There was no peace for me then even in Khali, no escape. How could I escape from the thoughts that tormented my mind, how could I run away from my trembling heart? I realised that we had to face the world's passions and endure the world's anguish, dreaming sometimes it may be of the world's deliverance. Was this dream just a phantasy of the dreamer's mind or was it something more? Will it ever take shape?

For a few days more I stayed on in Khali, but a vague disquiet filled my mind. Slowly a measure of peace returned to me as I gazed at those white mountains, calm and inscrutable and untouched by human folly. They would remain there whatever man did and even if the present generation committed suicide or went to oblivion by some slower process, the spring would still come to the hill sides and the wind will rustle through the pine trees and the birds will sing.

But meanwhile there was no escape whatever of good or ill the future might hold. There was no escape except to some extent in action. No Khali could smother the mind or drug the heart into forgetfulness. And so to Khali I bade good bye sixteen days after I had come there and wistfully I took my last long look at the white peaks of the north and imprinted their noble outline on the canvas of my mind.

April 7, 1938

INDIAN ART IN TIBET—TUCCI AS EXPLORER AND MYSTIC

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D SC POL (Rome)

ON THE 14th January, 1938, Prof Giuseppe Tucci made certain statements in the course of a lecture delivered at the Royal Academy of Italy in Rome on his last scientific expedition in Tibet (June to October 1937) which are destined to acquire far reaching importance not only for Tibetan studies but also for researches on Indian history in regard to a period



Fig 1

Fresco representing the image of a goddess in the chapels of Mangnang

about which Tibetan documents resurrected by Tucci are eloquent He said that during his last expedition in the land of the Lamas, he had come across a huge quantity of manuscripts and inscriptions which would throw a flood of light on certain periods of Indian history—particularly the 13th and 14th centuries Interpretations of these manuscripts which are now in the library of the Middle and Far East Institute at Rome will be published in due course in the monumental work of Prof Tucci, the *Indo-Tibetica*, of which the first four volumes have already been published by the Royal Academy

By far the most important announcement, from the point of view of Indian culture, that Prof Tucci made on this occasion refers to his finding from records preserved in the monasteries of Ghianze and Eastern Tibet evidences of the fact that Tibetan art is merely a special province of Indian art—a fact that was revealed to him by the relics in the monasteries of Western Tibet several years ago The infiltration of Indian art into Western Tibet was associated by Tucci with the enlightened liberality of the Kings of Guge who invited from India the most illustrious masters of their time that transplanted into Tibet the doctrines and practices of Mahayana Tucci has very definitely illustrated, as we shall see later on in this article, that it was not only the inspiration of Indian art that was responsible for the beautiful frescoes adorning the walls, though now in ruins, of Western Tibetan monasteries but Indian artists themselves migrated into that country and settled there As early as 1935 Tucci wrote

"The sources of information speak not only of pundits and doctors invited to the court of the kings of Guge or having taken refuge there in a period which marks the decline of fortune for Buddhism in India but also of artists, especially from Kashmir, who introduced there the Indian traditions. One had to seek in the valleys of the Himalayas the confirmation of this information preserved in manuscripts as literary tradition and connect together the links of the chain of thought which, stretching from Mille united India and Tibet"[1]

Prof Tucci has explained this emigration of Indian artists to Tibet partly also as a means of their escaping from Moslem iconoclasticism in India Thus, he declared

"The Mussalman torment which was in its full swing at this time the hostility of new sects the rebirth of the orthodox schools already gave signs of the decline of Buddhism on the plain of Hindusthan The monks and saints the painters and sculptors, from the convents and universities burnt, sacked and menaced by the

1 Tucci and Chersi *Secrets of Tibet* (London, 1935), p ix



F g 8 Tucc exam nin_ nscrip ons on rocks w h s Lama n Ghianze



F g. 9 Panoramic view of Ghianze



Fig 7 A goddess in the Kumbum at Ghanze
The inscription at the foot of the fresco bears the name of *Sakya Muni* who according to Tucci may either be the founder of the monastery or the artist who painted the fresco



Fig 11 Goddesses at Ghanze
Fresco of the 15th century

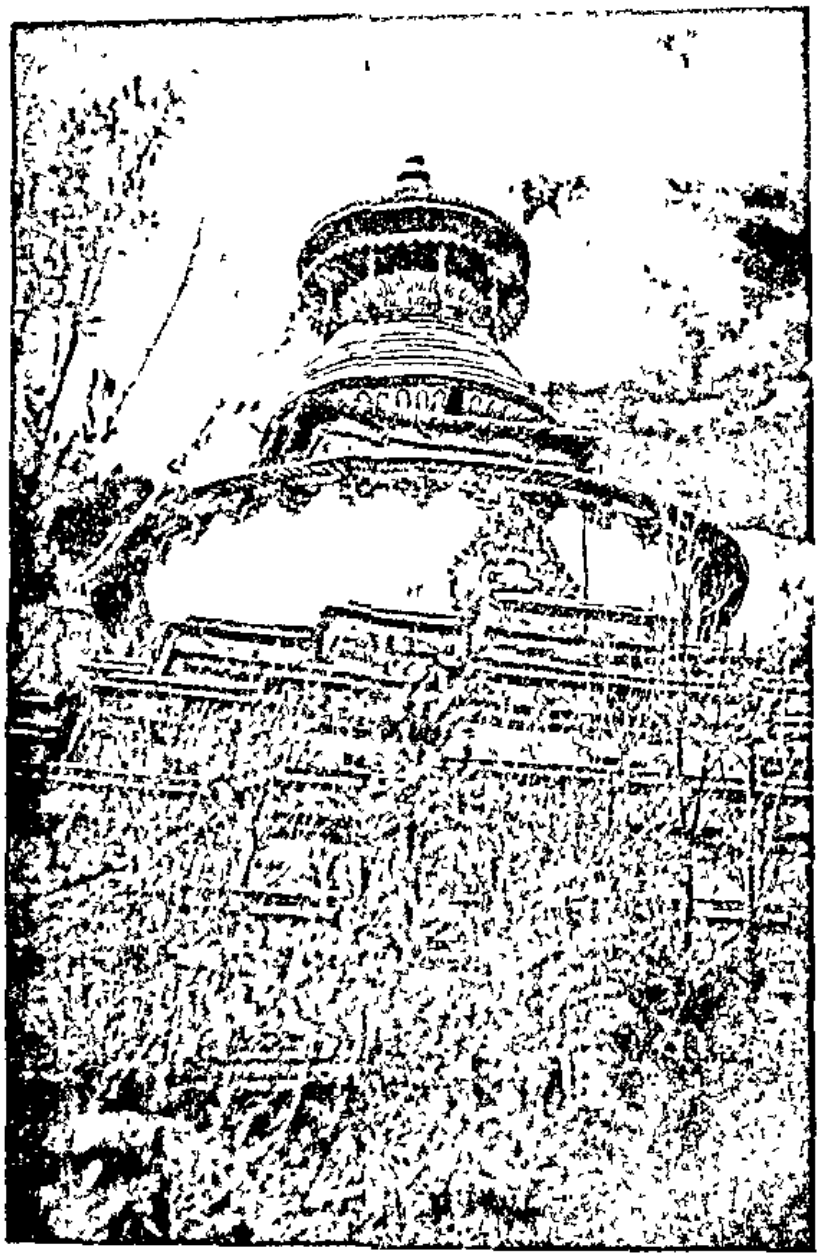


Fig. 13. The Kumbum or the Great Stupa of Ghianze



Fig. 6. Sculptured wooden doors : Toling



Fig 10 The Cycle of Vairocana, Ghanze



Fig. 12 A bronze statue of the 14 h century Ghanze

Mussalmans were gradually drawn into the Himalayan valleys *and were rescued by* the munificent piety of the kings of Guge Here on this immense desolation (speaking of today) reigned an unusual fervour of life, cities and temples monasteries and markets. The artistic genius of India left there its admirable traces which the course of time and carelessness of man are going to obliterate"[2]

This he wrote about Mangnang which he visited during his 1935 expedition But already before that time, when he visited Toling he was drawn to this conclusion, an evidence of which will be found in the following observation

"It is not improbable that some of the illuminated sheets, which may very well rival ours of the Renascence, *are the work of Indian artists, refugees whom Muham* madan persecution drove forth from the profaned Indian universities towards this land where Buddhism was prospering with renewed fervour"[3]

It is neither within the limits of the scope of this article nor those of my competence on the subject to make an attempt at determining to what extent Tucci's expeditions and researches have contributed to the reconstruction of the political and religious history of Tibet, particularly on account of the fact that this rewriting of Tibetan history is still in the process of *completion* Complexities may arise from the enormous amount of materials that have been brought home by Tucci which may require a lifetime to read and arrange so that he may leave a perfectly chronological history of Tibet begin *ning from the early Bon-po times* But competent authorities recognize that Tucci has already enlarged the field of Tibetan research and has contributed immensely to the stimulation of that vast interest which exists today among Indologists and Buddhistic scholars *Tucci has begun* where Francke stopped has avoided those pitfalls over which Sven Hedin stumbled, has carried to their destination those treks that had been given up by Young and Wessels in despair, although he acknowledges his debt to each one of them

"One cannot deny to Francke the credit for having directed the attention of scholars to many aspects hitherto ignored of Tibetan history and archæology he was an enthusiastic and tireless worker t whom we owe works which will remain for a long time fundamental But unfortunately he was deficient in that intimate comprehension of *realia*, without which it is difficult to understand fully the significance of Tibetan literature and art, he had neither the means nor the time to acquire that Buddhist culture and that profound and direct knowledge *of India* and its civilization with ut which it becomes difficult to understand and assess many of the cultural and historical manifestations of Tibet."[4]

2 *Cf* M Moulik *New Light on Indian Civilization in the Researches of Tucci* (Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 19 1936)

3 Tucci and Ghersi *Secrets of Tibet* p 161

4 *Ibid.* p *viii*

Be that as it may, what belongs absolutely *to the originality of* Tucci's research and interpretation is the establishment of a marked relation between Indian art and Tibetan art He claims this remarkable discovery in one of his recent books, and says

"*Thus for the first time the world of scholars will* hear about some of these temples lost in the Himalayan



Fig II

Fresco representing the image of a goddess in the chapels of Mangnang

valleys in which were transplanted in all their glory of light and colour the artistic traditions of the Northern Indian school of painting No one so far as I know, has yet spoken of Mangnang which for its frescoes of the eleventh century can stand comparison with the chapels of Ajanta and Ellora"[5]

A glance at the first four figures reproduced here which were discovered by Tucci in the chapels of Mangnang in Western Tibet would convince anybody of his theory I cannot do better than quote Prof Tucci's own remarks in connection with these frescoes which are very illuminating as to the dependency of Tibetan art on Indian He writes

5 Giuseppe Tucci *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milan 1937) P xii

"At present there are in lower Mangnang two chapels but neither has a name The name, if there was any, is now lost I could enter without difficulty into the chapels and then I was amazed at seeing that the walls were completely covered with the most splendid frescoes These frescoes have no relation whatever with the usual Tibetan paintings They betray the same artistic inspiration and the same pictorial method as evidenced by the ancient Indian paintings the design the chiaroscuro the type itself of the figures portrayed is quite Indian It is clear that we are confronted in this case with specimens of Indian frescoes of the 10th and 11th centuries which are related with those of Ajanta and Ellora Of course I do not state that there is any relation of direct dependency between the frescoes of those places and the frescoes of Mangnang but that even these must be considered as the offshoot of those Indian pictorial traditions of which Ajanta and Ellora were up till now considered as the unique specimens surviving Of course we know nothing of Kashmirian schools of art but there is hardly any doubt that this place which was so famous as a center of learning was also a very important center of art This fact is in a certain way evidenced



Fig III
Another Fresco figure

by the imposing remains of the old Kashmirian temples and by the Kashmirian sculptures which escaped destruction and also by the literary traditions In fact there could have been no reason for Rin chen bzan po to go to Kashmir to bring from there back to his native country about 32 artists had not been that place a great center of art I have shown in *Indo Tibetica* that the literary evidence to be found in the biography of Rin chen bzan po is supported by the archaeological discoveries which I made in Western Tibet and which unmistakably point to a very strong artistic influence of Kashmir upon the beginning of the art of Guge Up to now this influence could only be traced upon the wood carvings of some temples like those of Tabo, Toling Tsaparang, which are certainly due to these Kashmirian artists The temple of Mangnang is certainly another document of this cultural relation between Kashmir and Western Tibet It is a pity that we have not been able to take coloured photos of the extant frescoes but this much can be said that these figures are painted in that dark brown which is so peculiar to the old specimens of Indian mural paintings Of course we do not find here the same huge groups and crowds of people as in the big Ajanta caves. There was no space for this the chapel being rather small. Moreover the subjects are quite different, at Mangnang there is no attempt at representing the stories of the Jatakas. Through these Jatakas an echo, as it were, of life could enliven the paintings and make us have a glimpse of royal palaces, dances and wars, but here in Mangnang the atmosphere is exclusively mystical Those who built the chapels were specially interested in Mantrayana esoterism we are therefore confronted with symbols of mystic experiences rather than with aspects of reality Either we find independent figures of deities protected and encircled by the halo or complete group of gods which are meant to represent *mandalas*, viz, graphic expressions of certain truths to be properly understood and experienced [6]

Commenting on the frescoes reproduced here, Tucci goes on to say

From the artistic point of view I cannot fail to emphasise the great significance of some frescoes representing images of goddesses (figs, 1 2) which are perhaps the best specimens of Mangnang paintings Of course the artists followed their Indian traditions the new atmosphere in which they happened to work does not influence them in any way The hairdress ornaments earrings are quite Indian and have their counterpart in the extant Indian paintings The comparison of figures 1 2 with figure 3 shows that the paintings are not at all by the same hand there is in fact hardly any doubt that the fig 3 is in design and grace far below the other frescoes reproduced in figs. 1 2 Even in the chapel of Mangnang there was therefore more than one Indian artist and they were of different capacities (italics mine) Not less important and beautiful are the figures of flying goddesses on the corners on the either side of the central wall (fig 4) I may refer, for instance to Ajanta Cave nr 11 (in Tab x) where there are couples of flying deities which lack the softness and grace of our frescoes" [7]

This is so far as frescoes are concerned Tucci discovered in Mangnang by sheer venture and good luck a very rare object of Indian craftsmanship, since there were only two of these ivory images that he saw in entire Tibet. The temples in Mangnang are completely empty neither images nor objects of worship were found in them In addition, the fury of the Dogra

6 Giuseppe Tucci *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples* in "Artibus Asiae," Vol VII (Leipzig, 1937) Pages 191 204

7 *Ib d* Pp 199 200

wars passed over them Thus it is almost a miracle that such a rare object survived all these vicissitudes till today This ivory image (fig 5) is ascribed to Indian workmanship by Tucci for the reasons given in his words below

"It is in a slight *tribhanga* pose Unfortunately it is damaged both hands are missing and therefore even the symbols which they held The diadem which most probably covered the head of the image as one can perceive from the fittings still visible is also missing Traces of colours on the body the hair and the eyes are quite evident There is hardly any doubt that we are confronted with an image of Avalokitesvara though the fact that the symbols are missing prevents us from a better determination Probably it is Padmapani Lokesvara In this case the right hand should be in the *abhayamudra* and the left should hold the stalk of a lotus Anyhow it is certain that the workmanship is Indian as one can judge not only from the agility of the figure but also from the arrangement of the *dhoti* The *dhoti* does not cover completely the legs but rather goes round them being longer on the right than on the left the undulation of the border is clearly marked as very often it is done in the Pala images I refer for instance to those discovered in Kurkihar "

Objects of Indian art as discovered in Tibet are profusely illustrated in Tucci's works Mention might be made for example of the *terra cotta* of Tsaparang which Tucci considers as a fine specimen of Indian art of the post Gupta period 9 A specimen of Kashmiri wood carving found on the door panels of a Toling monastery is also reproduced here (fig 6 *See* Plates)

The 1937 expedition of Tucci in Eastern Tibet has revealed to him further evidences of the part that Indians played not only in the development of Western Tibetan art but also in that of Eastern Tibetan art Tucci has got hold of many manuscripts and documented evidences of this fact in the monasteries of Ghianze which show that it was not only the Kashmiri painters that filtered into the kingdom of Guge but also Central Indian artists and even Bengali painters crossed into Tibet probably through Nepal and enriched the medieval artistic traditions of Tibet The photographs taken by Prof Tucci's companion Fosco Maraini during the last expedition are not yet available nor are the manuscripts exhausted of their contents voluminous as they are Nevertheless I have been able to get hold of several photographs of Ghianze for which I am indebted to Mr Maraini One of them (fig 7 *See Plates*) a *fresco depicting* a worshipping goddess and adorning the walls of the *Kumbum* (great *stupa*) at Ghianze contains an inscription which reveals the name of one Sakya Muni which is not a Tibetan name at all Prof Tucci is of opinion that Sakya Muni was either the founder of the monastery or was the painter of the fresco In any case he hopes to throw further light on this particular theme when he will have examined all the manuscripts relating to Ghianze Thus in respect of Tucci's



Fig IV

The figure of a flying goddess in the Mangnang Chapel

researches the sphere of Indian influence on and participation in the development of the Buddhistic art of Tibet is growing larger, and what one day was merely a logical speculation for this Italian scholar is today borne out and illustrated by historical facts based on documents literary and artistic

But Tucci is not merely an explorer He is a poet and a mystic Tucci was early attracted by that great humanistic tradition of Indian civilization which conquered entire Asia and gave rise to what we call today 'Greater India' He devoted years of patient industry to the study of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy visiting the great centres of learning in India as a humble

8 *Ibid* Pp 202

9 G Tucci *Indo Tibetica* (Rome 1936) Vol III. Part II. P 74

student and he has been able to penetrate deeply into the mysteries of Indian philosophical thought not by means of logic and rationalistic processes alone but by means of that excess of sensibility and intuition which distinguish the mystic from the scholar. Long before he had set his foot upon the soil of Tibet it was suggested to him that the great heritage of Buddhist



Fig. 1
An ivory image found in Tibet

thought must have left its ineffaceable marks on the history of Tibetan mysticism and religious art. He saw in the diverse systems of Indian metaphysics an all pervading unity. In a recent article Prof. Tucci wrote:

"If India is a unity, this unity does not consist in uniformity but in synthesis, in continuous development and transformation."[10]

In a review of his latest book, *Santi e Briganti* (op. cit.), it was mentioned that it was remarkable that being a Christian he knelt down before Mount Kailas in its eternal snow and peace, the abode of Siva. When it was brought to his notice he protested that he was not a Christian in the ordinary sense of the term and on being asked by me to what particular religion his spiritual convictions are more akin, Prof. Tucci unhesitatingly declared 'Buddhism'. Anybody who has seen his house at Rome will understand the significance of this statement. It is an entire monastery by itself. Images of gods and goddesses, those of Radha and Krishna as well as those of Tantric esoterism, votive lamps burning day and night at their altars and incense redolent of distant monasteries across the seas and the smell of ancient and worm eaten manuscripts lying about on his table, perhaps prepare for Tucci that atmosphere which is essential for meditation. On me his Rome residence has made the impression that it has been conceived as a means of escape from the usual environments of a metropolitan city, to relieve the anguish and desperation which the restlessness of modern European life imposes on a good citizen. In moments of leisure, he stretches himself in the suggestive atmosphere of his monastic home generally lighted by dim votive lamps and listens to *Kirtan* and *Bhairabi* smoothly played on a gramophone. Tucci has an all embracing spirit uncorrupted by politics and his spiritual experience is permeated by that great comprehension which is the essence of humanism. The unity of the universe which alone gives a meaning to cosmic reality is a realizable vision before his intimate consciousness where the I and the not I are merged into one. Love of India which was the passion of his youthful days continues to be the most influential background of his spiritual experience. For Tucci it is a thing of the spirit above politics and above self interest. I have often heard him say to his friends though apparently in jest that if re birth is possible he would undoubtedly be born in India in his next life.

10. G. Tucci, "L'Umanesimo Indiano", in *Asiatica*, Vol. III, No. 6, Page 418.

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

The Claim of Bengali

A Literary Symposium at the "Rabi Basar"

By Prof Khagendra N Sen ma *Member of the Rabi Basar*

Prologue

If the subject matter of the symposium shocks anyone it only points to a hypnotism of the mind induced by constant propaganda supported by considerable financial resources, in favour of Hindi as the National Language of India The object of the symposium conducted by a representative literary association of Bengal—the *Rabi Basar*—has been to break this hypnotism and to argue the rightful claim of Bengali

In this connection it would not be amiss if we sought briefly to introduce the *Rabi Basar* to those readers of *The Modern Review* who may not have heard of it Briefly speaking the *Rabi Basar* is an association of some notables in the field of Bengali literature and its culture Its membership is limited to fifty only Dr Rabindranath Tagore is its *Adhinayaka* and Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur, Editor of the *Bharatvarsa* its President The late Sarat Chandra Chatterjee was a member of the Association while its present members include Srijuts Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor *The Modern Review and Prabasi* Upendra Nath Ganguli Editor *Vichitra* Jogendra Nath Gupta Editor *Sishu Bharati*, Principal S N Maitra ma (Cantab) ies (Retd) Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitra Head of the Department of Indian Vernaculars University of Calcutta and other distinguished votaries of the Bengali literature Sj Narendra Nath Basu ex Editor *Bansari* is the Secretary

If we were allowed to anticipate the discussions the results of which are summarized in this article the point of view of one of the participants in the symposium might here be noted lest a sense of realism might desert us when discussing this extremely interesting and engrossing issue It is that neither does the conception of a State nor that of a nation require a unity in language Canada the Union of South Africa Switzerland do not have *one* national language Besides since it does not appear that the British people are particularly keen to leave us to a purely indigenous form of Swaraj and since the naming of a particular language of India as her national language would not mean that the remaining 224 languages of India should at once cease to be written or spoken the question of a national language is inevitably attended with the more serious problem of *trilingualism* which it would require a stout heart to face

The symposium organized by the *Rabi Basar* in a series of meetings resulted in a vigorous plea for Bengali as the national language of India Though the arguments were all directed in that behalf the Association finally adopted the following resolutions *viz*,

1 That the *Rabi Basar* records a strong protest against the attempts by the Indian National Congress and by the Hindi speaking communities to make Hindi the national language of India and requests the sympathy and active assistance of all Bengali speaking communities in India and outside whether Hindus Muslimans or Christians in resisting the move

2 That till Hindi or any other provincial language fully and completely attains the status deserving of a national language and is understood at least by an appreciable number of the educated men and women of the world outside India, English should continue to be the common medium for expression throughout India

3 That the discussions at the Congress sessions should be conducted in the English language or in the principal language spoken in the province where the session is held

The resolutions were moved by Sj Upendra Nath Ganguli

There were two main trends of argument followed by the speakers who participated in the symposium One was that the claims of Hindi were not superior to those of Bengali to be treated as the national language of India though by persistent propaganda and publicity that was the impression that was created in the minds of the public while on the contrary

the reverse was the case Both Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan and Sj Jogendra Nath Gupta pointed to the effects of the Hindi Prachar propaganda and lack of the same to push the claims of Bengali One speaker Sj Prafulla Kumar Sarkar put it down to the inferiority complex of the Bengali community

Another line of argument on which the symposium concluded as the second and third resolutions suggested was that it was time neither for Hindi nor for Bengali to be accepted as the national language of India As a working arrangement, English should continue to be the common language of India until either Hindi or any other language becomes sufficiently important to justify its claim to be treated as the national language of India

The symposium revealed the following specific reasons why the claim of Hindi to be treated as the national language of India cannot be allowed —

Sj Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

Both on account of the respective numbers of those who used or understood the two languages as well as from the point of view of literary excellence and expressiveness, Bengali has a claim superior to that of Hindi Bengali is spoken by 8 crores of people while the claim that Hindi is spoken by 11 crores is *without justification* Many a patois and dialect have been dubbed Hindi The same latitude should be extended to Bengali If that is done, it will be found that Bengali-speaking peoples are more numerous than Hindi-speaking peoples The "Hindi" spoken in Bihar and the "Hindi" spoken in Rajputana are quite different As for *South India, if Hindi can be intelligible to them,* Bengali can be no less so He referred also to the move to introduce "Hindusthani" in the place of Hindi to placate Muslim opposition "Hindusthani" is a cross between Hindi and Urdu It is a new idea, but it has got powerful sponsors, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad and even Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji! This patronage of a non-descript language that *has no literature of its* own and has no adequate power of expression is something very *strange In this connection* Srijut Sarkar referred to Dr C R Reddy's remarks *which are* given below

> They say that it is this 'in betweens" (between *Hindi and Urdu) called* 'Hindusthani' that they will make compulsory so as to obviate Muslim opposition I wonder if this 'Hindusthani' which is neither Hindi nor Urdu, has a literature of its own or *if it is that happiest* of all human developments a language without literature, like "Tulu which causes youngsters no trouble, as it has no books to inflict on them
>
> "Bengali has a far more highly developed literature, throbbing with the modern spirit and great aspirations, than Hindi' And perhaps next to Bengali is Marathi Why should these be placed at a serious disadvantage for Hindi?

The national language of a country is not a matter of compulsion, it has never been so. The claim of that language to be considered as the national language is highest which can be spoken, written and read easily The Bengali alphabet is more convenient to learn than Hindi, —it has only one script, while Hindi (or Hindusthani) has at least three different scripts, including Nagari Hindi grammar is also more difficult than Bengali Actually, what we call Hindi is not a single well-defined language

Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, Chief Editor of "Bangiya Mahakosha" or *The Encyclopædia Bengalensis*

Pandit Vidyabhushan recognized that both *Hindi and Bengali could lay claim to the status* of a national language, but a comparative *estimate of the merits of the two languages* Pointed to the greater usefulness of Bengali *Moreover, Bengali is more akin to* Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi and Eastern Hindi *than what is called Hindi So far as the facility* of learning a language is concerned, those *communities of South India who now understand* neither Hindi nor Bengali would learn Bengali quicker than Hindi Further, it must be noted that the Bengali language has more words of Sanskrit origin than any other language, while in the construction of sentences, Bengali has a similarity with that of the languages spoken in the Northern, Western and Eastern India As for the claims of Hindi from the point of view of its numerical following, it was pointed out that the languages spoken say, in Darbhanga, Delhi, Lucknow, Bareilly, Meerut and Agra were far removed from what was commonly supposed to be Hindi Hindi is absolutely strange to Hyderabad and to communities speaking the Dravidian languages

Sj Upendra Nath Ganguli:

Sj Ganguli referred to the classification of Bengali as second to Western Hindi in the Census Report of 1931 and pointed out that Western Hindi was not a homogeneous group but consisted of several divisions with linguistic differences as well as differences in script The *Census Report* did not discuss the question of script If Bengali with its allied languages were

compared with Hindi with its allied languages the claim of Bengali would be found to be a superior one It was also pointed out that while Bengali had only one script Hindusthani was written in two or three scripts If the literary excellence of any language were any criterion Bengali stood foremost among all the languages of India It would also be inadvisable to replace the English language by Hindi (or by any other language) as it would mean a severance of our contact with Western culture a retrogression instead of progress Sj Ganguli also exposed the hollowness of the claim that the recognition of Hindi as the national language of India would make for the unity of the Indian people It was wrong to say that Hindi speaking peoples were very widely distributed throughout India for in Assam Orissa Bombay Ajmer Merwara Baluchistan Madras Baroda Cochin Hyderabad North Western Frontier Province the Punjab, Kashmir Mysore Rajputana Gujarat, Travancore and several other Provinces Hindi was either not understood at all or was a subsidiary tongue

Sj Sailendrakrishna Law of *The Modern Review* editorial staff

Neither the racial homogeneity of the population nor identity of language is regarded as an essential mark of Statehood Even if India had been independent the heterogeneity of her population or of her languages need not have prevented the evolution of a common nationhood What is wanted is unity on the psychological plane The cry for a common language is thus a misleading cry There is also ambiguity behind this movement for making Hindi the national language of India Is Hindi intended to be the State language or the language of the common people? In this connection the speaker emphasizing the claim of Bengali spoke of the cultural unity of ancient India Sanskrit which was the language of culture was the State language, while common people talked in different forms of Prakrit Language and literature are indissolubly bound together Modern Bengali which has more than any other Indian language inherited the treasures of Sanskrit has a literature which is undeniably the greatest in India In any case, we in Bangal have to learn Bengali and we cannot avoid learning English The movement in favour of Hindi would impose a third language on us This effort at the introduction of *trilingualism* is a move without precedent But why bother at all about a national language *when the nation is still far from independence*? It is like putting the cart before the horse Any way, a language that has attained a high level of literary excellence can very well stand the strain of being the national language of India

With this the symposium concluded It has been found possible to give only an abbreviated (in some cases let me add unduly abbreviated) version of the main speeches only leaving out the discussions that were provoked by the speeches The discussions reached a high level Considerations of space have also prevented the incorporation of the statistical materials on which some of the speeches were based

Epilogue

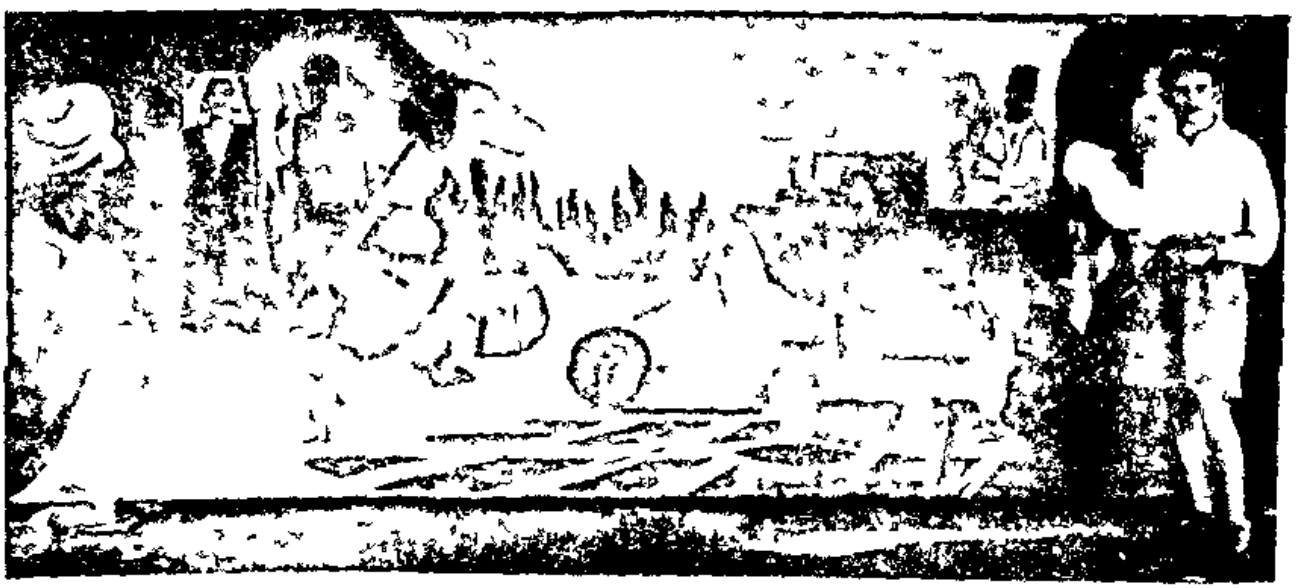
It is through the courtesy of the Editor of *The Modern Review* that we have been able to present the view of a small but reputed body of litterateurs to the rest of India on a matter of deep cultural significance The publicity thus secured is a little belated but as the adage goes better late than never Bengal has often in the past fought shy of even legitimate publicity, and has not unoften *paid dearly for it In this* particular case the *Rabi Basar* considers it important that Bengal's point of view should not go unrepresented and we are sure that in this *view the intelligentsia of Bengal* would fully stand by us It is interesting to note that the Bengal Hindu Sabha has also recently urged the claim of Bengali Opposition has been voiced in Madras also It is a pity that the question of a national language should be treated *as a political question to be solved* by politicians on political grounds There could be no greater danger than the artificial superimposition of a culture There should be a halt to this agitation for a national language

—AND BUDDHA SMILED

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

I sought and found an aged tree
To sit beneath and meditate
And delve beyond the mystic veils
Surrounding birth and life and fate
Then Buddha wise I searched within
My secret introspective mind
To contemplate the spiral planes
Reincarnations trends in kind
I dropped a strand of consciousness
Into subconscious depths as well
Though straining every faculty
To trace it as it slowly fell
I never knew that hours could seem
So timeless turning on and on
Like opalescent looms of thought
That idled in the cosmic dawn
Somewhere I lost perspectives clear
My transient mind refused to pause
With one idea long enough
To comprehend effect and cause

Then too, there were diversions small,
The mottled Paisley of the leaves
That moved and dappled over me
In oriental filigrees
I marked the rank and file of ants
And ants like coolies in the sun
Climb up the crenelated hills
Of ancient earth I watched them run
And marvelled where nature's labored plan
Endowing with such strange results,
Ants with an overwhelming urge
To toil while men considered cults
My occidental restlessness
Would not permit me seven years
Nor days, to sit and contemplate
I found myself assailed by fears
That never could I fathom depths
Of thought, if I were so beguiled
So easily misled by ants
And sensed that Buddha knew
and smiled



"Kashmir Crafts A poster by J Patrick Foulds
The artist is seen standing

PREMATURE RETIREMENT OF THE INDIAN SERVICES

By BOOL CHAND, M.A

In an article on Bureaucracy Professor Harold J Laski states that

'The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions and a refusal to embark upon experiment In extreme cases the members of a bureaucracy may become more or less a hereditary caste manipulating government to their own advantage'[1]

Such manipulation of government to their own advantage seems to have become a basic characteristic of the British bureaucracy in India An example of how institutions arise in India, lose their original meaning and purpose in the course of their working and end ultimately by becoming so many additions to the long list of traditional' privileges and rights of the bureaucracy may be found in the recent developments of the principle of premature retirement of the Indian Services

II

The principle of premature retirement is not one of the 'ancient' privileges of the Civil Service Its genesis may be traced to a recommendation of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1918

'The Committee think that every precaution should be taken to secure to the public servants the career in life to which they looked forward when they were recruited and they have introduced fresh provisions in this clause (*i.e.*, 96B) to that end If friction occurs a readjustment of persons or places may often get over the difficulty and the Governor must always regard it as one *of his most important duties to establish a complete* understanding between his Ministers and the officers through whom they will have to work But if there are members of the Service whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them then the Committee think it would be only fair to those officers that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere if it is in the power of His Majesty's Government to do so, or in the last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State in Council may consider suitable to their period of service'[2]

It need hardly be stressed that the purpose of the Joint Committee was not to add to the rights and privileges of the Civil Service *On the contrary, the recommendation of the* Joint Committee seems, by implication, to point out the extreme absurdity of the existing claims of British officers in India and as it were, to hint that since India had now started on the road to responsible government, it was time that this absurdity were once for all rectified The manifest object of the recommendation was to get rid of those useless civil servants who might feel 'unable to serve the Government of India with advantage to the state, by *reason of the introduction of the reformed constitution*,'[3] and whose continuance in office could do nothing but harm to the chances of the success of the new constitution

It was in this spirit that the Secretary of State in Council formulated the scheme for premature retirement which was issued (as *Cmd* 1727) in the year 1922 Under this scheme All-India Officers selected for appointment before 1st January *1920*, and not permanently employed under the Government of India, were allowed to retire before they had completed the normal full service on a pension proportionate to their length of service It was assumed that those who entered service after 1st January, 1920, had informed themselves of the nature of the constitutional change which had taken place and its probable effect upon their work and prospects The permanent employees of the Government of India were excluded from the benefits of the scheme, because 'the Central Government was still an official government, responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament, and there had been no such alteration in the conditions of service of officers employed under it as would justify a relaxation of the rules governing retirement and pension'[4]

The terms embodied in the Orders were rather unduly liberal The pension available to the prematurely retiring officers was computed on the basis that the maximum pension of £1,000 was obtainable after 21 years' active service[5] so that the officers were allowed as pension such proportion of £1 000 a year as the

1 *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences* III p 70

2. Report of the Joint Select Committee 1918 (H C., 203), pp 11 12.

3. *Cmd* 1727, p 3

4. *Cmd* 1727 p 3

5 The maximum pension of £1 000 is really for certain special appointments 'carrying additional pensions.' All prematurely retiring officers were given the advantage of these special posts

period of their service bore to 21 years And in addition the retiring officers were allowed to secure all the benefits of Civil Service Family Pensions Scheme etc fully if they would continue to make contributions upto the age of 54 according to the scheduled rates or proportionately to their period of service if they should choose to stop future contributions at once It was no wonder that by 1922 200 All-India officers had retired under these special terms and by 1924 the number had risen to 345 '6

In view however of the very nature and necessity of their inception these Orders had definitely stipulated two conditions (i) that all applications for permission to retire prematurely in consequence of the reforms must reach the Local Government before the 31st March, 1924 'by which date officers will have had ample opportunity to appreciate the effects of the recent constitutional changes and to arrive at a considered decision '7 and (ii) that any officers who did not apply before that date would not be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional developments that may subsequently take place These two conditions were in reality of the very essence and purpose of the new scheme But bureaucrats cannot be expected to take any such limitations upon their 'privileges' in spirit of resignation True to their tradition of manupulating government to their own advantage they set about to secure a modification of these conditions till by means of gradual and steady changes in the rules they have succeeded in transforming what was meant to be a limitation upon their choice into a far-reaching and valuable addition to their already abundant store of privileges

How they have managed to do so, it is the purpose of this essay to analyse

III

The first step in the process was taken in 1923 On 15th June of that year, there had been appointed the Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India8, to enquire among other things into 'the organization and general conditions of service, financial or otherwise, of those Services '9 To this Commission 'numerous representations '10 were made by British officers of the Indian Services, complaining against the *harshness* of the rules governing the grant of proportionate retiring pensions The modifications asked for were (i) that compensation for loss of career should be given in addition to proportionate pension in cases other than of compulsory retirement

(ii) that the privileges of retirement on proportionate pension should be extended to members of the Central Services

(iii) that the right to retire on proportionate pension should be extended indefinitely

The Commission rejected the first demand, because in its view the present rules governing the grant of proportionate pensions were sufficiently generous already 11 The second demand, which was urged upon it 'with great insistence 11 it found more difficult to wholly reject Although it was unable to support '11 the extension of the privilege to members of the Central Services it nevertheless recommended that any British officers who were employed in the reserved field should be free to retire on a proportionate pension, if at any time the department in which they were employed should be transferred to the control of Ministers responsible to the legislature the option to retire remaining open for one year from the date of such transfer This recommendation had the result nullifying the effect of the rules of 1922 which had definitely provided that after 31st March 1924, no officer would be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional development that may subsequently take place In another way also the Commission destroyed the whole effect of the Orders of 1922 for it completely accepted the third demand of the Services that the right to retire on proportionate pension be extended indefinitely and recommended that in the case of all future British recruits to the All-India Services this rule should be made and a clause inserted in their contracts to that effect

IV

The activities of British bureaucrats, however do not seem to have been solely confined to making representations to the Royal Commission on Civil Services in India Their influence was presumably working all this time in another direction also and here comparatively freer from the gaze of the Indian public, and therefore perhaps with surer chances of success Indeed, the effect did become visible in this

6 *Simon* Commission Report Vol I (*Cmd* 3568), p 267

7 *Cmd* 1727, p 3

8 *Under* the chairmanship of Viscount Lee of Fareham.

9 Terms of Reference *Cmd* 2128 p 2

10 *Cmd* 2128 p 43

11 *Cmd* 2128 p 44

quarter even before the publication of the Report of Lee Commission.[12] The Report of the Lee Commission was presented on 27th March, 1924, but exactly two months and eleven days before the Secretary of State in Council had already issued detailed rules for premature retirement with 'amplifications and clarifications'.[13] These rules were in the main a reproduction *in the form of statutory rules of existing orders*',[13] but the time limit specified in the original Orders of 1922 as to the last date for applications was cleverly *omitted* in these detailed rules. Equally well was the other condition ignored that officers who failed to avail of the concession of premature retirement now would lose all such right in consequence of any future constitutional development.

About these rules of 1924 the Simon Commission said thus:

> In 1924 when the Lee Commission reported the concession of premature retirement extended only to All India officers who had entered the service before 1920 and it was to continue in force until the action proposed to be taken on the Report of the Statutory Commission was known. The position then would necessarily be reviewed.[14]

How the time-limit of four years had suddenly got extended to ten and odd years (for the Statutory Commission was to be appointed only ten years after the operation of the Government of India Act, 1919) one fails to understand and better had not seek to enquire, for the methods of bureaucracy are not always simple and straightforward.

These rules of 1924 were further amended in minor details on the 12th of May and 5th of August, 1925, and were then reprinted in an amended form. From this reprint even the ineffective sentence that these rules were in the main a reproduction of existing orders had vanished. That sentence had been a mere meaningless tautology even when it was first used in the rules of 1924, as the interpretation later put on those rules by the Simon Commission shows, its disappearance from the rules of 1925 served to pave the ground for further changes in the terms governing premature retirement, for now it was possible to invoke the authority of the 1925 rules in the future.

V

It may not be entirely irrelevant to refer to the recommendations of the discredited Simon Commission in relation to the principle of premature retirement, for these recommendations form the real basis of the recent legislation on the subject. The Simon Commission said:

> Under the present rules whatever right an officer has to retire prematurely may lapse twelve months after action has been taken upon our Report. If no extension is given, we are apprehensive that a considerable number of able and experienced officers will retire while they can rather than take the risk of continuing their service under the new conditions without any right of pension until they have completed the full term of service. This would be disastrous not only to administration at the moment but to recruitment for the future for it is certain that premature retirements would seriously affect the willingness of young men to join the service. We recommend therefore that retirement on proportionate pension should remain open without limit of time to any officer who might under the present rules have so retired *upon the coming into force of the constitutional changes* which we have proposed.[15]

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill 1933, took its cue from these recommendations of the Simon Commission. After enumerating the various general rights and safeguards like protection against dismissal or reduction, indemnity for past acts etc., common to all members of the Public Services, the Report of the Joint Committee goes on to mention a 'special right' of the officers appointed by the Secretary of State to 'such compensation for the loss of any existing right as the Secretary of State may consider just and equitable.[16] Among these existing rights, the Joint Committee includes the right to premature retirement on proportionate pension,[17] although when exactly this right come to 'exist' and on exactly what grounds, it becomes on analysis a little difficult to understand.

These existing service rights of officers appointed by the Secretary of State, the Report goes on to point out, proceed from two sources, some of them being conferred by the Government of India Act itself, and others 'embodied in statutory rules made by the Secretary of State in Council'.[18] Normally, that distinction in the source of origin would cause a fundamental technical difference in the validity and force of the two types of service rights, for while the rights which are conferred by the Government of India Act could be *modified and abolished only* by an amending Act of Parliament, those conferred by the

12. *Cmd* 2128.
13. Statutory Rules and Orders No. 61 of 1924.
14. Simon Commission Report Vol. I (*Cmd* 3568), p. 273.
15. Report, Vol. II (*Cmd* 3569) p. 291.2.
16. Report of the J. P. C., H. C. 5 (Vol. I Part I), p. 176.
17. *Ibid*, p. 374.

Secretary of State in Council could be taken away or modified by that authority without any reference to Parliament at all Yet in practice, the force of that distinction has been greatly diminished by the suggestion of the Joint Committee that

'The whole body of service rights from whatever source derived may properly be regarded as forming a single code, which the members of the All India services now serving may equitably claim should not be varied (at least without a right of compensation) to their disadvantage [18]

VI

In pursuance of these recommendations of the Joint Committee the Secretary of State with the concurrence of his Advisers has recently issued new Orders to regulate premature retirement on proportionate pensions [19] These rules cut new ground altogether Firstly cancelling all previous rules regarding premature retirement, these Orders lay down that the right of premature retirement shall accrue to all officers of All India Services selected or appointed before the 1st of April, 1937, and to all officers of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police to be selected or appointed thereafter, whose domicile at the time of such selection or appointment is non Asiatic Secondly these Orders render any declaration to the effect that retirement on proportionate pension is sought on account of the introduction of reformed constitution unnecessary and needless

These new Orders thus have changed the whole view and meaning of the institution of premature retirement Premature retirement was initiated as a temporary measure to meet temporary exigencies The principle had been on the whole coolly received by the Indian public (even though it meant a wholly unjustifiable burden upon the Indian exchequer), because it was clearly meant to be operative only for three or four years in order to get rid of unwilling and therefore undesirable British officers On the pretence of a continuous series of short leases, the right of premature retirement was kept operative throughout the period of last eighteen years And now it has been imposed upon India in a new form as a permanent right of non-Asiatic members of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police, to be perpetually operative in the future and to be modified or abolished only in barter for 'such compensation as the Secretary of State may consider just and equitable' Is there any more sordid example of manipulation by the ruling bureaucracy of the institutions of law and government to its own advantage?

VII

For look at it from whatever point of view one might, the principle of premature retirement fails to appear even of the slightest and remotest advantage to the country wherein it is designed to operate Its benefits accrue completely to British bureaucracy its consequences for India—political, financial, and administrative—are wholly unsavoury

The political necessity for the institution of premature retirement as admitted by the Simon Commission, consists in the British Government's desire to attract more British recruits for the Indian services Whatever might be the validity of such desire to the British Government—for, the provision of well-paid jobs for British young men in India does in a very real sense help to lessen the competition for higher jobs at home, and contributes incidentally to the strengthening of British grip over India—, from India's point of view, any attempt to popularise recruitment for the Indian services in England by artificial baits and indirect increase of emoluments cannot but be highly unwelcome a venture, for its effect can merely be to impede the progress of the Indianisation of Indian services and Indianisation of the tone of Indian government generally

From the economic standpoint, the consequences of the free operation of the principle of premature retirement might well be disastrous to India Already the amount of annual payments to England by India is enormous, the operation of the principle of premature retirement can result only in adding to it greatly Under the Orders now in force, it should be possible for an officer of the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Police to retire after the service of ten and a half years that is to say, at the age of 32 or 33 years and claim from India a lifelong pension of £500 a year, with a large number of other highly valuable benefits Speaking theoretically would not the existence of such possibility lead to a growingly large number of British civilians seeking premature retirement from a country, service in which is at best distasteful to them, in order to look for a less hazardous even if comparatively less remunerative, job at home? In effect, then, under the scheme of premature retirement the role of the Indian tax payer would be merely to maintain, throughout their long life, an army

18 Report of the J S C., H C 5 (Vol 1 Part I) p 176

19 Statutory Rules and Orders No 431 of 1937

of Britis h young men who may have chosen in the earlier part of their life to take a short holiday of ten years or so in India

Looked at from the administrative point of view, the first few years of service in an administrative position are hardly different from a holiday, or at best but a period of training So that the result of the operation of the principle of premature retirement would really be this, that the British young man would learn his job at India's expense, and as soon as he has learnt it, he would return home or go to some other part of the British Empire or the world, where he would utilise his training and knowledge and still continue to live largely upon India's head

Is it not desirable that a principle or an institution, which is capable of producing such harmful results should be brought to an end at once ?

TRIBAL POPULATION AND CHRISTIANITY

A Plea for Organised Mission Work Among the Tribal People by the Hindus

By D N MAJUMDAR *Lucknow University*

CHRISTIANITY in the United Provinces has suffered a set back as will appear from the figures of percentage variation since 1901 From 1891 to 1901 the percentage increase in the number of Christians in these Provinces was +75, in the decade 1901 1911 it was +13 and in 1921 to 31, +2 While during the decade 1921-1931, the Muslims increased by +10 8 the Hindus by +5 7 (from a decrease of —4 2 in the last decade) and the Aryas by +54 7 Evidently this decrease in the ranks of Christianity is to be traced not to a defect in enumeration as Christians show a higher literacy and are more organised than other communities but to a *defection* The Census *Superintendent of* the U P explains this defection as due to the fact that many who returned themselves as Indian Christians were imperfectly converted They were found in small groups in towns and the larger villages and the permanence of their conversion was not assured Missionary efforts *for economic and other reasons* were very much restricted so that many of the borderline converts have gone back to Hinduism orthodox or reformed The sweepers and Chamars who in the Meerut district returned themselves as Indian Christians in 1921, returned themselves as Aryas in 1931 But the most important cause of this decline, I should think, is the comparative difficulty of providing economic assistance by the missionaries and thus groups which embraced Christianity from secular rather than spiritual benefits retraced their steps and are swelling the ranks of the Aryas

The total number of Indian Christians in the Province of Bihar and Orissa (the two have separated and have formed independent units), enumerated at the Census of 1931 is about 403 700 Of this number 261,776 or 65% are found in one single district *viz* Ranchi 96% of the Indian Christians in the Province are to be traced in the Chota Nagpur Plateau The *primitive tribes furnish the most fruitful source* for Christian missionaries The Oraons, the Mundas, the Kharias and the Sonthals have between them contributed 88% of Christians in the Province In areas where the tribal people are dominant there has been little defection in number, but in those areas where they live in *association with other communities who are* numerically much stronger than themselves, they have either identified themselves with the Hindus or have adopted Christianity The Sonthals who live mostly in the Sonthal Parganahs show an increase from 670,535 in 1901 to 754,804 in 1931 The increase in the number *of those who follow tribal religions is from* 589,590 in 1901 to 744 418 in 1931 The Christian Sonthals show an increase from 7 064 in 1901 to 9 963 in 1931 The Hindu Sonthals record a decrease from 73 881 in 1901 to 423 in 1931 This shows that where the Sonthals are dominant even the Hinduised Sonthals take a pride in their tribal culture today, but in areas where they are in a minority, they have either accepted Christianity or listed themselves in the ranks of Hinduism Similarly the Hos who live in a compact area and enjoy a protective form of administration have not provided a fruitful field for Christianity while the

Mundas, the Kharias and the Oraons of the Ranchi district have made the largest contribution to Christianity

Before the British rule was consolidated in Chota Nagpur, the Mundas and cognate tribes appear to have lived by hunting by jhum cultivation and by the collection of jungle produce They used to clear a patch of land, by felling the forest trees and setting fire to them and when the field was burnt down they *planted seeds in the ground with the help of the* digging stick It is a wasteful method of agriculture no doubt but the virgin forests of the Chota Nagpur Plateau allowed such expansion for a time

Soon after the British Government came on the scene Hindu farmers began to immigrate into the asylum of the Mundas in large numbers As S C Roy puts it

> With foreigners from Bengal and Bihar unacquainted with the customs the land tenures and the *languages of the people in all the subordinate govern*ment posts and with alien landlord the Mundas had indeed a very trying time of it

Signs of unrest among the aboriginal population all over Chota Nagpur proper was abundantly in evidence Now and again serious riots broke out There was an insurrection in Tamar which was not quelled until Lieutenant Cooper made an expedition against the insurgents and *reduced them*[2]

For a time the Government helped the cause of the landlords as it meant increased revenue from them Everywhere the Zemindars have been giving grants to the new-comers Hindus Sikhs and Mussalmans who were fast ousting the original holders of the soil The oppressive conduct of the new Jagirdars led to great hardship to the Mundas and Oraons and *they deserted their villages to escape* the turbulance of the landlords The insurrection of 1831 was only "*the bursting of a fire that* had long been smouldering' In the words of Mr Blunt who was at the time (1832) a member of the Governor General's Council the insurrection originated in the dispossession of the Mankis and Mundas of a number of important Pergannahs from their hereditary lands *and* leadership of the people, countenanced if not instigated, by some influential person or *persons in the area* The quelling of the insurrection ushered in a new epoch in the administration of the country and Chota Nagpur was constituted as a Non Regulation Province The change in administration however, did not mend the situation The fight between the Hindus and the aborigines of Chota Nagpur took another form With the help of the law *courts and the police who were recruited from* Bihar the Hindus again became masters of the field and considerable oppression and hardship were meted out to the aborigines In spite of the best efforts of the administration things did not improve much and the advent of the missionary in Chota Nagpur was hailed by the *aboriginal people as an accession of strength* to their cause Towards the end of the 19th century the denudation of the forests and the reckless husbandry of them as customary among the primitive tribes led to stringent forest laws with reservation and protection of considerable part of the forest in Chota Nagpur and thus the Mundas were faced by famine The little land they had was incapable of *supporting the pressure of population nor did* they prove skilful farmers like the Hindus Besides much of their country by this time passed into the hands of the Hindu owners

The Christian missionaries came on the scene, promised to assist the Mundas in their fight against the Hindu landlords

> "They helped them with loans which were to be transmuted into gifts in case of conversion while some *of them through a misguided zeal even held out hopes* of new grants of land to the famishing people"[3]

The Mundas felt a great relief and saw in Christian culture an escape from imminent danger This led to a large scale conversion of the Mundas into Christianity and a tightening of reins by the alien landlords For a time the converts were persecuted and became martyrs This gave a filip to the movement for conversion *with the result that the number of converts* began to increase by thousands The economic benefits to the converts the arrangement for their education and grants for their families, and the consequent improvement of their standard of living helped to consolidate the position of Christianity among the aboriginal elements

As S C Roy wrote in his monograph on the Mundas

> 'From the very commencement of their work in Chota Nagpur *the Catholic Fathers perceived that unless* effective means were devised to improve the material condition of the converts religion will have little hold on their minds

The Catholic Mission Industrial School was opened at Ranchi in the year 1894, with a *view to the amelioration of the economic condi*tion of the Christian converts of the Mission

1 *The Mundas and their Country* by S C Roy
2 Dalton *Ethnology of Bengal*
3 *Mundas and their Country* by S C. Roy

The school was intended to turn out carpenters and masons. This school was discontinued after some time and another large industrial school was started at Khunti which lies in the heart of Munda country. A large Tile factory was opened by the Rev. Father Hoffman in the year 1908 which now trains a number of Mundas and Oraon boys and young men in the manufacture of roofing and flooring tiles with cement and sand. The Chota Nagpur Catholic Co-operative Credit Society was registered under Act X of 1904 on the 2nd December 1909. It is a large centralised society embracing the whole Roman Catholic population of Ranchi and formed with the object of enabling the members of the Mission to constitute themselves into a system of federated and autonomous societies with the central institution. This society which was organised on the Reiffeisen system has done wonderful service for the aboriginal converts. Thus the success of Christianity in Chota Nagpur is to be traced to the splendidly organised educational and benevolent institutions of the Catholic Mission while the self-sacrificing zeal with which the missionaries have worked and the picturesque forms and ceremonies connected with Catholic worship have naturally appealed to the aboriginal mind and the fruit of well organized activities are to be seen in the following figures [4]

Tribe	Year	Actual strength	Number per mille Hindu	Number per mille Tribal	Number per mille Christian
Ho	1911	470 179	143	851	3
	1921	441 424	112	834	3
	1931	513 158	218	748	4
Kharia	1911	133 657	283	503	217
	1921	124,531	364	369	274
	1931	146,037	353	911	436
Khond	1911	30 879	448	552	
	1921	287 355	453	547	—
	1931	315 709	531	469	—
Munda	1911	490 948	181	655	164
	1921	460,319	204	522	204
	1931	549 764	298	459	243
Oraon	1911	587 411	89	719	197
	1921	566,383	110	619	211
	1931	637 111	349	423	223

Though with Christianity has come economic advantages an appreciation of the rights of the tribal people as original clearers of the soil an appreciation of the benefits of a higher standard of living and many other temporal benefits, yet conversion to Christianity has not solved the social problem of the converts. Conversion to Christianity has not eradicated the primitive habit of thought and action. Christianity has helped only to supplement the tribal pantheon without seriously challenging or dispossessing their indigenous gods and spirits. Nor has Christianity succeeded in eliminating the caste system in India. As Risley put it caste is in the air and Islam and Christianity even are not free from it. The social distance in India between the higher and lower groups has led to conversion to the Sikh faith to Islam or to Christianity.

> But even after conversion the social stigma attached to the untouchables or depressed groups has not altogether disappeared."[5]

The southern Indian Christians distinguish between the castes of the converts in the seating accommodation in Churches.

The following extracts from the *Statesman* of the 30th December 1936 will explain this.

> The difference between Catholic Harijans and caste Catholics over the matter of seating accommodation in St. Mary's Cathedral Kumbakonam reached a climax on Christmas Day when it is reported the front door of the Church was closed and two other side gates opened for the admission of caste Christians and Harijans separately.
>
> Some Harijans while attempting to effect an entrance through the caste door were it is stated ill-treated by rowdies hired for the occasion. Those who managed to enter were not allowed to worship. The caste Catholics stood in front and obstructed the view of the altar.
>
> "The Harijans convened a mass meeting yesterday and condemned the attitude of the Indian Bishop who it was alleged, had been siding with the caste Catholics. The meeting also took exception to the Bishop's conduct in forcing Harijan women attending Church Services along with caste women to confine themselves to the segregated portion of the Church. A resolution was passed requesting the Bishop to accord equal treatment failing which another conference would be convened to settle their future relationship with the Catholic Church."

The Mazhbi Sikhs are looked down upon by the Sikhs who are not Mazhbi while the dislike of the exterior castes remain even when they turn Muslim [6]

In the matter of cultural progress also the aboriginal converts do not show a very high standard compared to their erstwhile brethren. Child marriage exists among the Christians of Bihar and Orissa. Between the ages of 5 to 10 47 per thousand Christian girls are married or widowed the figures of girl wives among the tribal population in the same

4 *The Census Report of Bihar and Orissa*, 1931

5 *Census Report of India* Vol. I Pt. I 1931

6. *Census Report of India* Vol. I Part I 1933

age period being 97, while that for Hindus are 290 and Muslims 342 Late marriage is customary among the tribal population, compared with 564 among Christians (the figures for Hindus being 909 and Muslims 937), so that in the matter of postponement of marriage, the Christian converts do not show a wide divergence from tribal practices The number of unmarried per thousand males among the tribal population between the ages of 25 to 30 is 136 while the figure among the Christians is 110 The figures for women are 62 and 70 respectively Whereas there are 63 unmarried girls between the ages of 15 and 20 among Muslims there are 91 among Hindus 436 among Christians and 313 tribal

The religious life of Christian converts does not appear to be fundamentally different from that of the aboriginal tribes Primitive tribes are by nature singularly tenacious of purpose and cling to old traditions Even where the tribes have been assimilated into the ranks of Hinduism tribal deities have only been supplemented by others introduced from the popular Hindu pantheon When a Munda lies in the district hospital and undergoes a systematic treatment for illness his wife and mother offer prayers and sacrifices to the tribal deities at home so that medicine and propitiation together bring about the desired cure When epidemics sweep away the aborigines and the tribal deity presiding over such calamities is propitiated by the village medicinemen by offerings of hen, pig and goat the tribal officers receive adequate support and assistance from the Christian converts as well as Hindu ed members of the tribes concerned

The conception of a mysterious power *viz*, "bonga' is at the basis of primitive religious life in Chota Nagpur and this power is believed to give effectiveness to all beings and things[7] This power conception is also a feature of the religious beliefs of the Christian converts and Christ is given the role of a power, a seer, a healer and a preacher just as Singbonga or Marangburu of the Munda-speaking tribes A very reputed authority on primitive culture of this area has shown how animistic habits of thought have not been eradicated by Christianity and the basic ideas and fundamental beliefs of the Christian converts and the followers of tribal religion are largely similar

Whether Christianity has succeeded in transforming the mental and moral life of its converts is an open question, but it is undeniable that the material advancement brought about by the Missions has more than compensated any lapse in this respect If Hinduism wants to reclaim the aboriginal tribes, it will only be possible by a liberal scheme of economic uplift The lines of activities introduced by the Christian Missions will have to be adopted to offer material assistance to the backward communities and for this purpose, I propose the following scheme which may be adjusted to suit local conditions

(1) A Central Institute for organizing Mission work in different areas should be inaugurated

(2) This Institute should train missionaries or few centres under its direction should be established. The young missionaries must be prepared to sacrifice their comforts but they will be maintained by the Central Organization on a scale of subsistence allowance

(3) The training of the missionaries should include a study of the languages of the area where the missionary will be required to work, and a course on cultural anthropology which will enable him to understand and interpret the cultural life of the people, a course in general economics including co-operation and a thorough grasp of the eternal tenets of the Hindu faith They should be above sectarianism

(4) Collecting funds and providing for industrial and technical training of the backward communities and assisting them in their struggle for economic existence

(5) Introducing reforms among the backward communities and reducing the social distance between the different social groups

(6) Removing disabilities by education and persuasion

(7) Organization of sports recreation fairs and festivities and to encourage the people to give up habits prejudicial to their family, such as the habit of drink, etc., and to adopt practices from neighbouring groups which are beneficial and have been proved to be so

(8) Above all the missionaries will be required to work with self sacrificing zeal to devote heart and soul to the work entrusted to them They should conform as far as practicable to simple and ascetic habits of life

7 *A Tribe in Transition*—Longmans Green & Co, 1937



WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MONEY?

By RICHARD B GREGG

I

Money has so many functions that you cannot be sure just what will happen when you use it Its manifold abilities are as if we were somehow to assemble a piece of gold a quart measure a push cart a refrigerator a national flag and a barometer blend and mix them all into one thing able to perform all or any of the functions of those different articles and give this thing a name A without any marks to distinguish the separate functions Nor have *we any* way to control which one of these functions will act on any given occasion I start to use it as a quart measure but find that its properties as a refrigerator are interfering with the measuring I want to do Or I start to trade it as a piece of gold but the emotions roused in my customer by its being a flag spoil the result I had expected and incidentally stop the action of the barometer Or the push cart runs away with the refrigerator and leaves me empty handed and lamenting What is the matter with money?

Let us see what different things money does It is complex and performs many kinds of actions, the economists tell us They say that money is

(1) a medium of exchange
(2) a measure of value usually for the purpose of exchange
(3) a means of transferring value from place to place
(4) a store of value *i e* a means of transferring value from one time to a later time
(5) a symbol of credit (trust) and
(6) a standard for estimating the present value of a future act or obligation though this function may be only a variant of the measure of value function

Thus it has what for shortness' sake we may call an exchange function a measure function a transfer function, a storage function a symbol function and an estimating function

This tool money with its many uses is not like any of the multi functioned machines such as some of the complex metal-working lathes or the grain combine which reaps, thrashes, winnows and puts the wheat into sacks In such machines the different operations are always performed in the same order or are at least completely controllable and the result is uniform This is not the case with money

Doing so many things money has many meanings That is to say a dollar regarded as a word in the language of economics, is ambiguous I may intend to use it only as a medium of exchange but the man to whom I hand it may take it primarily as a store of value, and proceed to hoard it Or he may use it in any of the possible permutations and combinations of its functions of which by algebraic rule there are a great many Hence people cannot tell surely what a given use of money will do The confused and differing opinions of bankers and economists is one example of this uncertainty If in talking you used words which each had five or six different meanings you could be sure of only one thing that your auditors would misunderstand you and be confused So the use of money confuses men's minds and emotions and motives In dealing with thoughts and emotions even more than when dealing with things it is important to be clear This confusion in the money tool creates greater difficulties than would a many functioned purely material tool This confusion makes the abuse of money easy and its control difficult In regard to the social problems of money the common man is bewildered and helpless

The wisest historians tell us that man *learns very very slowly or perhaps not at all* from his past history Yet he has made great advances The advances have come when he has invented a new tool or a new discipline, or discovered and stated a law of Nature or of spirit or when he has made improvements in any of these tools, disciplines or statements Many of his tools are material such as the wheel or the telephone, enabling him to use more effectively the external forces of Nature Some of the tools are intangible such as intellectual concepts or partly intangible and partly tangible such as symbols enabling him to use more effectively his inner forces of mind and

emotion Indeed, disciplines and statements of the laws of Nature or of spirit are also in the nature of tools So we may say that man has progressed by inventing tools, external or internal

Money is one of these tools in its modern forms partly tangible and partly intangible Its immense importance we all know I believe that an improvement in this tool and symbol would enable the human race to take a great step forward

Money is a commonplace of our environment Being an artificial thing it is not used instinctively and unconsciously as we breathe air, but always consciously and for deliberate purposes Yet such thought as we give to it is rather mechanical exterior and descriptive We talk about what we do or should do with it overlooking usually what it may be doing with us We have learned that physical environment influences man we can appreciate how intangible forces of history and customs have shaped men, especially those of other nations than our own We ourselves have been moulded by the tools we use but it is not so easy to realize clearly in what way and to what extent We tend to forget that any means which we constantly use not only determines the character of the end actually achieved but also modifies our character in the process Money is such a tool such a means and such an element of our environment How have we adapted ourselves to it? Has its effect upon us been wholly desirable? If not can we as in other well known instances alter this part of our environment to our advantage?

To understand this effect of money let us examine in more detail the different things it does

As a Medium of Exchange

Solely as a medium of exchange, money has been an immense boon to man It has given him freedom to a degree that probably none of his other inventions have done Without it he was chained to certain areas and very narrowly circumscribed in what he could eat, wear, possess do, and learn Before money was invented life was appallingly monotonous meagre and oppressive This function in itself seems to be wholly beneficial with no drawbacks I

As a Measure of Value

When we come, however, to the function of measuring value, though that, too is immensely important and useful, we begin to meet trouble It is well known that in relation to the things which it will buy, money is a very unstable unit In 1919 a dollar bought, on the average, only half as much goods as it bought in 1913. By 1927 it had again changed so as to buy about 70% of what it bought in 1913 Smaller ups and downs are going on every day We refer to this phenomenon as change of prices or fluctuations in the cost of living, but it is just as true to say that the change takes place in the dollar A loaf of bread has as much physiological value to me now as it had a year ago but I pay 11 cents for it now as compared with only 10 cents a year ago If my dollar is a measure of value it ought to stay steady all the time just as a yardstick or a pound weight does and measure me out the same quantity of the thing it is designed to measure In reality it is as if I were using a rubber yardstick 36 inches long yesterday, 30 inches long today, 41 inches long next week If shops use false weights and measures the shopkeepers are heavily fined or put in prison, but the variations in the measure of the value of what we constantly buy and sell do not bring punishment to anyone except the poor old citizens themselves For purposes of exchange, variations in the value of money are equivalent to variations in every standard of weight and measure The hardships and injustices thus caused have at present no redress

Money is intended to measure values, that is to say, what people desire and people s desires change from time to time But in regard to quantities of personally consumable goods people s desires usually change gradually, —much more slowly than variations in prices

Could carpenters build decent houses if their foot rules varied in length from day to day? Could engineers build safe bridges or dams if their measuring chains were elastic? Could scientists or mechanics get valid and lasting results if they used variable units of measurement? Then how can we expect to have a secure and satisfactory economic structure while we use so erratic a unit of value as money? This difficulty is not something that anybody can escape for this zig zag measure of value is at the same time our only medium of exchange so we all have to use it nearly every day and often many times a day

There is another aspect of this measure function of money Exchange of goods is an

1 See *Money Power and Human Life* by Fred Henderson John Day Co New York and London 1933 *Move the Goods* (pamphlet) by Stuart Chase *Ibid.*, 1934

The Story of Money by Norman Angell F A Stokes Co New York 1929 also London

important characteristic of our civilization Science has strongly impressed upon us the uses and benefits of measurement and has taught us how to measure a great many things which formerly were unmeasurable—*e g* electricity the distance of stars the velocity of light We combine our ideas of exchange and of measurement and we think that almost everything can be measured and even measured in terms of money But it is not so You cannot measure the beauty of the statue of the Buddha at Sarnath with a yardstick there is no means of measuring goodness or wisdom or personality All you can do is to appreciate such things True people pay large sums for works of art and assert that they are worth so and so many thousand rupees but that is not a true measure Nor can you even accurately measure personal service or work Certain qualities cannot be expressed in terms of quantity, and certain intangibles cannot adequately or accurately be expressed by tangibles To apply a money measurement to such things is at best only a rough metaphor

As a Store of Value

When we come to money as a store of value we find another set of difficulties as well as a great advantage This storage function resulted from the historical origin of money The first kind of money was not metallic coins or stamped pieces of paper but cattle or ornaments such as cowrie shells Later iron copper silver and gold were used as money In each case the thing chosen had value in men's eyes and was a commodity of trade Hence for many centuries money has been itself a commodity We all trade with it exchanging it for the other things we want All commodities have their price of course The thing exchanged for money when money is sold has to be other commodities though the values of the other commodities are measured in money unit terms Ever since bartering or exchange in kind was abandoned all prices have been in terms of money

The money commodity is rented more than any other form of personal property This rental of money we call loaning or borrowing The rent price of money is called interest Those who specialize in the storing and renting of money are called bankers

Since money is a tangible store of value and hence a commodity its price like that of all commodities fluctuates somewhat according to supply and demand Probably this cannot be wholly prevented Fluctuations in the price of money are the same as fluctuations in the standard measure of value If we could separate the storage function from the measure and exchange functions we could greatly reduce these fluctuations in the price of money and prevent immense loss and hardship

While money is highly useful as a tangible measurable store of value nevertheless we need some sort of restraint laid upon it so that it would not be regarded as the ultimate absolute value The state of the arts and sciences constitutes a big slice of real economic value and security for both the individual and community Yet prior to the arts and sciences and aside from them a constant and regularly active mutual trust and its manifestation in many forms are the source of economic value and security This trust in turn rests upon a strong common purpose and interest and liking of people for one another and non violent modes of solving conflict Such conditions are summarized in the word *peace* These conditions consist of a combination of inner attitudes and outer activities consistent with the inner feelings But a money economy makes security depend on individual selfish acquisitiveness instead of on trust Trust grows when men serve first and foremost the community and the common purpose There has sometimes been an element of service and community purpose in the making of private fortunes but it has not often been predominant Money splits up community security and plays upon men's fears—fears of the future and of each other's motives fears that compel them to compete with one another to a harmful degree Money has worked on us so long that it is now hampering the further development of science, art and technology 2

Since exchange plays a great part in our life and since money combines the three functions of exchange measure and storage we tend to think of money not only as a symbol or a store of value but as itself the supreme value This idea that money is the supreme value developed into that ancient delusion called Mercantilism the idea that money is the only real wealth This in turn is probably responsible for our harmful tariffs the common reluctance to import as much or more than we export the fear of an adverse balance of trade'

In former days economic security depended much more upon the mutual support afforded by the institutions of family community clan

2. See *The Frustration of Science* by Sir Daniel Hall and others, Allen & Unwin London 1935

tribe, caste, or church Those institutions constituted the store of social and economic value for the individual as well as for society as a whole Religion supplied the deeper moral and spiritual values Now that all those institutions have weakened we have tried to fill the need for a store of value by means of money It is quite likely however that the actual process was the other way around—that the use of money for this purpose did not come about because the old securities and values had decayed, but that the use of money was one of the important causes of the breakdown of those institutional forms of security and value

Nowadays we have to possess and use money *in order to exist* Since it is the store of value and seems to be the one sure means to economic security and to the survival of human life, people rank it above all other prizes For example, people will risk their health in order to make money because money will buy the services of doctors nurses and hospitals Again men will sometimes commit crimes and breaches of trust in order to win money With money they can acquire prestige high social position and always the services of skilled lawyers It has even been suggested that sometimes police, district attorneys or juries can be purchased and judges influenced by the power and prestige of money So the attainment of money wealth seems to some worth the risk of honour and character Money seems the supreme value In a civilization based on exchange, money is the primary means to power

As Simmel[3] pointed out money makes possible great secrecy By means of it one can hide vast wealth in very small space This secrecy of money disguises many of its harmful aspects

Because money is a store of value it becomes a symbol with emotional content For purely rational purposes this emotional content is a disadvantage and confuses thought, just as it would confuse science if the terminology of science were poetic and emotional

Money as a Tool

About this stage in the discussion some critic might say, "You are making an absurd mistake You are ascribing all sorts of moral evils to money Since money is a tool, it can be and is, like other tools used for both good and evil purposes The wrong lies not in the inanimate tool, but in the motives of those who use it You should not criticise the tool, but the evils for which the tool is sometimes used"

To such an argument I would reply that money, because it is a store of value, is a very special kind of tool, not wholly outside men's minds and desires It is so dependent on understanding and convention that it is partly intangible partly almost living Economic values are closely intertwined with physical existence and with the higher ranges of human life and so become moral as well as economic values The function of storage of values is inherently moral Exchange, saving credit, economic power and security are moral as well as economic affairs Although the amorality of Nature may be maintained as a logical proposition, man's tools and symbols cannot be wholly divested of moral quality and moral effect because they are his own creation and used for his purposes They partake of his nature

The economic and moral realms, like any other two levels of reality, are not wholly separate For intellectual convenience we distinguish between them, just as we distinguish between the front and back of a man's head but they are not wholly unrelated Life recognizes connections and wholes which intellectual analysis may for certain purposes want to keep distinct The connections between morality and economics may be so subtle that they are not always immediately apparent Nevertheless, the different levels are organically connected and the connections do operate in the long run and often fairly soon Money as a part of our environment and as a part of our thoughts does affect our moral relationships And because money in its present forms has inherent defects, bad moral results of its use are inevitable If a defective semi-automatic telegraph machine transmitted words different from those which were intended misunderstandings and confusion at the receiving end must result

As Transferer of Value

The ability of money to transfer value from place to place, together with the fact that money is a symbol for trust has made possible the extension of trade, modern industry, modern agriculture and modern mining into almost all parts of the world Money has increased the external energies of mankind Money is largely responsible for the immense growth of cities and of urban population over rural population, also for the development of the modern business corporation It is one of the chief means and perhaps one of the chief causes of the modern wages system In that system the owners of

3 In his *Philosophie des Geldes*

capital, for their pecuniary profit, have organized into factories, transport systems, etc the wage earners, who are legally free but economically bound Together with machinery, money has created the so-called triumph of European civilization

The power of money reaches farther than daily personal contact and common understanding of men can do Hence finance is definitely irresponsible For example, the managing director of a Malayan rubber plantation living in London may be the kindest of men Yet because he cannot know the daily events and circumstances of the lives of the Chinese workers on that plantation he can hardly avoid doing them grave injustice by his executive orders

We know how much trouble it makes for a man to put him in a position of responsibility and yet not give him powers commensurate with his responsibilities Very soon he gets severely criticised for something which happens within his jurisdiction but as he is powerless to correct the situation he resents the injustice done him Responsibility without corresponding power results in moral wrong So does power without corresponding responsibility Money sooner or later always creates a situation of partly irresponsible power

As a Symbol of Trust

Money, especially in its modern paper forms has become a symbol of credit that is to say, of human trust belief and faith In the course of centuries of the use of symbols their meaning seems often to wear away, leaving only the shell devoid of almost all its original significance When the meaning is lost, people think and act as if the concrete symbol were more important than the intangible reality which the symbol originally represented For example, with some Christian church members that has happened to the symbol of the cross They act as if a cross placed on a building sanctifies that building forgetting that holiness *is a quality built on far different and intangible* factors When a symbol has lost its significance, a means has become an end

That has happened to money Nowadays a young man begins life with the thought that he must earn money If he were wiser he would try always to conduct himself so as to earn people's trust—trust in his industry honesty, and skill He could be sure that having earned the reality—trust— the symbol of that reality would automatically and inevitably *express itself to him* Usually that expression would be in the form of money, but it might be also in the form of opportunities for work, offers of other positions etc Usually, that expression would be fairly direct and prompt, but it might find full expression only years later, or come in roundabout form as a favour to a relative or a friend I may be watching some boys at play and see one of them do a fine and honorable thing May be ten years afterward I shall express the trust which his act created in me by recommending him for a job somewhere Sometimes trust springs into being instantly but more often it is a plant of slow growth

If I keep a shop and cheat a customer, I may get his money on that one occasion but I lose his trust That means the loss of all his future trade and perhaps that of some of his friends which would be likely to amount to much more than what I won by the single dishonest transaction The intangible reality of trust is more important than the concrete symbol of money

People have made prolonged and careful study of all the details of accounting and finance and practice them with utmost scrupulousness Consider such items as allowances for interest depreciation obsolescence repairs insurance of all sorts vouchers, receipts day *books ledgers profit and loss statements*, balancing of accounts etc If people were as careful and eager about the details and fineness of creating human feelings of trust and belief as they are about the manipulation of financial symbols what a happy world we might build!

All these contrasts between the symbol of trust and trust itself do not mean that an honest man can absolve himself from all responsibility and go ahead using money and thinking about it in the same old way His trustworthiness does not put an end to the defects of money and their moral consequences Nor does simply trying to be a trustee of one's money for the general welfare take care of many of the difficulties We must do something more than that about it

Money can express only a small part of either the quality or extent of human faith and trust Trust is a sensitive subtle affair,—a living thing No man can state in money the quality of his trust in his wife or the extent of his faith in his son You can of course bet a certain sum that Jones will accomplish a certain project but that is no accurate or adequate expression of your belief in him And when people try to express trust or recognition of human service entirely by means of money, the money gravely injures the trust Like an

axe it cuts the trust from its roots like a flood it washes away the finer feelings and dries the trust which gave it quality and sustain its existence This fact is one of the sources of the bitterness among employees which so often distils out of the wage relationship To express only in terms of money the values of human work and service often humiliates and insults even though most of us have grown calloused to the affront And the attempt to express all kinds of trust in terms of money saps the energy of other sorts of trust and wastes them

Some Results of Mingling of Functions

Out of the association in money of the functions of a symbol of trust a store of value and a measure of value comes a queer but of incongruity In no other instance do I store up a great quantity of symbols in order to gain a great amount of the intangible reality which the symbol is supposed to represent nor do I accumulate many measuring instruments in order to get a great quantity of the thing to be measured For instance I do not amass great numbers of national flags in an effort to increase my patriotism nor do I pile up myriads of crucifixes in a yearning to become holy nor again, do I accumulate a great many weighing scales in order to get much weight Yet that is the sort of thing we do with dollars

Because the symbol for trust is also a store of value, a financial loan as an expression of trust is also a debt to be paid by the person to whom the trust was expressed And so the modern expansion of credit is also an expansion of debt The expansion of credit is not all just pleasure and profit but gives rise to many troubles and some doubts Since the functions of store of value and symbol of trust are mingled there is almost inevitable confusion between wealth and debt a confusion most useful to the bankers[4]

Since money was a store of value before modern forms of credit developed that function is stronger and more persistent and more widely felt than its function of being a symbol of trust And so when confidence breaks down and we have an economic depression, people begin in a panic to hoard money and retrench and postpone new ventures That withdraws money from circulation and slows down the circulation of the remainder Soon there is so little money in circulation that millions of people are idle, and presently they are on the brink of starvation They did not stop for a vacation They wanted to work Their work was useful, some of it necessary to society Yet it must stop If the medium of exchange were separate from the store of value this grave evil of unemployment need not happen or at least it would be far less

The combination of money as an interest-bearing commodity and money as a symbol of credit has made other vast difficulties, dramatically illustrated during the last twenty years In so-called "good" times men's industrial and commercial enthusiasm runs high and they readily borrow to start and operate great enterprises Or governments in time of war, when men's patriotism is strong borrow vast sums Then comes the depression and there is no wherewithal to pay interest on the large debts So private businesses go bankrupt and undergo what they call 'reorganizations', while governments declare a moratorium or compound with their creditors or flatly repudiate their debts Or they devalue their currencies in order to lighten the burden of debt and interest payments There has been so much of that in the last twenty years that now almost all interest payments have been scaled down to a half or a third of what was formerly customary Even the rate of interest is considerably lowered This means that capitalism founded on the sanctity of contracts is weakening partly because people cannot live up to their contracts to pay money, and they cannot live up to their money contracts partly because of the institution of interest Here again is an instance of trouble because of the mixture of functions of money A suitable reform of money might save much of the superstructure of society

How Money Makes Bankers Powerful

I have mentioned bankers as being storers and renters of the money commodity Because money is much more than a necessary commodity, and because they have become so skilful in operating this symbol, bankers are much more than its lessors and storage warehouse keepers Being in a position of great power, they announce whether they do or do not believe in a certain enterprise If they believe in it they issue to its promoters the symbols of their belief Thus bankers create money and manipulate it This creation and issue of credit money is indeed the chief business of bankers As inventors and nurses of the newer forms of

4 See *Wealth Virtual Wealth and Debt* by Frederick Soddy Allen & Unwin London 1926
Money Versus Man London and E. P Dutton New York 1933
Money Power and Human Life by Fred Henderson John Day New York 1933 also London

money they have arbitrarily established some of the rules of its operation But not all these rules were made by the bankers Most of the modes of operation of symbols grow inevitably and necessarily out of the inner nature of the symbols or the assumptions upon which they are based In algebra there are a few basic assumptions or rules about x y and z and the whole body of algebra grows inevitably out of the logic of those initial assumptions or characteristics of the symbols And in checkers or chess there are certain initial rules as to how the pieces shall move and as to the purpose of the game All the complex game follows automatically So it is with money I believe that a number of so-called "economic laws" are merely the result of the particular logic of this set of symbols and counters called money But the multiplicity of functions of money make the basic assumptions very complex so the resulting "economic laws" are not only very limited statements of probability but also are often mutually contradictory and confused in operation

One of the inherent characteristics of man a characteristic which separates him from all other animals is his use of symbols He has used symbols from pre-historic times Gestures dances, pictures, signs, words numbers flags emblems, dress, architecture—all are symbols as well as having other functions Without symbols of some sort probably man could not think or at least his thinking could be only rudimentary, his emotions would be scanty and his actions but few and simple Symbols are our chief and probably earliest intellectual and emotional tools The psychologists tell us that symbols are stimulators and carriers of energy The use of national flags in war time is a vivid example Or you may say that symbols are not merely understood They are believed in And so, because belief always results in action or influences it, symbols cause action Symbols also organize unawares our feeling thinking and action We readily perceive that machines and material tools organize our action and establish many of our habits Symbols as emotional and intellectual tools act in the same way, though more subtly We cannot do without symbols, but to use them safely and make progress we should frequently examine and criticize them, and occasionally correct and revise

As a symbol money stimulates and carries energy See how creative financial credit has been And as an organizer of certain forms of thought, sentiment and action money has played a special formative part in the development of industrial production commerce, transport, communications and of government itself It has strongly influenced men's minds and inner attitudes, even their appearance In an illustrated supplement of a Sunday *New York Times* the photographs of about a dozen Japanese business men and financiers showed expressions not typically Japanese at all, but just like the expressions on the faces of a dozen *American or British men of the same occupation*

Because of the immense importance of symbols in the conscious and unconscious life of man, it is clear that those who are skilled in the manipulation of our symbols control our thinking emotions sentiments our actions our whole lives Of this we are not clearly and vividly aware and so those who thus control are not usually held responsible Money is our prime economic symbol and those who have superior skill in its manipulation control our lives and all our institutions A sign of the power of money is the grandeur of bank buildings and offices They are as ornate for this age as the cathedrals were in the middle ages Money is one of the most powerful social controls in modern western civilization ranking with private property in land and organized State violence in the form of armies and police *It might be argued that money has perverted* the whole principle and operation of private property, and has been an important cause of evil results from machinery Because of the stimulating and habit forming power of conscious daily use, money is perhaps now the most powerful of these social control But unless a powerful social control is intrinsically accurate and unambiguous and ethical in its very operation, its continued use will gravely injure and perhaps destroy society

Perhaps one reason why our economic social system is so tough and tenacious despite the immense shocks and dislocations of wars, depressions and revolutions is that man has to use symbols and to have some medium of exchange

Many economic authorities state that we have solved the main problems of production, and that the great task now is to solve the problems of distribution Money as the common medium of exchange plays a big part here, and a correction of its defects would be of great assistance

Money Harms Economic Relationships

Because money is both an impersonal tool and a necessary medium of exchange, it has

caused our economic relationships to become impersonal We trade with people of whom we may not approve morally or of whom we are perfectly ignorant or to whom we are personally wholly indifferent This fact together with the great scale of modern industry has deprived the relation of employer and employee of most of its human element The *relationship has in great measure become* mechanical and impersonal Adding to that fact the driving power and speed of modern machinery the time table scheduling of productive processes and *transportation* plus the pressure for money profits we find we have created an industrial discipline as severe and rigid as that of the army The employee must *obey order strictly and be quick about it or he* loses his job He feels himself to be and in fact is only a cog in the vast machine He is only a means to an end That fact is a *humiliation and insult to his personality* Some are too callous to feel it but the rise of labour unions is evidence of the depth and strength of employees resentment Money must bear *its due share of responsibility for this feeling* and the ensuing conflicts

Inasmuch as money because of its mingling of functions has come to be regarded by most people as the supreme value we must not be surprised that employers under pressure of keen competition set money above human values We must not even resent it If we rig our economic system so that in order to keep *going* a business has to show a profit on the books in terms of our present kind of money inevitably employers will in time of stress cut wages rather than profits *They must do so* and can hardly be blamed for it Some few employers by exceptional efficiency and unusual wisdom can postpone this step but not permanently In the long run if we retain our present form and mingled functions of money this sort of exploitation probably cannot be prevented by governmental or socialistic controls of any sort By those means exploitation may be delayed a few years, but the intrinsic character of money acting upon human nature, *must* work out in spite of exterior restrictions Since the Soviet Republic has not altered the internal structure and functions of money we shall in course of time, I believe see these results come there also The use of this kind of money tool determines the eventual nature of the economic system

Man is Governed by Ideas

Man lives by truth as he sees it He always has done so and always will His sentiments and even his emotions are always coloured or moulded by a thought element He is the only animal whose action is controlled by thought whose nervous system is so organized that discriminative movement is initiated not from the lower nerve ganglions nor from even the thalamus or striatum but *from the cortex the forebrain* the part of the brain where thinking is done. Because of this anatomical fact man is governed by his ideas and necessarily seeks the truth When he makes big intellectual mistakes the result in conduct is gravely harmful The violence and disillusionment of the present day is probably due to the gaps and misconceptions of Darwinism and earlier physics[5] Because of the usual time lag the great majority of people have not absorbed the implications of recent biology paleontology and physics and so the concepts of Darwinism still prevail Misconceived Darwinism justified war So even the terrors of war and breakdown of civilization show that man follows the truth as he sees it

We are following our vision of the truth, and we have created money an intellectual tool necessary to our present mode of existence But *it is inadequate, inaccurate ambiguous and* false It has betrayed us

(To be concluded)

5 See Gerald Heard *The Third Morality*—Cassell, London and Morrow New York 1937



DEMOCRACY AND PUBLIC OPINION

By Rai Bahadur BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI

Mr H G Wells in his dissertation on the failure of democracy has come to the conclusion that democracy can only function and function efficiently if it is worked by intellectual people animated by the sole motive of service and pure zeal for public welfare For a democracy to function we need dedicated souls It has not been possible for many States and social organisms to evolve such a type Much of the discredit which democracy has had to shoulder originates in the perversity of the agents employed The true type can only be evolved however, by educated public sense and watchful public opinion with strenuous efforts to raise standards in private as well as in public life Though it can hardly be questioned that democracy is the best system that raises the spiritual and the intellectual stature of the people, unfortunately it is a fact that in most of the States a group arises which exploits the general helplessness of the people and in the name of democracy satisfies personal ambition It is either the individual or the caucus that monopolises power, monopolises the Press *advertises itself before the public and uses the* machinery for personal aggrandisement India has voted for democracy and rightly so But it has to be perpetually on its guard if it is to see that democracy functions really for the good of all and not for the personal aggrandisement of one or a few Unfortunately many things seem to be contributing here to corrupt the public *morale* and set up in public life a very low standard of morality If democracy is not to be a fraud if political evolution is not to be a make believe it is time that public *sense should be organised to work against the* corruption of public *morale* and the weakening of the standard of public morality

It is unfortunately the experience of history that if principles are permitted to be lowered and corruption be permitted to creep in it is a tremendous task to raise the standard again The cancer infects the tissues It is difficult to eradicate The disease of moral tissues is still more dangerous—it infects the very air we breathe Here as elsewhere prevention is better than cure There are portents that we see all *about It is time that public sense should be* roused against these insidious tendencies and carry on a relentless uncompromising fight with all that tends to lower the standard of public morality and graft in public institutions

In every country the danger exists If however its growth is to be thwarted, the country must develop within it the power to fight against the growth of immoral or non democratic tendencies in public life It can hardly be denied that in the course of 50 years the standard of public morality in this country has gone down Civic and political powers on the other hand have increased It is useless for me to trace the causes or analyse the reasons but I note the fact and I trust the public will agree with me that it is a fact As noted the tendency exists in every country Self interest is inherent in human nature This self-interest does function and it is functioning When Lord Birkenhead in his rectoral speech said that 'the motive of self interest was is and must be always the main spring of human action' he invited attacks from various platforms But in the interest of truth it must be *stated that though the statement was not* wholly true yet it was largely true Social organism bent upon evolution must accept the contention that self interest plays a great part in human affairs but attempts must continue to be made to sublimate this self-interest and harness it to better and better purposes till it loses itself in greater and still greater self It seems to me that it is high time that public opinion in this country should be on its guard organise itself and be ruthless in its campaign against all these tendencies discussed above

Public life has its idealistic as well as its realistic side It is easy to form ideals It is difficult to practise them in the real or in the concrete forms It is essential therefore to standardise certain principles of business and make them into rules of conduct so far as particular institutions of the public are concerned In a recent visit to England I interested myself in looking into the Metropolitan Borough Council election that was going on at the time The Labour Party which today in the main represents the democratic attitude more than *most others carried the polls After the election*

was over the London Labour Party drew up a Memorandum for the guidance of the Metropolitan Borough Council Labour Parties and individual Aldermen and Councillors Through the goodness of the Labour Party I was favoured with a copy of the memorandum I quote that here to show the principles which the Party seems to be insisting upon Party organisations are being formed in this country They need to know that other people bent on the betterment of their institutions to make them function for the greatest good and for the greatest number, are evolving sets of principles they must adhere to in the discharge of their public duties

MEMORANDUM FOR THE GUIDANCE OF METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCIL LABOUR PARTIES AND INDIVIDUAL LABOUR ALDERMEN AND COUNCILLORS

FOLLOWING the precedent of 1934 the Executive Committee of the London Labour Party considers it desirable to circulate guidance to Labour members of Metropolitan Borough Councils as soon as practicable after the elections of November 1 In doing so, it desires to extend its hearty congratulations to all those members of the Party who will participate in the administration of the Powers and duties of the Metropolitan Boroughs Part of the advice we tender will only be applicable to Boroughs with a Labour majority

BUSINESS OF THE FIRST PARTY MEETING

Immediate steps will no doubt be taken by the acting Chief Whip or Leader of the Borough Council Labour Party to convene a meeting of Labour Borough Councillors. The Business of this meeting will, we imagine, be on the lines of the following Agenda.

1 ELECTION OF PARTY OFFICERS

(a) Chairman and Leaders
(b) Chief Whip,
(c) Junior Whips (if any) according to the size of the Party

2 ELECTION OF POLICY COMMITTEE (IF ANY)

It is a matter for consideration partly influenced by the size of the Party on the Council, whether a Policy Committee should be appointed the function of which would be to initiate, work out, and advise the Party as to the policy to be pursued on the Council, and to consider references from the Party on the Council If the Party has a majority, the Committee would probably consist of the Chairman of Committees together with Party Officers, if the Party is in a minority, perhaps the most convenient thing would be for it to be constituted by the Labour members of the General Purposes Committee, who would be subject to election by the Party, or for the Party to elect the Policy Committee as such In any case the officers of the Party on the Council should be included in its membership

3. LABOUR REPRESENTATION ON COMMITTEES AND, IF IN A MAJORITY, DECISIONS AS TO CHAIRMEN AND VICE-CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES

There is much to be said for decisions as to Chairmen and Vice Chairmen of committees being arrived at by the Party on the recommendation of the Officers or the Policy Committee rather than by the Party proceeding once to what might be the accidental results of nomination in the ordinary way In any case, care should be taken not to appoint as Chairmen or Vice Chairmen of committees, members who have interests or associations which might appear to influence them wrongly in carrying out their public duties.

4. TO CONSIDER AS TO THE DATE AND TIME OF REGULAR PARTY MEETINGS

These should take place at a generally convenient time between the issue of the Council Agenda and the meeting of the Council It is important that such meetings should be regularly held so that all members can have a voice in considering the business of the Council, otherwise it may be difficult for discipline to be enforced Ordinarily, members of the Party should abide by Party decisions but where matters of conscience are involved (for example, temperance, religion, etc.), or where the Council is acting in a quasi judicial capacity, the Party should consider allowing members to abstain from voting, or decide that the Whips should be taken off

Members should not take individual action in the Council outside Party decisions without consulting the Party or one or more of its officers

5 DECISIONS AS TO MAYOR AND DEPUTY MAYOR (IF ANY) AND ALDERMEN

If the Party is in a majority, these matters will have to be considered, and even if it is in a minority it will no doubt seek to obtain a proportion of the Aldermen in relation to its elected strength on the Council Wherever possible, it is desirable to establish the tradition that in ordinary circumstances there should be a proportionate relationship between the strength of the groups of elected Councillors and the total number of Borough Aldermen

The aim of the Party should be to secure the services of the most appropriate people as Mayor, Deputy Mayor, or Aldermen, so that the duties may be well discharged, and so that Aldermen may be a source of additional strength, in ability as well as numbers, to the Party on the Council The effectiveness of the work of the Party and the best possible service to the public are the big considerations to have in mind

GRIEVANCES OF STAFF AND EMPLOYEES

It is wise to agree upon and to observe a strict rule that, except in the case of Chief Officers and other special cases, grievances on the part of staff and employees and general conditions of labour shall only be dealt with on the representation of the appropriate national or London District official of the Trade Union or other representative organization concerned, or such other machinery as exists with the concurrence of the responsible Trade Union organizations, which representation should ordinarily be addressed to the appropriate Chief Officer of the Council Individuals making complaints to members of the Council should accordingly be referred to this decision, or to the relevant Standing Orders of the Council. Any other policy encourages back stairs action and weakens the status of the trade unions.

With regard to general labour conditions it will be found that there are in existence Joint Industrial Councils and other forms of negotiating machinery between the local authorities and the trade unions. It is desirable for this machinery to be used.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Every endeavour should be made to see that the procedure of the Council and its committees in dealing with the appointment and promotion of staff and employees should be calculated to serve the public

interest and promote the efficiency of the Council's administration.

The Party should agree, and members should be required most strictly to abide by the decision, that persons making an application to members of the Council for employment should be informed that their application must be addressed to the appropriate Chief Officer of the Council, and that it is contrary to good policy for members of the Council to intervene to secure appointments for individuals. Should any members disregard this rule, they would be imperilling the good name of the Labour Party, and would be deserving of the strictest censure and even the withdrawal of the Whip

Should applicants make efforts, when the Council or any committee is considering applications for office or employment, to secure a preference by approaching Councillors, they should be disqualified, and any indirect influence by friends sternly discouraged No consideration, other than the suitability of candidates for posts should influence appointments.

It is strongly recommended that the Party Leader and the Chief Whip should meet the Chief Officers and impress upon them that, in these and other matters members have been asked to act accordingly, and that any Chief or other officer who considers representations *from members, other than official discussions* at Council or committee meetings, in favour of the appointment or promotion of particular persons, will be guilty of action disloyal to the Council and to the citizens, and will be dealt with accordingly The answer of Chief or other officers to such representations from members should be that they cannot receive or consider them, and that if the member wishes to complain he can raise the matter at the appropriate committee of the Council

The appointment of relatives of members of the Council to positions under the Council, even though justified on merits in particular cases, is open to grave misunderstanding In the case of large authorities, where entry to the service is by competitive examination and appointments are adequately safeguarded from political or personal influence, the objection may not hold within proper limits. Otherwise there is much to be said for the adoption of an appropriate standing order on the matter Following is text of a standing *order enforced at Deptford for some years, which* we are advised has worked satisfactorily in that Borough

"No person who has been a member of the Council shall be eligible for any office in the gift or under the appointment of the Council until three Calender months after such person shall have ceased to be a member No father, son, or daughter, of any member of the Council shall be eligible for any office or situation in the gift or appointment of the Council, or for entering into any contract with or doing any kind of work directly or indirectly for the Council"

If such a Standing Order be adopted, it is very doubtful whether the three months so mentioned is sufficient It should also be laid down that canvassing for any appointment should be a disqualification.

In all these matters it is essential that a Labour Council's administration shall not only be above-board, but shall be fully recognized as such by the public at large

Relations with Officers and Staff

The relationship of members of the Council with officers (including Chief Officers) staff and employees, in connection with the Council's business should be one of mutual respect, but not of personal intimacy Every municipal officer has his defined executive responsibilities members of the Council have theirs and they are collectively (not individually) supreme in the control of the Council For these respective responsibilities there should be mutual respect, but the *relationship should be on a strictly business footing* Members should not accept from or give to officers, staff and employees of the Council, hospitality or favours. The place for decisions as to the Council's business is the Town Hall

Relations with Contractors

Members should be particularly careful to be absolutely independent of any contractors who have or may have business with the Council. They should be kept beyond arm's length, and the officers should be expected to maintain a similarly correct relationship with contractors.

Members "interested" in Council business

In so far as members of a Borough Council have a personal (*e.g.*, pecuniary) interest in matters dealt with by the Council or its committees it is desirable that they should declare their interest to the committee concerned or the Town Clerk, and should not participate in the proceedings of the Council or its committees on such matters.

It is undesirable for members of the Council in their private or professional capacities to act in any matter in opposition to the Council, and in any case the Town Clerk should be notified by the member concerned if he or she is so involved

Generally

The London Labour Party Executive desires to state that the foregoing advice is issued with a sincere desire to help the new Borough Council Labour Parties to commence their duties in the best possible circumstances. The Labour Movement generally has earned honourable respect for the rectitude of its public work, that tradition must be scrupulously maintained If errors have occurred in the past, or wrong things have been done under preceding Tory Councils a clean start must at once be made to keep things right for the future.

The Executive Committee could in no case defend improper practices or influences in public administration, indeed, if wrong practices were proved, it would not *feel able to refrain from joining in exposure and public* condemnation, and it reserves the right to take whatever action it may deem appropriate

The Executive desires to add, that the machinery of the London Labour Party is always available for the collective consideration of the problems of the Borough Council Labour Parties, and that the office or Executive is at all times willing to give advice or counsel to members or Parties in any problem that may arise Indeed it is desirable for consultation to take place on policy which is particularly difficult or of exceptional importance

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee of the London Labour Party

Harold Clay,
Chairman.
Alfred Salter,
Treasurer
Herbert Morrison,
Secretary

I would draw the particular attention of people interested in civic affairs to the principles laid down under the head of

grievances of staff and employees, appointments and promotion, relations with officers and staff, relations with contractors and people interested in Council business. Each one of these points has come in for public discussion in this country. It is right and proper that we should see how others seem to look at these points. Institutions in this country are unfortunately drifting into the hands of groups of individuals and caucuses by whom in the name of democracy most autocratic and ruthless powers are being exercised. People anxious to do service are rigidly kept out. The caucus would not admit either its powers being shared by others or its proceedings being analysed by disinterested people. There is always something hidden in the cupboard. It is time that public organisations should be exposed to the public gaze by being made to work in the open, and they should function for the greatest good and for the greatest number. I would submit again and submit with respect that if nefarious practices are permitted to take root it will be all up with democracy, however much we may shout its name or dangle its form to deceive the people. The constituents of the institutions, the electors in the main, can bring about changes, if they will. It is to their own interests that they should. Vested interests will all be up against reform. They die but to live again. Courage, honesty, unflinching devotion to public causes must however, win their way. Democratic Institutions on modern lines are in their infancy in India today. They need zealous watch, if they are not to die before they grow or get diseased before they advance. Public opinion and public sense need to be organised and stirred.

ADVANTAGES OF TUBE-WELL IRRIGATION WHERE FACILITIES OF FLOW-IRRIGATION ARE NOT AVAILABLE

By BIDHU BHUSAN GHOSH, BE, CE (Cal), AMIET (London)

1. General Outlook of India's Economic Life

Amongst the civilized countries of the world India has the highest percentage of people dependent on agriculture. The outstanding peculiarity of Indian economic life is that 75% of her total population obtain their livelihood from agriculture and allied occupations. She is predominantly an agricultural country rich in soil, mineral products, forests and various other natural resources, with 89% of her population as rural.

The economies of a country dependent to so great an extent as India on agriculture mean dependence on rains, and if the rains fail there is widespread distress, involving the majority of the people. At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms the sole occupation of the masses of the population. The reason behind this is that though the agriculture forms the mainstay of the Indians yet it is in India that we find agriculture in its worst state of development suffering from serious drawbacks. Illiteracy of the agriculturists, want of scientific knowledge and latest development in machineries suited for agriculture, extreme dependence on the vagaries of nature, especially on rainfall, uneconomic holding in the nature of sub division and fragmentation of land and necessarily not susceptible of large scale operations—all these (to mention only a few of many factors) characterize Indian agriculture which is antiquarian in its methods and undeveloped in many respects. Rainfall however, is the chief factor which accounts for the success or failure of crops every year.

Speaking of Indian peasants it has been said that out of every three year that passes, one is uncertain, another is characterized by excessive rainfall resulting in flood with all its shocking incidents and the other suffering from drought. Indian peasants are oftentimes rendered helpless victims to the onslaughts of famine and flood and these natural calamities both resulting from the uncertainties of rainfall raise a heavy toll on human lives.

2 Factors Determining the Value and Use of Irrigation

The main factor determining the value and use of Irrigation in any part of India whether from a purely productive or famine protective point of view are the rainfall the soil and the class of crops suited to the soil climate and other local conditions The rainfall may be abundant and assured as to render irrigation superfluous and even injurious or though ordinarily sufficient it may be so liable to periodical failure or unreasonable incidence as to call for irrigation as protective against its uncertainties or it may in all years be so scanty as to make cultivation impossible without artificial waterings

3 Different Types of Irrigation and their Limits of Extent

Irrigation briefly speaking means artificial waterings through some constructions These are called Works of Irrigation or briefly 'Irrigation Works The term includes works of many varieties and magnitudes ranging from the crude contrivance which enables the cultivator by swinging a basket to raise water from a pond to the huge embankments of earth or masonry holding behind it a lake or river of many square miles or from the small temporary wells a mere hole in the ground lined with brushwood to the great canal which carrying for some hundreds of miles a volume of water equal to that of large sized river delivers it into a network of smaller channels for the irrigation of over a million acres

The irrigation works of India may be divided into three main classes (i) canals (ii) tank and (iii) wells

The main conditions imposing a limit to the extent of irrigation by the first two classes are

(1) The geographical and seasonal distribution of rainfall
(2) The physical configuration of the country
(3) The difficulty of holding up water stored in years of abundant rainfall as a provision against a year of drought
(4) The large number of different states and territories into which the country is divided and subdivided

In its geographical distribution rainfall displays a diversity which is said to be without parallel in any other country in the world Leaving mere questions of distance and cost out of consideration the general contour levels of the country will frequently offer an insuperable obstacle to the transfer of water from regions of copious and assured rainfall to those where it is scanty and capricious The seasonal character of rainfall also prevents its economical storage and use

The general conformation of the surface adds still further difficulty and cost of storage On the flat surface of the alluvial plains of Northern India storage on any considerable scale is almost impossible If we allow for evaporation and percolation it involves generally the submission of an area at least as large as that which would receive benefit from the water

There are no means of predicting a year of drought and any attempt to hold up over water even from one year to the next would entail the loss of an enormous proportion of the supply by evaporation and percolation'

The numberless territorial divisions of the country and the manner in which various states and territories are intermingled have also been a material obstacle in the past to the development of irrigation The only suitable site for storage work may lie in a territory whose people would not only derive no benefit but might even be put to considerable loss and inconvenience by the construction of the work, or the full utilization of an available supply may only be possible by the co operation of two or more states which are unwilling to combine

All these factors have urged the irrigation engineers to welcome and take recourse to the last one viz well irrigation as the most efficient means for irrigation

4 Advantages and Progress of Irrigation from Sub soil Water by means of Tube wells

The extraction of water from the sub soil for irrigation is not of course a new departure In the early records of the peoples of India dating back to many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era there are frequent references to this practice of Irrigation Wells have been in use from time immemorial and most of the almost innumerable wells which are found in Southern India have been in existence for many generations two in the Chingleput district of Madras which still irrigate a considerable area are reffered to in the inscription of the 8th and 9th centuries

The great importance of wells as sources of irrigation may be gathered from the fact that they supply water to more than 25% of the total irrigated area and to nearly of the total area irrigated by private

and their immense value in years of drought from the fact that in the famine year of 1896-97, the area under well irrigation rose at once by nearly two and a half million acres while that under tanks fell by nearly one and a half million And again in 1899 1900 notwithstanding that in many parts the well supply had begun to fail owing to succession of dry years well irrigation rose by more than a million acres while from tanks diminished Some of the most interesting statistical facts relating to well irrigation are summarised in the table given below

Province	Number of wells used for Irrigation			Gross area irrigated in a normal year in acres		% of gross cropped area under well irrigation
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Total	Average Per well	
Punjab	275 000	4 000	349 000	3 750 000	10·7	13
United Provinces	500 000	830 000	1 330 000	5 731 000	4 3	14
Madras	626 280		626,280	2 000 000	3·2	5
Bombay	254 000		254 000	650 000	2 6	2½
Central Provinces	14 000	42 000	56 000	77 000	1 4	½

The above figures relating to the distribution of well irrigation are exceedingly striking Out of a total of 13 million acres irrigated from wells in British Territory, no less than 9½ millions are found in the two Northern Provinces In the Central Provinces there is next to no well irrigation South of this there are some 2¾ million acres of which roughly ¾ are in Madras and ¼ in Bombay This distribution of well irrigation is of course, far from accidental The most favourable conditions are found in the alluvial plains of Northern India the sub soil of which contains an inexhaustible supply of water

In the Punjab where the great bulk of irrigation is carried on from permanent wells the area irrigated by a well averages as much as 11 acres while in some districts double that area is watered from a single well There are individual wells which water as much as 50 acres In the United Provinces also large areas are watered from permanent wells

With regard to Bengal although the statistical information is partial and meagre, it has been ascertained that except in the west of Bihar there is little or no well irrigation Eastern Bengal is a vast sheet of unfailing rice crops and despite the teeming population there is no need for intensive cultivation or for irrigation of any kind

In the rice districts of Bihar the crops are subject to failure occasionally extremely widespread and severe Wells, nevertheless, were formerly little appreciated

Owing to the great utility of well irrigation the Agricultural Engineering Sections of Provincial Departments of Agriculture have for the last decade chiefly been occupied with this branch of agricultural engineering—mainly with the better utilization of underground water supplies and the improvements of 'lift irrigation' The enormous scope of such work is obvious from the fact that of the 50 million acres or so irrigated annually in British India, only about 25 million acres is irrigated from canals, the remainder being watered from wells, tanks and other sources, moreover, the area under irrigated cultivation is only about one-fifth of the total area sown

There are however several comparative advantages of irrigation from tube-wells to that from ordinary masonry wells and these have led the Agricultural and Irrigation Engineers to adopt the former means of irrigation as an improvement of the latter

An ordinary masonry well cannot be sunk to a very great depth and if so done, it will entail a heavy expenditure Moreover, whereas an ordinary masonry well will usually only yield from 2 000 to 4 000 gallons of water per hour as much as 71 000 gallons per hour have been obtained from a tube well

The reasons for this are as follows

(a) The sub soil is not one homogeneous mass but is composed of layers of materials such as alternating strata of sand and clay with occasional beds of kankar and while they effectively prevent the vertical flow of

water through the sand they have little effect upon the horizontal flow

The bottom of a masonry well can only be presented to one stratum of sand, whereas a tube well penetrating more deeply into the ground, passes through and taps several water yielding strata

(b) The velocity of inflow depends on the Infiltration Head This can be made much greater in a tube well because, in a tube well a perforated screen is provided to prevent the displacement of the surrounding sand and the critical velocity of inflow and consequently the yield can be increased

In an ordinary masonry well no such mechanical device is provided and if the volume of water drawn off is such as to cause an excessive Infiltration Head the critical velocity of inflow will be exceeded with the result that the sand will boil or blow in with the water causing cavitation with consequent danger to the structure of the well

The maximum Infiltration Head for an ordinary well is coarse sand 7 to 8 feet normal sand 6 feet fine sand still less An Infiltration Head of 26 feet has been applied to a tube well without harmful results

The advantages of irrigation from tube wells as compared with the ordinary method of irrigation from canals are that an area *could be developed in accordance* with the demand that there is no large initial outlay that the capital outlay per cusec of water used for irrigation is less than under weir control system and that water is available as and when required The cultivator has to pay on volumetric basis

Thus the better utilization of the smaller local sources of irrigation by the improvement of wells i e by the construction of more efficient types of tube-wells and the improvements of water-lifting appliances for wells and tanks has occupied the attention of agricultural and irrigation engineers in most province and the utility has been considerably increased by the subartesian bores and the installation of power pumps of standardized pattern and the latest departure consists in the fact that it is being undertaken by means of electrically operated tube-wells on a large scale

As is natural, most progress in the better use of underground water supplies has been made in the Indo Gangetic plain

The largest scheme of this nature is the Ganges Hydroelectric Scheme in the United Provinces That scheme would command an area of 1,300 square miles of agricultural country and would supply electric power at cheap rates primarily for irrigation and agricultural purposes

In the United Provinces where strainer tube wells construction has been in progress on a large scale for a number of years and where over 200 large tube wells suitable for power pumping plant and over 200 small ones had been installed for private individuals up to the year 1929 the position has since been carefully reviewed and a considerable reorganization of the agricultural engineering sections undertaken In addition to the preparation of the detailed projects which include estimates of running charges as well as of capital cost, actual tests of each strainer are now undertaken before the pumping plant is selected These tests include the accurate measurement of discharge of the tube and of the depression in water level during pumping so that suitable pumping machinery may be selected which will utilize the water supply fully but will not permit of an undue depression of the water level and would endanger the future stability of the well From these tests a schedule of running charges is prepared so that the owner is in a position to know what his water will cost him per acre and to plan his agricultural operations accordingly

The results of tests on 60 of the 71 tube wells which were completed and tested during the year 1928-29 and of the more detailed tests and schedules of running charges for 21 of the larger installations show that the best discharge obtained was 35 640 gallons per hour excluding three quite small installations running costs (including 15% on capital for interest and depreciation and based on a working year of 1 800 hours) ranged from 12 annas to about Rs 2 8 per acre-inch of water These figures clearly bring out the fact that even when the lift is not small such installations are profitable when an extensive system of agriculture including valuable crop like sugarcane and tobacco etc are adopted Of the 71 tube wells referred to above, 44 were of small size for use with bullock power the installation cost varying from Rs 39 to Rs 884 and the discharges from 400 to 3 700 gallons per hour Many of these were very profitable to their owners

During the recent years the system of tube well irrigation naturally received more considerable attention in most provinces and several Indian States

The use of large tube-wells, of 10" and 12" diameter for irrigation purposes is practically

confined to the United Provinces, the Punjab Bihar and Orissa and in these provinces considerable advances have been made in the better utilization of underground water-supplies

In the United Provinces 223 tube-wells were installed in the year 1932, in 35 of which strainers of 5' to 10' diameter were fitted and in 188 strainers of 3½ diameter In 1933 327 projects were completed comprising 47 tube-wells of 5' to 10' diameter and 280 tubes of the smaller size Two 10' tube wells installed in the Moradabad district by the Department of Agriculture United Provinces were handed over to the Irrigation Department for use in the determination of the economics of tube well fed canals

In the Punjab 519 tube wells of various sizes fitted with stone ware and composite strainers were installed in 1928 29 and 276 in the year 1932 The special advantages of the stone ware strainer are that its cost is only half of that of the next cheapest type on the market and it is immune from electro chemical deposit of the silica, which by choking up the interstices has rendered many metallic strainers ineffective in certain areas The usual size of stone ware strainer is 3½" diameter and it is mainly used for wells to be worked by Persian Wheels or other forms of bullock power water lift

In addition to the above numbers two 12' tube-wells were installed in 1932 which were fitted with the cadmium plated slotted strainers designed by the agricultural engineers from the latter yields of 2 1 cusec and 2 13 cusec respectively under working head of 10 to 12' were obtained In the year 1933 173 tube-wells of 5' and under were installed in the Punjab

In Bihar and Orissa there has been a marked improvement in recent years in the demand for tube-wells In the year 1932 29 projects consisting of ten tube-wells of 5" to 10' diameter were completed In the following year 43 installations consisting of 8 tube-wells of 5" to 12' diameter were undertaken In the majority of these tube-wells the "Sabour" type of strainer designed to suit the local conditions were used In 1932 the most successful tube gave an yield of 933 gallons per minute from 88 feet of 12' "Sabour" strainer In the following year, an yield of 1 000 gallons per minute with a pumping depression of under 10 feet were obtained from a 12' tube-well

The number of large-sized tube wells increases in the demand for smaller installations especially in the hydro-electric grid areas of the United Provinces and those parts of the Punjab where the advent of cheap electricity has increased the demand for electrified installations for irrigation purposes

In the autumn of 1933, the United Provinces Government decided to appoint the Ganges Hydro-electric Inquiry Committee to review the Hydel projects and inter alia to advise what action should be taken to meet heavy demands for power for rural development, both in the grid area proper and adjoining areas which had sprung up during 1931-33 One of the results of the Committee's work was the introduction of a project, which will be carried out by the Hydro-electric branch of the Irrigation Department and was expected to be completed in 1938 this includes the construction of 1,353 state-owned tube-wells at a cost of about 105 lakhs to command 1 400,000 acres and irrigate annually about 350,000 acres of wheat and 150 000 acres of sugarcane An interesting part of these operations is that substitution to the extent of 300 cusecs of canal water by tube well water in Meerut district and the utilization of the water so released in the arid parts of Muttra and Agra districts where, for geological reasons, tube-wells cannot be successfully constructed

To facilitate the successful construction of tube-wells in most provinces the Agricultural Department is maintaining a staff for the improvement of wells by boring In the United Provinces the number of borings made in the year 1932 was 1,499 and in the following year 1,714, the percentage of successful borings being seventy-one (71%)

In the Punjab 163 borings were made in the year 1932 and 236 in the following year In Bihar and Orissa 218 borings were sunk in 1932 of which 192 were successful whilst in the year 1933 157 borings were made of which 118 were successful

There has been very recently heavy demand for borings from the tract lying between Chota Nagpur plateau and the alluvial tracts of Shahabad Gaya and Bhagalpur, where rock is usually met with

In Madras 524 successful borings were made during the year 1932 of which 13 were yielding Artesian supplies discharging from 25 to 250 gallons per minute to an average height of 15 feet above ground level In the following year 652 successful borings were undertaken An Artesian yield of 2 500 gallons per minute to a height of 9½ feet in the South Arcot district was obtained whereas from another boring an yield of 1,250 gallons per minute at 7½ feet above ground-level was obtained

The more recent figures conclusively prove the increasing demand for water from tube wells and the number of projects completed in 1934 in the United Provinces was 330 and in the following year the number was 458 consisting of 204 tube-wells of 5″ and over in diameter and 254 of 3⅜″ diameter

The preponderance of 5′ and 6″ tube-wells was particularly noted and appears to be due to the fact that such sizes are being commonly adopted in the hydro-electric grid area In 1934, there was further development of tube wells in the electric grid system where the Irrigation Department, in close co-operation with the Agricultural Department, have started a five year scheme of tube-well construction

In the Punjab 118 tube-wells of 5″ and under in diameter were installed during the year 1934 In the following year (1935) the number of projects rose to 169, and the number of tube-wells installed in Bihar in 1934 was 123 and in the following year the number rose to 127

The number of borings also shows a steady increase and 3 565 borings were done in the year 1935 in the different provinces against 2 404 in 1932 and the percentage of success was nearly seventy two

In Bengal sugarcane has established its value as a sub titute money crop for jute It is estimated that improved varieties of sugarcane are now grown on an area of 1¼ lakhs of acres A survey of sugarcane cultivation has shown that compact areas can be found in various parts of the districts of Rangpur, Bogra Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Malda in the Rajshahi Division, Faridpur Dacca and Mymensingh in the Dacca Division, Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad and 24 Paraganas in the Presidency Division and Burdwan in the Burdwan Division where the local supply of cane is sufficient for the establishment of up to date sugar factories

5 Conclusion

So the question of tube-well irrigation is by no means a less important problem in this province to increase the yield and cultivated area of the crop, and it is pleasing to note that the appointment of an Agricultural Engineer has enabled the study of irrigation questions to be taken up in this connection and several tube well constructions have been undertaken recently

So long I have confined my atention to the necessity suitability and progress of irrigation from tube-wells, but we shall be failing in our scientific observation of the problem if we ignore the difficulties limiting the extension of tube well irrigation in India

The estimated volume of water expended on irrigation from wells is at about one billion cubic feet or more than 1½% of that portion of the rainfall which penetrates the soil As far as supply is concerned, this percentage might no doubt be more than quadrupled, but the quantity of water in the sub-soil can no more be taken as a measure of the po sibilities of well irrigation, as the volume of surface flow passing into the sea can be taken as a measure of the po sibilities of flow irrigation And the principal distinctive limitations to the extension of tube well irrigation consist in the amount and quality of the sub soil supply, the depth at which it is found below the surface, the conditions of soil and sub soil favouring or impeding construction and raising of water

In the alluvial tracts of Northern India, down to the line of the Jumna river, the sub soil supply of good water is practically inexhaustible and its depth generally favour construction It is difficult, therefore, here to *place any limit to the eventual exten ion except* the requirements of cultivation There are again some places (*e g*, South of the Jumna) where the water lies deeper, and is less abundant, it is also more liable to exhaustion in times of drought, rock has to be penetrated and the expense both of construction and lifting is greater

Tube well irrigation in those places will not pay except for a valuable crop Here extension of irrigation from tube-wells must be exceedingly gradual, and only increase *pari passu* with the development of the general resources of the people But while this extension cannot be rapid it can and doubtless will continue long At the same time, there will always remain exten ive tracts, such as the black soil plains and stony uplands of the Deccan tract and the crystalline areas where tube-wells *or wells of any kind are impossible or will* never pay, and which will be protected from famine by means of irrigation, no better than at present notwithstanding the utmost development which may be effected in the multiplication of tube-wells

Nevertheless, of the problems of vital importance to India today, not the least important is that of the food for her rapidly increasing population The present rate of increase of that population is a fact of profound significance and it is obviously one of the issues which is likely to prove to be of the greatest

importance to the future governments of this country A recent report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India states that the population of India is expected to increase to 400 millions in 1941, and that it is increasing at the rate of about 4 millions per year The report states further that only about three fourths of an acre per head of population in British India is under cultivation for food purposes, and that it is impossible to provide a sufficiency of food even for the present population of India The investigations which are being carried on by the Departments concerned with the Agricultural Research will doubtless result in increased productivity of the land But if our food resources are to keep pace with the increase in population means must be found of bringing large tracts of country, still unproductive, under fruitful cultivation, and there is no way in which this can so effectively be done as extending facilities for irrigation And it is needless to emphasize the importance of a development which results in the economic use of water and which is of benefit to Government and the cultivator alike so it may not be oversanguine to look forward to a period when the area under tube-well irrigation throughout India will have increased several times And with full regard to the difficulties we must still admit that Irrigation from tube wells holds out a prospective future of our national life

DID BUDDHISM CAUSE INDIA'S DOWNFALL?

By V M KAIKINI BA, MBBS, FRCS (Edin)

In his speech at the Maharashtra Hindu Dharma Parishad referred to in the Notes in the January issue of *The Modern Review*, Dr Moonje is reported to have said that the cult of non violence spread by Buddhism was the chief cause of India's downfall and that the caste system has justified itself by resisting the proselytising pressure of Islam

In the first place, let us see if the doctrines preached by Lord Buddha were responsible for the downfall of India History tells us that the most glorious periods in medieval India were those of the Imperial Mauryas and the Imperial Guptas when India attained the highest peak of glory and culture Both these dynasties flourished after Lord Buddha had preached his doctrines in India and they had been accepted by a large majority of the people India spread her culture over a large part of the then known world during these period

It is wrong to assume that want of physical courage and bravery brought on by the cult of non-violence taught by Buddhism was responsible for the conquest of India by the foreigners We know from History that the Arabs who conquered practically the whole of the then known world had to ignominously retreat from the mainland of India on account of the resistance offered by the Rajputs under the famous Bappa Rawal and had to remain satisfied with only the small frontier province of Sindh Thus the Indians kept back the world conquering Arabs from penetrating into the interior of the country for over three centuries till personal jealousies, treachery, superstition and artificial divisions created by the caste system brought on the downfall of the Hindus and made them slaves of foreign conquerors

Was not the treachery of Raja Jaichand of Kanauj responsible for the defeat of Prithwiraj Chauhan at the hands of Shahabuddin Ghori? Col Tod says that when the Turks invaded Afghanistan then ruled by the Hindu dynasty of Shahis, they managed to "pollute" the springs of water belonging to the Hindu army by the blood of the sacred kine and thus the Hindus were made to surrender to the foreign Mahomedans through sheer starvation Could blind superstition go any further?

Buddhism never invented the word "Kalapani" making crossing the ocean taboo to the Indians Attock was declared to be the furthest limit of Hindu India long after Buddhism ceased to exist in India as a living religion As a result of these silly restrictions India got isolated from the rest of the world the outlook of the people became narrowed and the fine Rajput and Jat clans like the Awans Ghakkads Janjuas and others from

Afghanistan and the Western Punjab easily accepted Islam, having completely lost contact with the Aryan culture of the Indian mainland Were the doctrines preached by Lord Buddha responsible for this degeneration?

One is surprised that a leader of the Hindu revival movement like Dr Moonje is found to defend the caste system If one goes carefully through the history of India it can be easily proved that it is the caste system that was and is responsible for the downfall of India in general and the Hindus in particular How did the Arabs under Mahomed Kasim conquer Sindh? History tells us that the traitor Moka Brahmin helped the Arabs against his sovereign the Dahir King of Sindh The Rajput rulers of Sindh used to look down upon the Jats and were imposing all sorts of humiliating restrictions about dress etc on this brave class which made them enemies of their own country and created traitors like Moka Brahmin among them who helped the foreigners to conquer Sindh

After the influence of Buddhism declined in India, many of the people reverted to Pauranic Hinduism and formed themselves into different castes People with material power in their hands called themselves higher castes, and relegated the others with no power or influence, into inferior castes Thus so many castes like Vratya Kshatriya Loukik Brahmins and other so called inferior castes were created who being denied cultural contact with the more fortunate classes were treated practically as untouchables Thus when the hospitable religion of Islam came into India these castes gladly accepted that religion thus gaining social status This state of affairs we are told is responsible for the Islamization of Eastern Bengal If the rigid rules of caste system had not come in the way of the holy Priests of Puri in allowing Kalachand to marry the Nawab's daughter, the Hindus of Bengal would have been saved from the atrocities of Kalapahar and perhaps Bengal would not have become a Moslem majority province as it is today

If one studies carefully the social problems in India it will be found that the rigid caste system is to a large extent responsible for the existence of the so called depressed classes in the Hindu society Many of the depressed classes assert that their ancestors were originally high caste people and were socially degraded and declared as untouchables by being ostracised from their high caste because of their breaking certain caste rules Thus we are told that the Tamil Pariah poet saint Nanda's great grand father was a Brahmin who was made an out caste because he had tasted some forbidden food to keep his body and soul together during a severe famine I know the case of an intelligent young scavenger who when asked about his family history, told me that his grand father who was a high-caste Lingayet, had to leave his home in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, during a severe famine and come down to a coastal town Being refused any help from any Hindu caste, he had to join the ranks of the depressed classes Thus so many cases could be quoted of numerically small and isolated Hindu castes who have to join the fraternity of the depressed classes or enter another religion as no other Hindu caste would fraternize with them on account of rigid caste rules

The Marathas would most probably have been in possession of the imperial throne of Delhi today but for the internecine dissensions and caste jealousies, which brought on the fall of the Maratha Empire The following is an extract from the old records of the East India Company

"In May 1772 William Hornby Governor of Bombay wrote again to Sir John Colebrooke without touching personal matters Commenting on political affairs, he remarked "The Maratha chiefs in general begin to be incensed against the usurped government of the Brahmins so there is a distant prospect of the decline of their empire from their own dissensions. If a defensive treaty can be concluded with Futtesing on advantageous terms for the Company I shall use my utmost to effect it The intervention of lucky and unlucky day has prevented my being able to settle with him while he has been here"

Half of the population of Malabar would not have become Moplah Mahomedans as is the case at present, if the Hindu Zamorin three centuries ago had not converted his Hindu subjects to Islam so that they might be able to serve in his navy as the rigid caste rules prevented the Hindus from taking to sea faring life Even at present in the newly formed Royal Indian Navy the British Government is not recruiting the brave Hindu sea faring classes, like Bhandaris and Gabits from the Bombay sea-coast because of the rigid caste rules these classes observe as regards food, etc

I am sure it will be a pleasant surprise for Dr Moonje to be told that it can be proved from the records of the Indian army and its magnificent achievements during the last world war, that the class of Indians who in some form or other follow the doctrines of Lord Buddha—including that of "Ahimsa" and regard him as one of the ten divine incarnations (after all it cannot be denied that the modern Hinduism is to a large extent a modified form of Mahayana

Buddhism), proved themselves in some respects to be more martial than the particular class of Indians who follow the martial doctrines of the Prophet of Arabia

This can be proved from the following statistics —

In the first place the Hindus form about two-thirds of the total number in the Indian army of the present day The proportion being

	Infantry	Cavalry
Hindus (including Sikhs and Gurkhas)	66 954	61 92
Mahomedans	29 974	38 08
Burmans	3 072	—

During the last world war certain regiments were specially selected for conspicuous gallantry on the battle-field and the title 'Royal' was conferred on them The regiments according to religion are as follows —

Royal 6th Jats	Wholly Hindu
Royal 32nd Pioneers	Wholly Sikh
Royal 39 h Garhwal Rifles	Wholly Hindu
Royal 41st Dogras	Wholly Hindu
Royal 59th Sindh Rifles	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal (?) Punjabis	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal 117th Mahrattas	Three fourth Hindu and one f urth Mahomedan
Royal 129th Baluchis	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal 2/5th Gurkhas	Wholly Hindu
Royal 1/9th Gurkhas	Wholly Hindu
Royal 20th Deccan Horse	Half H ndu and half Mahomedan
Royal Bombay Sappers & Miners	Three-fourth Hindu and one fourth Mahomedan

Here also it is found that the regiments in the Indian army that were specially marked out for valour on the field of battle were more *Hindu than Mahomedan Thus no greater* proofs are necessary to assert that the teachings of Lord Buddha have not in the least destroyed the martial qualities of Indians, and that the downfall of India is not due to the doctrines preached by the Enlightened One, whom the great Sankaracharyya described as यो गवां चक्रवर्ती "the emperor among Yogis"

However the great Hindu leader is appealing for the establishment of the Vedic Dharma, the motto of which is कृण्वन्तो विश्वमार्यम्—"Make the whole world Arya," an ideal which, if followed would leave no room for caste, creed or colour

RATIONALIZATION OF THE STUDY OF ARABIC

BY MD MUJIBUL HUQ, M.A

Arabic is the only surviving scion of the Semitic family of languages Other languages of this family have all died their natural death and have bequeathed to their only surviving sister the lands over which they once held their sway Now, as all know, this transformation of Arabic, from the obscure and crude state of nature in which it had been, into a living force, and her sweeping conquest of some of the sites of oldest civilisation of mankind and her subsequent geographical extension which places her in the fore rank in the polity of languages of the civilised world, both in consideration of her immensity of wealth and geographical extension, is due to the vigour and stamina imparted to it by Islam

Arabic has long been the spoken language and vehicle of literature of a large part of the globe's surface In western Asia from the [illegible] of Persia to the shores of the Mediterranean, from the frontiers of modern Turkey down to the strait of Babel Mandeb, Arabic is enjoying an unchallanged supremacy In Africa almost the entire part lying to the north of the equator, uses Arabic as its only spoken and literary language with, of course, dialects varying from place to place In Europe too Spain till today bears the marks of this language in some of her geographical names though distorted at present almost beyond recognition

Naturally this geographical extent coupled with political predominance of the Arabs brought Arabic literature in close contact with some potent world currents of thought which resulted in the growth of some centres of light and learning which in course of time after the huge catastrophe of Mongolian invasion shifted their venues and grew dim but never died out altogether It continued to drag on its modest

existence till in the beginning of the last century when it entered into the expanding orbit of European supremacy

Now, this vast field rich in its ancient wealth and with a brilliant future could not but lure the intellectual free booters of Europe into a close search for its huge treasure accumulated throughout an age of progress and prosperity covered under the dust of centuries with fervour and zeal unparalleled in any history Europe has done that impelled no less by political necessity and ambition than by intellectual hunger Indian Muslims since they came to be called by that name have done the same but from an entirely different point of view and with a different motive altogether They have studied classical Arabic language and literature with a view to the fuller understanding of the Quran and its religion and acquiring thereby high merits in the hope of divine recompense on the day of judgment It is needless to say that all through this phase of study only the branches akin and helpful to Quranic exegesis have exclusively engrossed their entire range of vision and no other aspect of the literature had any appeal to them It was purely a religious study and consequently it came to be restricted to only the narrow circle of professional and quasi professional Ulemas—though we may speak of its drawing even in rare cases the attention of scholars from other faiths On the whole the fact that literature of a people is the reflection of its life and aspirations received little or no attention

Its introduction however as a course of studies for the highest academic degrees in our Universities was expected to give a wholesome turn to the drift of affairs But one finds to one's disappointment that the primitive outlook is practically unchanged The courses have been formed on the model prescribed for Indian classes which have long been dead And consequently to all intents and purposes Arabic has come to be regarded and treated as a dead language It has received from Indian Muslims the reverence due to the relics of a glorious past but never the respect and love due to the throbbing present and a brilliant future But on serious reflection it appears that the course is hardly worth the time and money spent on it and one is sometimes led to doubt the wisdom and justification of its very inclusion in the curricula of Universities Its embodiment therein presupposes that either of the two objects viz providing a comprehensive course of religious instruction for advanced scholars as many of the foreign Universities have been doing or a sufficiently extensive study of Arabic language and literature has been kept in view Even a most casual observer will readily admit the futility of the first position It is idle to think that the religious aspirations of the Indian Muslims would have anything to do with the meagre religious instruction if at all provided by the courses in question while they have in no small number thoroughly specialized scholars to look up to for dependable instruction and guidance Again the fact that in some Universities a separate course of religious studies in fulfilment of Muslim demand for such is being adopted proves beyond doubt the shallowness of the first position Here incidentally though a question suggests itself about the logic and appropriateness of conferring of unqualified arts degrees on the completion of the courses referred to—inspite of its bearing an unmistakably theological stamp and character and a suggestion offers itself that these degrees may be more aptly and reasonably substituted by degrees of divinity which will give a truer connotation of the thing and relieve the misnomer Now as the discussion of the first object leads to a negative conclusion we must turn to the only alternative for a positive one We have therefore to see how far the present courses of study in vogue tends to the realization of the objective It may not be quite irrelevant here to remind ourselves that no history in its true perspective can be divided into water tight compartments far less the history of the mind of a people without breaking the chain which binds the unintelligible integral units into an intelligible whole Literature in its wider sense is the history of a people's mind acting and reacting upon its environment—moral and physical This view of the fundamental aspect of literature has altogether been lost sight of in the treatment of Arabic literature in our country

The entire make up of the syllabus reflects this mistaken outlook Text books selected for the B A & M A courses mostly represent the canon bound classical phase of the language and literature Post classical literature and language with their unmistakably distinct characteristics have been scantily represented Modern literature as such has been altogether shut out A perusal of the curricula proves that the whole thing has been meant to pave the way to religious studies the fascination of which has not been outgrown by any other consideration But this inordinate love has defeated the very object which alone can justify

HINTS TO INDIAN STUDENTS GOING ABROAD

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THERE are very few Indian medical student under graduate or post graduates in Great Britain who have not at one time or other re gretted loss of time money and energy through lack of proper guidance both prior to their leaving India and subsequent to arrival in Great Britain There is a tendency among some of the students returned from Europe to exaggerate the difficulties of life abroad Questions as to cost of living are not an wered directly admission of cheap living in England is considered derogatory addresses except in the best residential parts are not given dress and laundry bills are shown to be heavy above all these there is an inherently malignant attempt on the part of some to draw vivid pictures of the badness of life in England of the lack of social con ventions, of the pitfalls for the unwary Such are present in any country and in any commu nity These are to be avoided and not feared Instead of giving warning against negative dangers *rather guidance should be given for* positive propositions The vast majority of Indian students live on £2 £3 a week, and there need be no shame in saying this openly *There are places in London within 3d ride of* the city where comfortable lodgings are avail able at 30 shilling a week

Indian students travel to Europe loaded with luggage that is far too much All they need are (1) a pair of flannel trousers and a sports jacket (2) one tropical suiting (3) about 4 shirts (4) personal article —like tooth brush shaving tackle etc a pair of shoes a pair of slippers These and a change of clothes for bed should complete the luggage One light small suit case is sufficient If need be one should use two light small cases rather than a big one The latter will mean porterage and general encumbrance It is quite the proper thing even for the gentlemen to carry their luggage Therefore travel light and carry your luggage

As regards actual arrangements for study it is advisable to talk to 3 or 4 people who have been through the courses themselves They will probably give somewhat dissimilar advice but that is only natural No students prepare for studies in exactly the same manner Then write to various likely places for admission for information about costs and other relevant matters Use the B M A Handbook for newly qualified practitioners It is best to deal directly with the institutions and not through uncles or the big brother or a patron This attitude of direct approach is rather sadly lack ing in the average Indian student The Uni versity Professors are generally eminently approachable if you treat them as human being and not as glorified creatures set up to give additional prestige to the University Of course it is best to make an appointment before hand even if you have an introduction letter

Before leaving India be sure to obtain, among other things

(*a*) Your birth certificate, if this is not available a statutory declaration is wanted

(*b*) Your academic papers such as graduation certificates evidences as to your work in hospitals etc

(*c*) Certificates as to character and social position Please let these be brief, direct, and to the point The usual Indian habit of longwinded testimonials is to be shunned

(*d*) All correspondence that you may have had with anyone relevant to the subject matters of your study

Do not take cart-loads of books but only a very few intimate ones Books are heavy and medical books get out of date so quickly There are good lending libraries in Great Britain and access to these is obtainable at moderate cost

Before leaving the shores of India please get some one to tell you of the customs manners and the peculiarities of the British people and if possible get a few lessons on handling knives forks etc It is very embarassing to have to use them for the first time on board the ship when you are feeling sad, the sea probably rolling and the best taken out of you both literally and metaphorically The correct use of table implements and reasonably correct manners will add much to your material comforts and poise and will make you more acceptable These may seem trivial details but *are worth noting*

When you are in England see the school or hospital authorities as soon as you can It

is advisable to write asking for an appointment before you leave India The reply may be sent to your bank address in London, and you receive the letter immediately you arrive in there From the school you will also get a list of lodgings One should get into one of these approved places at first, when the student has felt his pace a little and seen something of th place he may seek other places—which though not on the University or College lists, may yet be good enough and cheaper

Human nature is fundamentally the same all over the world Do not take one or two rebuffs as meant against you individually or against your race There are many houses where one or other particular race of lodgers is not entertained Overlook these People at these places are generally uncultured or snob bish It is best to avoid them

In the matter of study problems vary widely, and no general hint can be given There are a few things, however which are common grounds for all medical (and in fact quite a number of other) students which may be men tioned here

The newly arrived student from India speaks English badly Hesitation, lack of con fidence, bad pronunciation too loud a voice undue rapidity are common faults A very bad habit is to interrupt and to answer questions in the class when some one else is being asked If possible speak English before leaving India Control your voice and do not shout Speak slowly, gently and clearly You make your first impress on through your appearance but a good second is created by the way you speak Your upbringing is exposed here Some good doctors make a hash of their affairs on account of their crude manners and poor speech They might be grateful for spending four or five pounds in taking simple lessons in elocution and etiquette The writer can say from first-hand experi ence that many residential parts are denied to the Indians not so much because of their colour a because of their crude manner (crude in th British eye)

The average British patient does not mind to be examined by a foreigner There occur sometimes, instances where patients do not like to be examined by dark-coloured people Each particular problem has its own remedy, correct manners, a pleasant "good morning" a hearty hand shake will go a long way It is in this respect that the average Indian student has to learn more In India he rarely has handled white patients, he does not know the British "hospital class of patients" yet, he is naturally shy and timid, he hesitates A patient can sometimes see through this timidity, this hesitation, he at once shrinks from being examined by such a person To get over this the student may either adopt a courteous polite gentlemanly way or the more usual cheerful friendly "Hail fellow, well met" way Only a small proportion of students suffer from this disability, but it is a real disability

Do not trouble others with your petty difficulties lest they be too tired to help you when your major difficulties arise Eminent problems are always sympathetically tackled by colleagues and teachers, and genuine work is always appreciated Earn a reputation, work for it, do not wait to be spoon-fed, no one has the time to do that to you Move with the crowd In medical matters it is so essential to keep in touch with things

Finally if you are staying in Great Britain for any length of time join the Royal Society of Medicine and attend its meetings It has a vast library You get the best men of the country giving of their experiences there and you learn medicine far quicker The majority of the Indian students fail to utilize this excel lent organization



he hardly knows Science is to him—as, unfortunately, it is also to a considerable number of his teachers—a piece of abstract thought, a theoretical study with an air of unreality about it Where it should deal with concrete facts and phenomena and thus generalise, it has become a sort of metaphysical affair unrelated to the world it studies In other words, Science is lost amidst the paraphernalia of Language

There are many causes for this peculiar kind of attitude In the first place, the religious and social traditions, coming down from times immemorial and moulding subconsciously the lives of every growing boy or girl seem to put a discount on the tangible, physical surroundings around us in favour of spiritual and abstract truths Secondly, the average Indian parent suffers too much from pecuniary embarrassment to provide an all round education for his children This may be the case with many schools also Thirdly, our schools and colleges are governed in most cases by persons reared under the old regime when pedagogy was in its infancy, and thus the proper methods of education are neither appreciated nor courted Fourthly, the premium put on the value of examinations as a test for obtaining employment is a handicap to the real scholarly interests, and favours cramming and memorising for the sake of success Fifthly, India is mainly an agricultural country while the West is so thoroughly industrialised that the applications of science cannot but force themselves upon the notice of the student. Our students lack the opportunities for observing or studying the applied science in the world around them, while a European or American student is surrounded on all sides by them As evidence of this, one has only to study the spare-time activities of a scientifically-minded youth in Europe or America At the age of five he will be found making things of bits of wood and nails He is soon playing with toy trains Meccano sets batteries, telephones, etc He makes excursions to places near and far, and gets interested in animal and plant life He is a frequent visitor to museums and exhibitions, and is all curiosity He has a desire to find out how things work By the time he is learning science at school, he distresses his family by making foul smells in his tiny chemical laboratory By the age of sixteen he has a working knowledge, amongst other things, of many of the major gifts of Science to civilization To a boy with a background like this the study of scientific principles (or 'Science' as we call it in our prospectuses) is simply the study of the principles of well-known appliances

This background of applied science, which is the heritage of youth in the West, is missing in India One may watch Indian children for years, yet very rarely find them making things for themselves, or being given tools or mechanical toys by their parents. The materials or books required for the pursuit of scientific hobbies are not available in the mofussil towns, even when available, students are hardly encouraged to make use of them The difficulty of obtaining the requisite materials is a very real one, and our educationalists would do well to pay attention to it. We do not intend to make out that the Indian youth is deficient in mechanical or scientific ability, he has little opportunity to show or develop it[4] However, there is absolutely no justification why the need for a proper background of pure or applied science should be neglected in our educational system The development of the scientific attitude in the students is educationally far more important than the passing on of the contents of science to them, and yet absurdly enough, our present system feels satisfied with the lesser of the two aims Unless we can create in our students the habit of looking at the actual phenomena with a scientific spirit, science must remain a bookish and unreal study

This brings us to the question of "theory" versus "practical" How often one comes across persons who regard the so-called "theory lectures" as the essential part of science teaching! The work of conducting practical classes is relegated all too frequently to junior members of the staff, while the more experienced ones revel in airy, theoretical discourses (How often heirlooms of their own student days!), mostly unaccompanied even with the essential demonstrations The idea that the conducting of practical classes is inferior work as compared to the delivering of lectures is so entrenched that it will take some time to dispel it In some of our universities[5] the demonstrator is debarred from the right of vote in elections What is worse, in some places he is not even given credit for the total amount of work he actually does, as there are unfair regulations equating the periods of "practical work" to those of "theory"[6]

4. Abbott and Wood (*op cit.*, pp. 21*ff*) give a good discussion of "manual work, art and physical education" in relation to Indian Education.

5 *E.g.*, the University of Agra

6. In Muslim University Aligarh, practical work is

A science course is to be valued both as an informative study and as a means of mental and manipulative discipline, and all present-day educators are agreed that the right way of teaching it is by what is called the "laboratory method" or the "heuristic method"[7] As Armstrong points out

"It must from the outset and ever be remembered that the great object in view in education is to develop the power of initiative and in all respects to form the character of the pupil. The appreciation of this contention is crucial. 'The pious Pestalozzi is filled with measureless remorse when he finds that he has *given a little boy a conception* instead of inducing him to find it *himself*,' remarks Professor Meiklejohn So should every teacher be, and if the feeling expressed in this sentence can but be made to rankle in the mind of every teacher the end is achieved. Schools will then become educating institutions, the didactic instruction which poisons our existence at the present day will be properly recognized as a fell disease."[8]

This method has its own limitations[9] but from the educational standpoint no other method of science teaching has so much real permanent value

Thus for a science course the method of teaching followed in the practical class is all-important, and our teachers should pay special attention to it By this we mean just the reverse of what might be expected It is obvious that in most of our institutions the teacher does far too much for the students in the practical class The practical work of a student, as far as possible, should be a piece of research for him, and he should be induced to carry it out unaided If he has forgotten how to connect a Wheatstone's Bridge, he should be made to puzzle it out. If he is not sure about the details of a dissection or a physiological apparatus, he should work out the process by himself If something wants cleaning or adjusting he should not be allowed help in doing it It is not unlikely that a teacher who follows such a method be accused of neglecting his work by persons who are ignorant of modern educational principles, and perhaps his own students may regard him as unsympathetic and indifferent He is, however, inculcating the spirit of originality and independence amongst his students, while his orthodox colleagues are systematically stunting the mental growth of their pupils by over-much "spoon-feeding" Mental crutches, once given, soon become necessities

The success of any method of teaching is so intimately connected with the personality of the teacher concerned that we naturally ask ourselves, what are the characteristics of a good Science Teacher? Westaway answers.

"He knows his own special subject through and through, he is widely read in other branches of science, he knows how to teach he knows how to teach science, he is able to express himself lucidly, he is skilful in manipulation, h is resourceful both at the demonstration table and in the laboratory, he is a logician to his finger tips he is something of a philosopher, and he is so far an historian that he can sit down with a crowd of boys and talk to them about the personal equations, the lives, and the work of such geniuses as Galileo, Newton, Faraday, and Darwin More than all this, he is an enthusiast, full of faith in his own particular work."[10]

How far a teacher should be a researcher in his subject, we cannot lay down Surely, a science teacher must have a research mind and should have some first-hand knowledge of the way discoveries in his subject have been made He should have a mind, keenly observant, capable of sifting the essential from the accidental, resourceful, inventive, manipulative, experimental, inductively-inclined If he pursues research in his subject he will be able to speak with authority, and his students will imbibe from him (in addition to factual knowledge) the method and spirit of science

Sometime back, the Vice Chancellor of an Indian University deplored the fact that "in the world at present, and in India more than elsewhere, teaching and research are being combined in the same man," and regarded this combination of the two functions as a defect in our educational system[11] Whatever may be said in support of such a view, if it be generally accepted, it must surely mark the

regarded as equivalent to two thirds of formal lectures in Annamalai University, two hours of practical periods are counted equal to one hour of lecture period, and in Agra University three practical periods are reckoned as equivalent to two lecture periods.

7 "Heuristic methods of teaching are methods which involve our placing students as far as possible in the attitude of the discoverer—methods which involve their *finding out* instead of being merely told about things" (Armstrong 1910, p 236) A fine exposition of this method is given by Armstrong in Chapter XV of *The Teaching of Scientific Method and other Papers on Education*

8. Armstrong, H E., *op cit*, 1910 p 252

9 On account of lack of time laboratory facilities and specialised training, it is impossible for the student to get *all* his scientific facts from his own studies in the laboratory Lloyd and Bigelow (*The Teaching of Biology in the Secondary School* 1914), therefore, suggest that the knowledge gained by the laboratory method should be made "the basis on which to build facts acquired from other persons."

10 Westaway, I W., *Science Teaching What it Was—What It Is—What It Might Be* Blackie & Son Ltd., London and Glasgow 1929 p 3.

11 Basu Dr P., Vice-Chancellor, "Convocation Address at Agra University," 1936.

beginning of the decline of Science Education in the universities of India A science teacher gains by being a researcher, he is better able to give his students an insight into the method of science A researcher, on the other hand, is also at an advantage by being a teacher, his tendency to specialise within extremely narrow limits is counter balanced by the broad perspective of the subject he acquires in teaching Was it not to the world's gain that men like Faraday, Maxwell, Rutherford Pasteur Huxley, Freud, Lankester and a host of others combined teaching with research ?

Finally, the educational value of the proper medium of instruction is too well known to *need much emphasis Early science teaching*, like the teaching of all other subjects must begin in the mothertongue of the students However, it would be a great educational loss, if our students were unable to read with facility some foreign language like English, German or French rich in scientific literature

II

Granted the differences in the mental background of the Indian and the European boy and the general lack of scientific surroundings in the industrial life of the East what can be done in our schools and colleges to promote the teaching of science? What definite suggestions can be made in this respect'

In the first place every school or college should organise regularly trips to neighbouring places of scientific interest and thereby stimulate the natural curiosity of the students Factories *and workshops* of all sorts observatories, electric power houses, water works mills and industrial plants museums, exhibitions and the like can serve to awaken real interest in scientific study and to compensate to a considerable extent for the lack of scientific background *in India* Excursions should also be arranged to places full of animal and plant life and the students encouraged to make a first hand study of their biological environment

Secondly the background of science, which is missing in India can be artificially inserted at the High School or College stage by the gradual *building up, through the co* operative effort of the teacher and the taught, of a 'Science Museum" or "Hall of Science" All branches of science must be represented in it, but applied science in particular must have a prominent place Sanderson held that

"Applied science was complex and apparently difficult, yet it had romance and mystery which appealed to youth. Moreover it was in direct contact with the ordinary life, the home life of the day"[12]

The purpose of the *Hall of Science* should be to present a bird's eye view of the gifts of science to man The picture must be *dynamic*, and in order to ensure this, the building up of the Hall should be a continuous, co operative process carried out regularly from year to year. Thus alone will the students gain a lively interest and a knowledge of Science in Action and at the same time develop their creative abilities[13]

As finances allow, it is suggested that the following sections be built up in the Hall of Science

(1) *The Workshop* This should consist of the usual carpentry and metalwork tools, a fretwork outfit and if possible, a medium-sized lathe, preferably power driven The workshop is the key-stone of the whole scheme, developing as it does the creative faculty and manipulative skill of the students

(2) *Transport Section* The aim of this section shoud be to give a dynamic picture of the transport activities of the country, the most important activity of applied science At one end of the room we visualise a model port with ships loading and unloading and wagons of a model railway running along the quayside The railway track with its singal points scenic effects and stations is carried over bridges to the up country station at the foot of a range of miniature hills Here there is again a passenger and goods station The locomotives and rolling stock although scale models, are of the smallest gauge (00) The track is *signalled and organised on the* system in actual use in Indian railways At the up country end there is a model aerodrome with models of various types of aeroplanes To illustrate motor vehicles an old car should be bought, after it is thoroughly cleaned—a museum needs showmanship as much as a shop—sections should be cut through its cylinder head, valve chamber, gear box, clutch, differential and tyre The motor can be mounted on blocks and rotated by means of the self starter, and thus the whole working of the machinery made visible to the eye Explanatory charts should be arranged above the various *models showing*, for example, the principles of aerofoil design the ship related to Archimedes' principle, the principle underlying the electric signalling

12 *Sanderson of Oundle*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1924 p 64.

13. Abbott and Wood *op cit* p. 21

apparatus of the railway the use of the lever etc

(3) *Power* The next section should be devoted to working models of various types of engines It is worthwhile getting two sets of parts (they can be had without much outlay) one for building up whole models of engines the other for arranging on boards with a description of each part The charts above this section should relate engines to principles of thermodynamics conservation of energy and the like At the up country end of the Railway sub section one might arrange a model *hydro-electric power station with a miniature* dam and turbines

(4) *Industry* This section might include working models of various Indian industries *soap making sugar refining* tanneries saw mills pottery works glass works etc The accompanying charts would explain the underlying principles and would give information about their regional distribution within the country

(5) *Wireless* Plenty *of information*[14] is available regarding the construction of a wireless museum which should include models and photographs of historic transmitting and receiving equipment as well as obsolete receivers of more recent date As in a window display string may be connected from the various parts of a receiver to cards explaining the purpose of each component Models can be made to illustrate reflection from the ionosphere radiation from an aerial and valve characteristics in three dimensions

(6) *Biology* In the Biology Section the emphasis should be on the *live* organism its interaction with the environment and its relation to man Far too many teachers feel satisfied with only a detailed study of the internal structure of dead organisms and take no pains to relate their subject with the environment and interests of the students Morphological study has its own importance but in no case should it be regarded as the whole or even the most important part of Biology The student must first of all become interested in the living activities of the organism and get a broad perspective of the various life phenomena Bionomics Ecology *Phenomena of* Reproduction and Development Evolution and Heredity Animal and Plant Geography Palaeontology Social lives of animal groups and scores of other branches of the subject can be illustrated by carefully planned subsections and charts

Aquaria and terraria breeding cages vivaria insect incubators garden fernery rose garden—a miniature Kew an experimental plot an experimental farm these will give the means for taking up wide studies, including the life history of man and the romantic history of Biology itself Much valuable work can be done for the neighbourhood Here is a short list an agricultural survey of the district where a multiplicity of workers is invaluable analysis of soil experimental work *on wheat and other crop* (this can be done for farms and for neighbouring estates) extraction of fat and sugar *experiments with flour* bread making study of woods the study *of diseases and pests* and so on It will be well to devote a subsection to local fauna and flora properly named

Later on several other sections might be added A section on Public Health and Hygiene would be of distinct value illustrating with model and charts the principles of sanitary engineering drainage water supply mosquito elimination disease prevention etc There could be a section on Pure Science with possibilities too numerous to mention replicas of historic experiments charts showing the dates of great scientific discoveries portraits of important scientists and so on In order to awaken interest in the personality of scien*tists it may be worthwhile to prepare a large* volume consisting of photographs of individual workers facing one page descriptions of their lives and to leave it open at a different page each day Sections on Geography Archæology Medicine and even History might prove useful additions as the scheme is worked out

The building up of such a Hall of Science in itself would be highly educative and would enable students to appreciate how they fitted in the larger world around them They would learn to be handy with tools have that feel for apparatus which is the hall mark of a successful experimentalist develop resourcefulness initiative originality and creativeness and acquire a real zest for knowledge Science to them would no longer be the study of an unreal world but an enquiry into the principles underlying a world they already knew a great deal about A somewhat similar scheme has given remarkable results at Oundle School If it was found useful in England how much more so should it be in India!

14. O'Dea W. T., *Handbook of the collections illustrating Electrical Engineering II Radio Communication* London 1934

15 *Sanderson of Oundle* p 269

BIG NICK

The True Story of the Depredations of a North Australian Killer and its Destruction by an Introduced Indian Animal

By EWEN K PATTERSON

Out in the middle of the wide, sluggish, jungle-fringed North Australian river, a broad, blunt, scaly muzzle, that came slowly in from the open sea showed just above the surface of the water Moving upstream like a piece of driftwood carried in by the tide it slowed down and finally halted alongside a clump of reeds that grew from the water at the tip of a long, low peninsula which jutted out into the stream from the thick dark green wall of the jungle

For a moment the muzzle remained motionless, then it turned and the green patch of reeds parted for a massive scaly body to come streaming and glistening through and the crocodile (Big Nick, as he was later called) dragged himself ashore to flop like a log on the soft mud

Fully twenty-five feet long from the tip of the snout to the end of the tail he was and easily four feet wide across the middle of the back—one of the ferocious salt-water crocodiles (they are scientifically termed *Crocodilus porosus*), which are the largest living reptiles known

Tired after his journey out to sea, where he had obtained a stomach full of fish Big Nick yawned once—his massive jaws opening wide to reveal a fearsome array of huge white teeth, six inches long terrible weapons that slanted backwards towards the throat and that never lost their grip and then he settled down to enjoy an after-dinner sleep But almost immediately he was awakened by a disturbance nearby

About ten yards from where the crocodile reposed, and in the centre of the peninsula, bathed in vivid sunlight was a pile of mud, surmounted with twigs and dead leaves—a squat pile, about three feet high and a yard across, and alongside it was a wallow of churned semiliquid mud just above the surface of which showed the serrated back of another large crocodile—a monster female guarding her incubator—nest of eggs

For six weeks, night and day with scarcely a break her massive twenty-feet long body had lain in that wallow, for six weeks she had been keeping a close watch over her nest—the nest which she had scraped together with her great two-feet long and nine inch wide fore-paws and on top of which she had deposited a batch of sixty-odd eggs—glistening white eggs, a little larger than duck eggs

Cleverly concealed beneath a thin layer of twigs and leaves, those eggs had for six weeks been bathed daily in the fierce heat of the tropical North Australian sun, while the female, formidable and always alert, had remained on guard She knew only too well the many jungle creatures—wild pigs, snakes, and a score of others—that would quickly play havoc with the eggs if she left them unguarded for any length of time, and so, day after day, night after night, she had lain in her wallow, as motionless as a log, appearing for all the world like a dead beast, except that occasionally she emitted a low moan or grunt

And now her long vigil was over The incubation period had expired Beneath the fierce rays of the midday sun the surface of the nest began to heave Higher and higher it heaved until finally it broke open, and in an instant became alive with baby crocodiles about six inches long

No sooner had that happened than the mother began to crawl around the nest wildly, excitedly, while her sixty or more babies snapping at each other with tiny needle teeth jumped rolled, fell and ran down the sides of the nest to join their massive parent, scampering along her uneven, broad back, or running about on the soft mud nearby

All of the babies except for paler colour and spotted skin were perfect crocodiles in form and fierceness Beside the great bulk of their mother it seemed ridiculous that such tiny things could ever attain her size The entire evil brood could have been packed with ease into an empty four gallon can

Each of the babies had a lump of hard egg yolk attached to the outside of its stomach to serve as food until it could fend for itself, and, presently, as the mother moved slowly

towards the river, the brood hurried after her, following her clumsily, in a straggling line

But as they slipped into the water, their parent at once deserted them Having no further interest in the brood she shot rapidly away, just as Big Nick woke from his doze

His greedy eyes were at once attracted by the commotion caused in the water by the frolicking brood, and crawling swiftly into the stream he pursued the helpless babies, swallowing them one after another as they scampered and fled in instinctive terror

Having devoured all of the babies within sight, Big Nick, with a contented grunt returned to his sun-warmed resting place, and as he did so, two hunters from the little gold mining settlement on the neighbouring river a mile to the south (they had witnessed Big Nick's arrival and the subsequent birth and death of the brood), raised their rifles and fired

The bullets struck the monster's thick, scaly hide, but ricochetted off harmlessly, and with lightning swiftness, the saurian plunged into the river

In the weeks that followed the hunters paid innumerable visits to the river, and many bullets were wasted in a vain endeavour to shoot the big crocodile

Often the saurian was sighted sunning himself on the river bank but always before the men could get within shooting distance he would slip into the water from his basking-place with scarcely a splash

And then Big Nick would reveal his cunning in an irritating game of hide and seek He would cruise slowly along in the water, with only his long snout showing just above the surface, like a floating piece of wood It looked an easy target, but whenever a gun was raised to shoot, or a hand moved to pull a trigger, the snout would sink, to bob up again a few yards away

Then, when he grew tired of this, Big Nick would flick his long flattened tail and drive his massive body through the water with powerful rhythmic sweeps until soon he was lost in the distance

Then came warm nights when the jungle echoed with hoarse bellowings from the river It was Big Nick roaring out the strange mating call of his kind Night after night he kept it up for hours with scarcely a pause, and so startling were the cries that the noises of the night were quietened, and when finally Big Nick did stop, a deathly silence brooded over the jungle

* * * *

The weeks passed, and then came a Sunday morning when Big Nick left his home river and headed for the stream on the southern bank of which stood the little gold mining settlement

What caused the crocodile to make that move will never be known

At ten o'clock that morning, three men from the settlement who were out seeking game, came across the saurian suddenly in the jungle only a hundred yards or so from the river at the settlement

When detected, the massive brute's little eyes gleamed savagely and then he rose swiftly on his hind legs, and, like a huge goanna, ran madly for the river into which he plunged with a loud splash

The crocodile was not sighted again for a week, until the next Sunday morning, when most of the people were at church, he dashed ashore amongst a group of little children, who were playing on a patch of white sand a few yards from the edge of the water, seized a screaming little girl in his awful jaws, and then, with a toss of his head, hurled the child into the river, whither he immediately followed

That taste of human flesh apparently gave Big Nick a craving for such food.

He ignored tempting carcasses of wallabies and other marsupials which the people of the lonely settlement hung from trees along the river for him to take—baits which were poisoned with enough strychnine to kill a dozen crocodiles his size

But Big Nick completely ignored them all The cunning crocodile even refused to approach a live pig which one morning was tethered to a sapling close to the river bank. In vain the hidden hunters waited with their rifles ready for the crocodile to come ashore

Big Nick claimed his second human victim a few days later, a mile or so up tream from the settlement

A man on horseback was swimming the river, and was about half-way across the stream, when Big Nick surged forward His huge jaws closed on the man's left leg, dragged him from the saddle, and swept him beneath the water

It was the return of the terrified riderless horse, with a wound on its left side, where the crocodile's razor-like teeth had grazed the skin, that told the settlement of the tragedy, and thereafter Big Nick was hunted ceaselessly

But the crocodile proved too c
Traps and poisoned baits remained
and not once did the small army c

from the settlement get within shooting distance of him

* * * *

A week passed and one evening five miles up the river from the settlement two hunters who had spent the whole day looking for Big Nick, began to wend their way homewards when suddenly they stopped abruptly as the jungle echoed with awful cries that came from the river

Together, with their rifles ready the hunters dashed through the bushes and reached the stream to see on the opposite bank a desperate battle in progress

Big Nick his evil body half in and half out of the water had grabbed a buffalo cow by the left foreleg and was slowly dragging her towards the river

The animals cries echoed and re echoed through the trees

It appeared as though Big Nick would have an easy victory and raising their rifles, the hunters were preparing to shoot when suddenly a crashing through the bushes heralded the approach of a massive buffalo bull

Without hesitating a second the newcomer lowered his great head and charged the crocodile

The resultant collision partly lifted the saurian out of the water and at the same time, dragged the buffalo cow to her knees

Again the bull charged and this time with a lightning movement he drove the razor-edged point of a six feet long corrugated black horn deep into Big Nicks right eye

Generations of jungle life had given the old bull an instinctive knowledge of the vulnerable parts of his saurian enemy

Again the horn went deep into the eye socket, and the writhing crocodile loosened his jaws

With ear-splitting cries the cow dashed madly into the jungle, while Big Nick, bellowing with pain, endeavoured to grasp the bull, but the buffalo, his eyes blazing with rage, side-stepped swiftly and launched a frenzied attack

A horn gouged deeply into the saurian's left eye, and then gashed the tender part of the creature's thick scaly hide under the foreleg

Sightless, torn and bleeding, and bellowing hoarsely, Big Nick careered madly round in a circle

The buffalo charged again turning the writhing crocodile over and over until the mighty saurian fell with a loud splash into the river, and there, amid a whirl of flying foam, Big Nick yielded up his cold, malignant soul

* * * *

The fight over, the buffalo stood for a moment on the river bank with his sides heaving He was a magnificent animal, weighing fully a ton

Suddenly he raised his head and sniffed the air between short nervous gasps

Borne on the faint breeze which drifted from where the hunters were watching, came the dreaded scent of man, and, with a loud snort the buffalo wheeled like a flash, and disappeared into the jungle

'We missed a good shot there" said one hunter

'Why did you hesitate then?" asked the other

Well er—I don't think it would've been fair do you?"

I do not'

* * * *

That buffalo bull, which was responsible for the destruction of the killer-crocodile, was one of the many thousands of buffaloes roaming the unsettled wilds of Northern Australia, all of which are descendants of Indian wild buffaloes The introduction of these Indian animals into Australia which was more by accident than by design represents one of the greatest examples extant of the invasion of a wild animal

Over one hundred years ago when a British military settlement was established on a lonely part of the coast of Northern Australia, it was visited by trading vessels from India and the East Indies which supplied the military men with Indian wild buffaloes to be killed for meat The animals were kept in special pens at the settlement, and were slaughtered as required

When the settlement was abandoned after a few years a number of buffaloes, which had not been killed for food, were released and left to their fate in the wild and lonely country It was thought that the animals would die out but instead they increased in numbers and from their progeny has developed a tremendous wild-buffalo infestation, covering a vast area of country The animals are so plentiful that they are hunted for their skins which are exported to all parts of the world for use in upholstery and other leather-work Some Australian hunters have amassed fortunes at hunting the buffaloes, countless thousands of the animals have been killed, but they are still as plentiful as ever

DHONDO KESHAV KARVE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Fame—particularly contemporary fame is not a sure test of greatness
Nor is its absence a proof that one is not great

PROFESSOR DHONDO KESHAV KARVE of whom I am going to speak briefly this evening on the occasion of his completing 80 years of his beneficient life is not exactly an unknown man though he is not one of the celebrities of modern India like many of our political leaders But he is really a very great man He is best known as the founder and life and soul of the Hindu Widows Home at Hingne Budruk Poona and of the Sreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Womens University of Poona and Bombay

He was born of poor parents It was with great difficulty that he could educate himself One fact alone will suffice to enable us to realize his struggles and that is that he was in his eighteenth year when he began to learn the English alphabet Previous to that he had received some education through Marathi his mother tongue and when 17 tramped 110 miles from Murud his parents home in a four days pilgrimage to appear at a public examination at Satara and on the third night slept uneasily under the stars in a wind swept rocky glen where wild beasts might prowl But all this trouble was useless The members of the Examination Committe took him to be too young and rejected him But this did not damp his ardour for education

He has said in his autobiography that in his life there have been cycles of ten years at the end of each of which some new outlook some new idea some powerful urge seized him and drew him into a new activity without his losing touch with the old When eighteen, he began



Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve

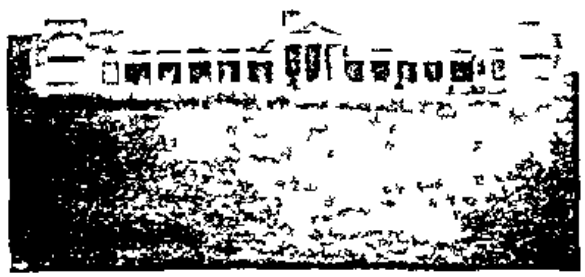
to learn the English alphabet and a new vista of life opened before his eyes At twenty-eight he took up the work of the Murud Fund a fund to be used for the welfare of Murud and raised mostly from inhabitants of that village who were employed elsewhere each to contribute a pie for each rupee he earned It has paid part of the cost of the Marathi school and the English Middle school at Murud and worked for the welfare of that village in other ways In 1936 its permanent balance was Rs 12 000 in face value of 3½ p c Government paper '

Ten years after starting the Murud Fund when he was thirty eight the Hindu Widows Home Association was established and it has been rendering very useful service to society When he was forty eight the ideas of the Mahila Vidyalaya and the Nishkama Karma Matha took possession of him and he enthusiastically took up the corresponding activities These institutions were merged into the Hindu Widows Home Association It was at the age of 58 that, as he says he took a leap in the dark to found the Women's University He thinks, fortunately no new idea emerged at the age of 68, and he could give undivided attention to the university for 20 years Strangely however, says he I was unconsciously drawn towards a new idea and its powerful urge has thrown me into a fresh activity at the age of 78" He wanted to establish a Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society' 'to start schools of the old indigenous type to teach the three R's in villages in which there are no schools conducted by the District Local Boards or other agencies" In addition to teaching children of school-going age these schools will try to keep up the literacy of adults by attracting them to small *libraries attached to the* schools Before approaching others for contributions he conducted one school himself by paying Rs 15 per mensem out of his meagre pension of 70 rupees He also made small collections with the help of friends, the total reaching Rs 2700 on the 8th July, 1936

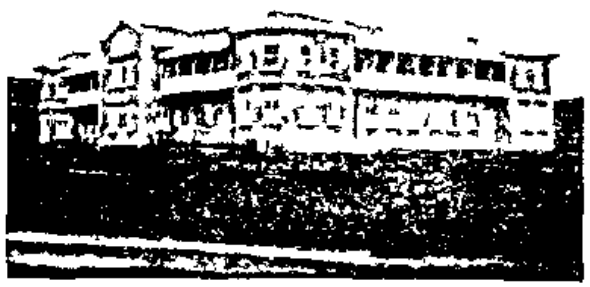
Mr Karve married a widow in 1893, having become a widower himself before that date and had in consequence of the marriage to suffer much bitter persecution

In 1894 he became professor of Mathematics in the Fergusson College, Poona and also within a year a life-member of the Deccan Education Society Mr G K Gokhale was already a member of the Society and a professor of the college The life members had to work for 20 years on Rs 73 and odd per month This meant considerable sacrifice for him as he was then earning double that amount in Bombay by tuition Prof Karve put in this full period and retired in 1914 He was a very efficient and successful professor

After taking a practical step in the cause of widow marriage namely, marrying a widow himself he felt that it had placed an impera-



The main Building of the Women's College Poona



Women's College Hostels

tive duty upon him to try to do his utmost for the cause of widow marriage which he had embraced He realised at once that for a systematic and efficient working out of any plan a responsible body was necessary and with the help of friends started the Widow Marriage Association He was its first secretary and Dr (afterwards Sir) R G Bhandarker, chairman Only those people could become members of the Association who had either married widows or who had the courage to dine with such people of their own caste Others who had sympathy with the cause were registered as sympathisers A member or a sympathiser had to pay a day's income every year as subscription

For over two years he worked very hard

for it But his experience showed that the question being a religious one a high degree of moral courage was required on the part of the man who came forward to marry a widow and also on the part of the guardian of widow It was no easy thing in those days to face excommunication from society He therefore began to think that his energy might be more usefully directed toward the cause of widow education The question not being a religious one would not frighten people away from it The best way to advance the cause of the widow he thought was to educate them and established on the 14th June 1896 As no funds were at first available no independent Home was started Mr Karve began to collect contributions and as money became available a few poor widows were supported in the hostel attached to the Government Girls High School and the Training College for women and educated there He set apart all his savings namely Rs 1 000 for the Home and utilized his long vacation in doing propaganda work and collecting subscriptions

Owing to the existence of the Widow Marriage Association and the Hindu Widow



Prof D K Karve Mr Ramananda Chatterjee and workers and graduates of the Nath bai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women s University

make them self supporting and able to think for themselves So while continuing to keep in touch with the widow marriage movement as a member of the Managing Committee of the Association and taking interest in its work he founded the Hindu Widows Home Association The Widow Marriage Association is still working under an enthusiastic secretary with a fund of nearly Rs 9 000

The Hindu Widows Home Association was not started under the control of the Widow Marriage Association because if that had been done people would have suspected that the object of the Home was more to induce the inmates to get remarried than to educate them So a separate Association was formally

Home Association both founded by Prof Karve and with both of which he has all along been connected he was between two fires as it were Orthodox people suspected that the object of the Home was to indirectly promote widow marriage and reformers of the extreme wing were dissatisfied with his method of working along the lines of least resistance But the wisdom and tactfulness of Prof Karve and his friends overcame all difficulties

The Home is situated at Hingne Budruk 4 miles outside the city of Poona When there was no road to it—not even a foot track and no conveyance of its own Prof Karve had to walk there every day in the evening after his college work, spend the night there for the

protection of the girls and again walk back to college in the morning. That meant trudging eight miles every day. All provisions had to be carried there from the city on the head and shoulders; and so Prof. Karve had himself usually to carry a pretty heavy load of vegetables and other supplies for the Home. He used to teach some of the advanced girls at night and in the early morning. During the long vacations he went away on subscription work and made other arrangements regarding the protection of the inmates of the Home. Greater devotion to a cause no man could show.

The Home is now a colony by itself of about 300 souls situated in a quiet and extensive site fifteen acres in extent and four miles from the city. Its buildings to provide residential and school accommodation are worth Rs. 200,000. There are a High School, a Training College or Normal school and a practising school. The Association has an endowment fund of Rs. 1,00,000 and permanent and other funds of about 70,000 rupees.

The Home has sent out hundreds of educated women in Maharashtra and the Marathi speaking centres outside Maharashtra.

Prof. Karve has written in his autobiography:

> In the matter of widow marriage I followed the path chalked out by Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar of Bengal and Vishnushastri Pandit of Maharashtra and had made it the fundamental principle of the Widow Marriage Association.

It was on the 4th March 1907 that he opened the Mahila Vidyalaya for giving secondary education to Hindu girls. It was amalgamated with the Widows' Home school in 1915.

The problem of securing devoted workers for the Widows' Home and the Mahila Vidyalaya constantly engaged his mind. The Nishkama Karma Matha was founded by him with that object. In 1915 it was amalgamated with the Home and the Mahila Vidyalaya.

The first three members of the Matha, of whom he was one, took the following solemn vow —

> I offer my life to the Mission (Matha) which is to be founded to conduct the Widows' Home, the Mahila Vidyalaya and such other institutions realizing the presence of the Supreme Being in my mind. Now I am no longer my own master. I now belong to this new organization. It may use me in the way it thinks fit. Whatever provision the organization makes for me and my family will be accepted by me."

The idea of the Indian Women's University arose in his mind from the perusal of a booklet descriptive of the Japan Women's University sent to him by Babu Sivaprasad Gupta and Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. He founded the Indian Women's University in 1916, though at first he had no funds to back him. Money came gradually. In 1920 the University got what Professor Karve has called a windfall. The late Sir Vithaldas Damodher Thackersey gave it the sum of Rs. 15,00,000 in the face value of 3½ per cent. Government paper on certain conditions the first being that it was to be named after his mother Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey. It has been so named. So long as he lived he continued to take great practical and active interest in it. It has since then received other important bequests though of lesser amounts.

The Indian Women's University is a very great achievement inasmuch as it has made progress and acquired stability in spite of the facts that it had no recognition from Government, its degrees had not the market value which Government recognised University degrees have, it is entirely unconnected with any religious, sectarian or denominational propaganda and its medium of instruction in all subjects up to the highest degree is some Indian language, English being only a compulsory second language. Before Sir Vithaldas's endowment and even after it it has depended greatly upon contributions made by the upper middle, the middle and the lower middle classes.

It is for all castes, creeds and religions.

Looking to the needs and circumstances of the generality of women and to make it worthy of the name of Women's University, it has given Domestic Economy, Domestic Science (including Biology, Anatomy, Human Physiology and Elements of Psychology with special study of the child mind) and Hygiene an important place in the scheme of studies. Music, painting, needle work and embroidery also have an honourable place in the scheme as regular subjects of examination.

The University has high schools that prepare students for the Entrance Examination in four languages, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi and Telugu. College education is given for the present in the first three languages only. Students are allowed to study privately and to appear for the entrance and higher examinations and there are now and then students who appear in Hindi, Urdu, Kanarese and Bengali.

Prof. Karve thinks there should be a separate Women's University in each linguistic area.

When Prof. Karve was seventy-one he undertook a tour round the world for popularis

ing the Women's University movement and for collecting monetary help for it He had previously visited all parts of India for the same purpose The foreign countries visited during his world tour were Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, United States of America, Japan, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, Zanzibar, South Africa, and Portuguese East Africa

In his autobiography, entitled *Looking Back,* he has summarised certain opinions of his on religious matters as follows —

(1) Religion should be confined to the consideration of the relations of man with the unknown source of all things or God

(2) Consideration of the rules of conduct of man towards himself and other beings, including dumb creatures, should be the province of morality

(3) The dictates of one's own conscience should be the guide in one's religious and moral actions

(4) No book in the world is a revealed book

(5) No individual, past or present is an incarnation of God

He has not 'formed any opinion on the question of rebirth" After stating some arguments against and for belief in it, he observes

I am, however, led to think and feel that if there is truth in the idea of rebirth, I would like to be born again and again in India to carry on my work

He also declares

I have had a very sympathetic attitude towards all progressive movements like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Theosophy and Rationalism.

It was in 1932, when I went to Bombay to deliver the convocation address of the Indian Women's University, that I had the honour of making his acquaintance After the convocation was over I went to Poona with his son Mr Bhaskar D Karve and saw his father's institutions there and at Hingne Budruk

[Regarding Prof Karve's 'Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society,' Dr R P. Paranjpye writes in *The Hindu* and *The Leader* in course of an article on his life and mission

He had long realized that education of women or girls was not enough After all in this way he could reach only a few of them by means of his institutions He realized that the large mass of the people of India lived in villages, and saw that unless every villager had opportunity for education India could not advance as it should He therefore launched out a new scheme for organizing education in villages Again he has begun in a small way He has founded a society called the Grama Shikshan Mandal for starting, or rather for helping the villagers to start schools in villages which had no school till then He contributes Rs 15 every month from the pension of Rs 70 that he receives every month from the Fergusson College to this society and spends three hours every day in visiting every single house by turns in different parts of the city of Poona to collect funds for the purpose He accepts anything that anybody gives from a pice upwards He has thus helped in the establishment of some 25 village schools in various parts of Maharashtra To such school the villagers contribute something themselves possibly providing accommodation of a sort and the Mandal gives a grant of something like Rs 100 or so per year To see that the schools are going on properly an inspector has been appointed

To find a man of 80 working in this manner single-hearted for a cause which he considers of national importance must appeal to the imagination of many who may not have the same self sacrificing spirit

Prof Karve's physical energy is boundless One would not think that that small thin, unimpressive figure was capable of putting forth all this work. He still can easily walk 10 or 15 miles a day and does nearly that amount every day]

A broadcast talk on the 18th April, 1938, slightly enlarged.

(Compiled mainly from "Looking Back.")



there once But now—now I don t think I m young And he smiled Others joined him

The lady who appeared to be his disciple brought us green tea in small beautiful cup There were bi cuits too in front of u They looked to be home made All the same they were delicious The ta te of the tea being somewhat peculiar one of us left some of it in the cup The eagle eyes of Mr Toyama o b s e r v i n g that whi pered something to the lady A few minute later she brought us iced tea The friend who had not done justice to his cup of green tea was orry that he had given so much trouble to the lady

Oh no no trouble at all Tea is no tea if you don take it to your heart s con tent so saying Mr Toyama laughed heartily

There wa a good heap of books lying in ne corner f the room the walls of which *con i ted of wooden parti* tion I wanted to know f Mr Toyama still read book He replied although he had reached the la t tage of lif when reading should be done with still he had not given up the habit of reading and writ ing This brought in politics —Indian Japanese and inter n a t i o n a l There was the que tion of war also Mr Toyama did not seem to at tach any importance to the pacifi t movement in the We t He had certain things to say *about the wave of* communi m which was sweep ing many a land in the East At the end of hi talk he asked us to vi it Manchuria also on our way back to India We con ented At this Mr Toyama gave a chit written by his hand to Mr Tomo for the Minister of Railways who later on arranged for our journey and other com forts

We took leave of him at 3 Again there was an exchange of bows When we stood in the corridor he too was there be side u We requested him several times not to take any more trouble but he would not agree and came to see us off at the main door

So that house belonged to Mr Toyama himself? I asked my friend

Ye that was hi—to be more correct that was the Society s



An autographed photograph of Mr Toyama, the founder of Blood brotherhood of Japan

Society! You mean Brotherhood? But how does this Society work?

In the beginning he gave board and lodging to certain poor students who came in touch with him day and night They stayed with him but studied in different educational in titutions They did everything even cleaning and washing with

their own hands No domestic servants were kept Naturally Mr Toyama had not a heavy burden to bear on his shoulders The Japanese are most loyal to their benefactor These students were always ready to do what their spiritual *guru* bade them to do As they grew older they held many responsible posts in the service of the State Some of them sent regularly quite a good sum of money to their preceptor During the last thirty years Mr Toyama has helped hundreds of young men with the result that it is said nearly sixty thousand people are at his back today Now every Ministry in Japan respects Mr Toyama Some of the ministers fear him others seek his help'

I learnt several other things besides these about Mr Toyama and his Brotherhood An interesting story was related to me about his influence Several years ago when the present Emperor of Japan was young and his father was *alive the Prince was engaged to the* daughter of a feudal lord The person in charge of the royal household affairs was jealous of that lord He did not like that the lord's daughter be married to the Prince Easy access as he had to the Emperor he dinned the doubt into the master's ears that the princess to be was suspected of phthisis In this way he made the Emperor break the engagement

When Mr Toyama came to know of this he was enraged This is sheer faithlessness, said he to his band and faithlessness on the part of a king is a national sin Then he sent an appeal to the King that such a thing did not become an exalted personage like the Emperor But no heed was paid to it At this Mr Toyama ordered one thousand of his disciples to perform hara kiri They proceeded to the Shrine with the *guru* at the head Mr Toyama knelt down before the presiding deity and prayed thus An exalted person is going to commit a great sin In order to check him from doing that these youths have come to offer their lives Pray accept their humble offer!'

No sooner had he uttered these words than a young man stepped forward and cut up his abdomen The next moment a human body lay there in a pool of blood The second youth followed him and so the third When the news of hara-kiri reached the Emperor in his palace he was struck with horror A messenger with a message in a steel cover and a royal standard in his hand ran from the palace to the shrine The leader read aloud the message of the Emperor to the members of the Brotherhood present there The King had promised that he would not break the engagement of the Prince contracted with the daughter of the feudal lord The resolve of hara kiri was given up by the rest of the youth who later on went back to their headquarter in the form of a procession

The late Sun Yat sen, the great political leader of China was once considered to be an enemy of Japan It is said that when he was young he excited his countrymen against the Japanese But in his later life he was found to be a friend of Japan It was Mr Toyama with whom Sun stayed once when he was in Tokyo Mr Toyama gave a party in honour of the Chinese patriot and showered praises upon him Dr Sun Yat sen in return admired Japan and the Japanese for their hospitality, cordiality and patriotism A question was troubling the minds of so many Japanese guests in the party A journalist gave a bit of his mind when he asked How is it that Doctor *Sun was not a friend of Japan in his earlier* life' At this the Doctor explained that he wanted to infuse the spirit of patriotism then in the masses by exciting their hatred against the foreigners America and certain European countries were helping him financially He used that money in exciting the Chinese against the Japanese But when there was sufficient awakening among the Chinese he gave up that policy and became a friend of Japan

More than twenty years ago the late Lala Lajpat Rai went to Japan from America Few people knew him there then In a short time he felt so lonely that he made up his mind to leave that country and go back to America An Indian student introduced him to Mr Toyama who gave a party in his honour Several journalists attended the function He gave them all a sketch of the Lala's life The next morrow found Lala Lajpat Rai in every morning 'paper He was admired as an orator, writer social reformer and patriot Thus in one day the name Lajpat Rai became a household word After that Lalaji stayed there for more that eight months

Lala Lajpat Rai was most probably in Japan when the well known Mr Rashbehari Bose reached there Mr Bose began mixing with the Indian students He used to meet Mr Toyama every now and then He had stayed in Japan for nearly two years when the British Consul at Tokyo came to know that he was the revolutionary Rashbehari Bose Japan and England were great friends then But the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs had

sympathy for the Indian students in Japan When however there was pressure the Minister was forced to pass orders for turning Mr Bose out of the country In certain political circles it was given out that he was a spy of the Germans and hence that action was necessary Ten days' time was allowed to him During that period only one boat was to leave the shores of Japan for Hong Kong where the British Police could easily catch hold of Mr Bose Bose, however, decided to defy the orders of the Japanese Government Fifteen Japanese officers of Police surrounded the lodging of Mr Bose He came out and told them frankly that he was prepared to be treated by them in whatever manner they liked Even death at their hands would be welcomed by him He appealed them not to turn him out of the country But what could the Police do when they had strict orders from above! Mr Toyama came to the rescue of Mr Bose then Somehow he took Bose away to his own house None of the officers came to know where Bose had gone to Even if they had known that they would not have dared to face Mr Toyama For three years Mr Bose did not come out of his place of hiding After that there was a change in the Ministry The new Minister for Foreign Affairs did not think it proper to go into the question again Thus Mr Bose was once again free He married a young Japanese lady so that some years later he had a son and a daughter Now Mr Bose is considered to be somebody in the Indian circle Like Mr Bose himself everybody there knows how much he owes to Mr Mitsuru Toyama

K. NARASIMHA IYENGAR

A Great Indian Figure in Malaya

By G PARTHASARATHY

By the death of Mr K Narasimha Iyengar at the early age of 47, Indians in Malaya have lost a noble and spotless leader

Mr K Narasimha Iyengar was born on 3rd July, 1890, in the beautiful little village of Nangavaram on the banks of the Cauvery, a few miles west of Trichinopoly, South India

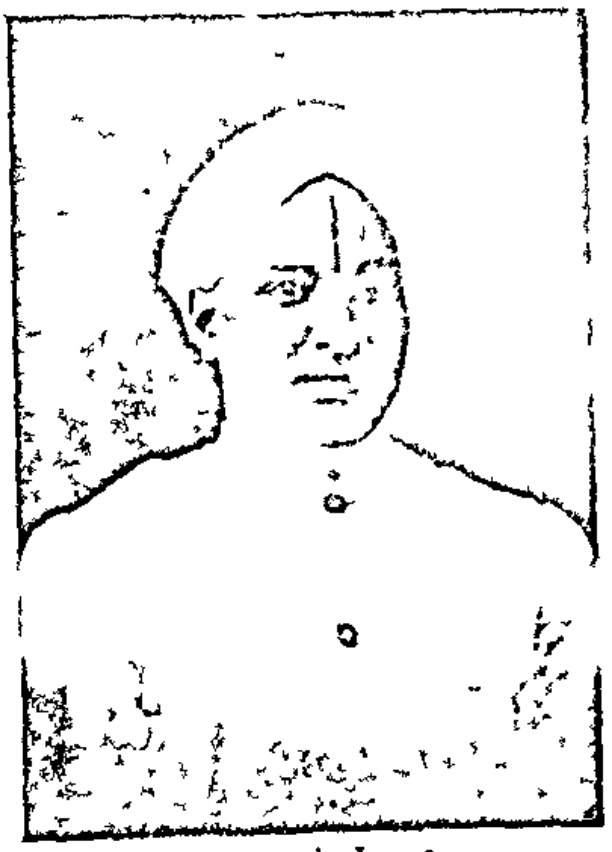
He was a student of the Hindu Secondary School, Trichinopoly, and his keen intelligence was even then appreciated by his headmaster Mr C Rangaswamy Iyer who had a great love for the boy While fourteen Mr Iyengar lost his father which gave a rude shock to the young mind He joined his fourth form in the St Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, where he was the pet student of Rev Father Leigh, S J It was Fr Leigh who first planted firm into the lad's mind ideas of correct significance of words, thorough knowledge of grammar, essay writing and above all, discipline Matriculating in December, 1907, Mr Narasimha Iyengar joined the S P G College, Trichinopoly Rev Allan F Gardiner, the Principal, granted him a free scholarship as a result of his appreciation of the lad's abilities The Rev Allan F Gardiner's fame as a distinguished Shakespearean scholar is well known and under that great savant Mr Narasimha Iyengar learned to love Shakespeare Simultaneously with this the lad was keenly interested in the study of Tamil, his mother tongue, and took lessons under Pichai Ibrahim Pulavar, the poet, and later under Pundit N M Venkataswamy Nattar, now of the Annamalai University, Chidambaram The young student's ramblings in Kambar and Shakespeare infused into him a great love for music and art After a three years' study he left college in 1914 without completing the course on account of his sudden ill health He had already lost his mother in 1911

About the end of 1915 he joined the Accountant-General's Office, Rangoon, as a clerk and resigned in 1920 on account of ill health Like Robert Louis Stevenson who wandered over the South Sea Islands in search of health Mr Iyengar travelled the length and breadth of Upper Burma for a number of months in the vain hope of better health and in sheer disgust he despaired of service in Burma and left for Malaya and lived with his brother Mr K S Rajam who was the Manager

of the Industrial Press, Kuala Lumpur He had married in 1918

Malayan Career

From December, 1920 his Malayan career began He joined the Industrial Press as Assistant Manager and in August 1921 the first Tamil newspaper of Malaya the *Tamilaham* as a bi weekly edition was started



K. Narasimha Iyengar

which was highly popular and successful till he left the concern about the middle of 1923

Early in 1924 Mr Iyengar and his brother Mr K S Rajam established the Art Printing Works On September 10th of the same year the *Tamil Nesan* was started as a weekly newspaper From its very inception it stood for non party, non-communal interests and Mr Iyengar was a staunch supporter of theism and the interests of the poorer classes, especially the Harijans When Swami Sahajanandam of the Nandanar Mutt, Chidambaram, visited Malaya, the Swami found in Mr Iyengar the strongest and most sincere supporter of his cause and expressed it adequately on many later occasions

By the end of 1927 the need for an English edition was felt and a few pages were set apart for the English matter in the Tamil edition itself Later from January, 1928, the *Tamil Nesan* English Supplement was issued separately On 1st March, 1929, the English Supplement was converted into the *Indian Pioneer* weekly and the *Tamil Nesan* into a bi-weekly On the 18th August, 1930 the *Pioneer* ceased publication and as pointed out in an announcement Mr Iyengar suffered a net loss of over $5,000 He now limited himself to the *Tamil Nesan*

Within a year after the Art Printing Works had been started his elder brother, his only support died suddenly at the early age of 11 and since then he stood alone to face the world

Very bad health worried him in 1926 and he unwillingly left for India on a holiday and returned next year He now put his whole vigour into the business Times favoured him and he steadily built the edifice of his valuable institution In 1932 a lot of new machinery and materials were purchased and the office was removed to its present premises No 80, Ampang Street Kuala Lumpur, in November, 1932 From 4th January, 1934, the paper was published thrice weekly and the response was encouraging

Towards the end of 1934 he took a short holiday in India and came back in May, 1935 On his return he drew elaborate plans for a full-fledged Indian daily with other allied publications and invited the co operaton of interested friends But they still did not realise the eagerness of his mission and his purpose But Mr Iyengar was not the man to go back on his plans. He stuck to them firmly *Alone*, single-handed, in a distant country like Malaya, he issued the *Tamil Nesan* Daily Edition on the 20th February, 1937, and when Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Malaya a few months later the Daily sent a special staff reporter throughout the country wherever the great leader went and it is needless to say that the 700,000 of Indians rose in response and the circulation was most encouraging

In the meanwhile the constant strain told on his health and he took short holidays at health resorts but his physical strength was already giving way He was removed to hospital and the end came suddenly On Friday, 4th February, 1938, passed away K. Narasimha Iyengar, a great Indian figure in Malaya

Mr Narasimha Iyengar was a profound scholar in English and Tamil and had a deep

knowledge of the Vaishnavite philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology He was well built He was a man of principles and more a man of action than of words His watchword was Discipline In his own quiet and unostentatious manner he had played his part manfully for the amelioration of the Indians, especially the toiling labourers, in Malaya His active and ceaseless campaign through the columns of his *Tamil Nesan* and *Indian Pioneer* largely contributed to the appointment of Indian Members to the Straits and F M S Councils and the Indian Immigration Committee Then again when the fixing of wages for Key districts came up for public enquiry he spared no pains to draw pointed attention to the minimum needs of the labourer

Today we have lost him but he has left behind him his institution—the *Tamil Nesan*—strong enough to stand firm

NEW DEFINITION OF THE EMPIRE

By M MANSINHA

On the 16th of February, 1938, Professor Reginald Coupland, professor of Colonial History, Oxford, delivered an interesting lecture in the King's College, Newcastle His subject was 'Nationalism in the British Empire' and the audience, which was large was mostly British with a sprinkling of Indians Africans and Jews Professor Morrison, professor of History, King's College, took the chair Professor Coupland spoke to this effect

Nationalism has come to be understood now in two senses. The ordinary sense involves the patriotic instinct in man—a love for the soil on which one is born, and which is universal and harmless But in these days there has appeared another type of nationalism, which is aggressive and which, in the intoxication of patriotic fervour, tries to impose its own superiority over others To this type of nationalism is due the irrational demand for *colonies by certain powers in Europe*

It is true, whenever questioned, these powers often point their fingers towards the British Empire and ask why they should not have empires like that But they do not understand that the British Empire is no longer an 'Empire' so called but a Commonwealth of *Nations—a small league of nations* Within this Commonwealth, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are, to all intents and purposes, independent countries Ireland is independent now and although it is now divided in two, a day will come when the whole of Ireland will be one country Palestine is a mandatory state and Britain will be there only so long as the Arabs and the Jews take time to stand on their own legs It is obvious however that, Egypt too is independent now

Now what about India? Great Britain is earnest in granting India Dominion Status By the new Constitution the Indians have more power than what the Canadians had by the Durham Report The Indians desire freedom all at once but the British Government desires it by a gradual process. The Indians ought to be patient about it and try to work the Constitution to its fullest advantage In future, whether India wishes to remain within the Empire or to go outside it, depends entirely on the Indian



Mr M Mansinha

So where is the 'Empire' of Great Britain now? The word 'Empire' had a ry

sense attached to it But the present British Empire changes the meaning into a brotherhood of independent and self governing nations The clamour for colonies by other powers is absolutely unjustified if at the back of it there is their jealousy of Britain's Empire inasmuch as, Britain does not possess or does not want to possess, any part of it in the sense that they want to have the colonies They ought to know that the British Empire is or going to be a brotherhood of self governing and independent nations

This is in a nut shell what Professor Coupland said that evening While speaking about India he paid a tribute to the admirable and inspiring personality of Mahatma Gandhi and expressed his wonder and astonishment at how India a vast continent in itself with its surging millions of population divided into so many provinces each distinct in its own culture and each speaking a language of its own with numerous religions and grades of civilization with diverse types of people ranging from the highly intellectual Brahmin down to the lowest pariah, was now pulsating with one idea of being independent and with the one common enthusiasm of nationalism He said it was possible because, never before in history the whole of India was under one administration as it is now under the British and secondly every educated Indian speaks English which provides the Indian intelligentia with a common language He then praised the Congress for having accepted the provincial offices in seven provinces and wished that Indians should see their way to accepting and working out the Federal scheme

After the lecture there was to be tea and talks That evening only two Indians from Orissa were present at the lecture, I being one of the two But it so happened later that almost the whole of that evening was occupied by discussions on India As soon as the talks began an English lecturer asked about the safeguards in the new Indian Constitution Professor Coupland tried to explain that there are safeguards in every Constitution and there were safeguards in Canadain Constitution too as there are in Indian Constitution now These safeguards are rarely to be used and they are expected to be withdrawn when circumstances outgrow their necessity The safeguards in Indian Constitution, it must be confessed, are there to see to the British interests in India and to the rights of the Covenanted Civil Service But they are there to see to the interests of the minorities too and among others the Europeans are a small minority in India

I am not a student of politics, nor is my Indian friend who was with me But being Indians I felt it my duty to speak for India and give the Indian point of view of the new Constitution I explained how the safeguards of the Civil Service hampered the activities of the ministers and revealed the hollowness of autonomy in the provinces I also said how poorly equipped the ministers were financially in proportion to their gigantic responsibilities These responsibilities, I said were the accumulation of the errors of two hundred years of British regime in India—the vast problems of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of rural development in India I explained also why Indians of all classes were opposed to a Federal scheme where the nominees of the autocratic princes and the representatives of communal interests would naturally form a permanent and predominant reactionary *bloc*

And above all where is the assurance of India getting even Dominion Status from Britain? There is nothing in the new Constitution to hold out such a hope In the 1919 Reforms there was a time-limit of ten years But this Constitution seems to be a permanent affair, perpetuating the control of the Indian nation by a well protected bureaucracy This is how political India thinks, said I

Professor Coupland was ready with a reply Said he

It is true there will be reactionary elements in the Federal Assembly But in spite of that the scheme is well worth a trial, inasmuch as it will complete the unity of India, welding the States and the Provinces into one great whole and the States too in coming into closer contact with the provinces will gradually conform themselves to democratic ideals And even if there is no assurance given in the Constitution as to India's getting Dominion Status in the near future 'let it be known that it is the desire of every thoughtful Englishman that India should be free' The constitution was made at a time when the British Cabinet was extremely conservative But things have changed now and those Englishmen who think in the old Imperialistic way are doing harm to this country'

At the end of the talks Professor Morrison, the President of the evening deliberations, remarked that the University of Oxford is notoriously conservative It was remarkable

indeed to hear a professor of Oxford speak in this liberal manner and feel the change that has come over English political thought He said also that in the light of these talks, the clamour for colonies by other powers was irrational and barbaric and he questioned the right of one nation forcibly ruling over another

When the meeting broke up Professor Coupland shook hands with me and told me that he was pleased that the discussions were carried on in such good spirit

In fact in the whole lecture and the discussions over it later on, it was the liberal spirit that was really remarkable Is this not a changed outlook? Indeed since I came to this country last September, I haven't come across a single statement in the newspapers and journals that can be even distantly described as purely anti Indian On the other hand numerous articles in the dailies and the weeklies have been published expressing sympathy with and appreciation of the way the Congress ministries are working out the Constitution in the provinces Even the conservative and aristrocatic *Times* has surprised us by its reasonable attitude to Indian situations

All that we wish is that this happy relation that is just beginning may grow stronger between the two great countries of the world, as the times go by

MAJOR YEATS-BROWN'S CARICATURE OF INDIA AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

[In February and March last there appeared in two German papers reports of two lectures delivered by Major Francis Yeats Brown before the Universities of Berlin and Munich He is known as author of the novel *Bengal Lancers* and the film *Bengali* Cuttings of the German reports of these two lectures from two German papers have been sent to us from Munich by Srijut Raghu Nayak, to whom our countrymen, including ourselves, will feel grateful Professor Dr V V Gokhale of Cheena-Bhavan, Santiniketan, has kindly translated these reports into English at our request, for which we thank him The translations are printed below—Editor *The Modern Review*]

Report by the "*Berliner Abendblatt*" (Berlin) on 20th February 1938

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY REPEATS ITSELF IN INDIA A BRITON DECLARES. NEVER WILL ENGLAND LEAVE INDIA BECAUSE ENGLAND NEEDS INDIA!

Berlin, 19th February

Under the auspices of the Anglo-German Association and the English Seminary of the University of Berlin the well known author and authority on India, Major Francis Yeats-Brown delivered an address on the "Future of India," after he was introduced by Prof Schirmer of the English Seminary First dealing with the present situation in India, the lecturer observed that the enormous population was still increasing at a surprising rate, but was divided by irreconcilable hatred born of religion and race

On the one hand there were 239 millions of Hindus and on the other 77¼ millions of Mohammedans Further there were 4 millions of Sikhs, who, being branched off from Hinduism formed at present a nation by itself and represented a very energetic and well to-do people Again, there were 560 almost independent Indian princes the majority of whom were very jealous of each other As against these peoples stand the 2 000 British officials and 68 000 British soldiers for maintaining peace

The Native rulers are certainly not angels, but the tyranny exercised by them may be called mercy, in comparison with what is happening today under the name of "democratic government' in the e provinces, which are still called 'British' Indian but which are governed by Indian politicians, who are under the influence of the Cominterm Rights and laws are disappearing The Universities are in a state of revolt Religion is being buried and family life ridiculed Hundreds of agitators, trained in Mo cow, are working among the people The Spanish tragedy is repeating itself in the farmers districts in India Wherever election booths are erected there rules open and shameless bribery

"What we are, as a whole doing in India," continued the Lecturer, "is to give the advocates and money-lenders opportunities to oppress the farmers That is not only my view, but the view of nine-tenths of those Englishmen who know India It is important, that these things must be declared in foreign countries as well as at home by us, so that other people may know, that we Englishmen are not such fools—nor even such hypocrites—as we appear to be The world has often discovered with surprise that we have our own peculiar qualities as a race In spite of repeated protestations—which, however, I deeply regret—that we shall remain in India only so long as the Indians have not learnt to manage their own affairs independently I repeat, that we *will remain* in India England needs India's trade and India needs England's guidance"

Among those present were the Ambassador Sir George Ogilvie Forbes and Sir Roger Chance, of the British Embassy and Prof Sarolea of Edinburgh and others

Report by the *'Voelkischer Beobachter'* (Berlin), *an organ of the Nazi Party on 4th* March, 1938

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

(An address delivered by Major Francis Yeats-Brown)

Upon the invitation of the Anglo-German Association of Berlin Major Francis Yeats-Brown, the author of the "*Bengali*" and "*Children of the Mother Ganges*" spoke in the Auditorium of the Munich University on the "Future of India" He represented the 'mixture of different races and peoples' as the main problem of India He described how India has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries how the first conquerors, the Aryans, kept themselves aloof from the native population by means of the caste system, as they instinctively recognised that hereditary qualities would not disappear, in their effort to maintain the race efficiency on a high level

The climate undermined the strength of Aryans, who were conquered by foreigners The English, who were the last conquerors, only gradually came to the realization that they had conquered a country of 200 millions, containing the most varied races

A historical review will show, that the future of India can never be shaped according to the ideals and rules of English parliamentarianism No Indian thinks that men are equal The increasing population is divided by an irreconcilable hatred, founded on religious belief and race

On the one hand, there are the 293 millions of Hindus, on the other the 77½ millions of Mohammedans Besides these, we find 4 millions of Sikhs who are related with Hindus, but represent an energetic, well to-do and independent people Nearly 560 independent Indian princes rule over nearly 2/5 of the land In this country 2 000 British officials and 68 000 British soldiers are trying to maintain peace

The India Act of 1935 would bring the Indians a large measure of self government. But in India there are several nations which would be in a position to build up separate governments independently At any rate, the democratic conceptions, current in England, have been renounced by the Indians, since thousands of years Very few Indians would indeed be prepared to reject the constitution, given to them by the Act of 1935

The Native rulers do exercise tyranny, which however, is less than the one, which the so-called democratic governments in British Indian provinces, is capable of, ruled as they are by politicians who are influenced by the Comintern The Universities are in a state of revolt Religion is buried and family-life ridiculed Hundreds of professional agitators are working among the people

It is often said, that the Englishmen will remain in India only so long as the Indians are not able to manage their own affairs I, however, declare emphatically that we will continue to remain there We have done much for India, but our work is not yet over India needs the British guidance as much as Great Britain needs the Indian trade Both loads will work together as honorable and peace-loving partners and thus accomplish one of the greatest experiments ever seen in history



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered No criticism of book reviews and notices is published—*Editor* THE MODERN REVIEW

ENGLISH

BALANCES OF PAYMENTS 1936 *Series of League of Nations Publications 1937 II A 16 India The Book Company Ltd. College Square 4/4A, Calcutta. Indian Branch Office of the Secretariat of the League of Nations 8 Curzon Road New Delhi Pages 236 Price Rs 6, $1.50*

The 1936 issue of the annual volume on Balances of Payments, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, analyses the international accounts of 36 countries in recent years, as against 29 countries in last year's edition. All the principal trading countries of the world are included, except Italy, for which no data are available since 1930. To enable students of international economic relations to draw useful conclusions from the material compiled in this volume most of the statements for individual countries—though not all—are based on a special form which was sent to States Members of the League, and the full text of which is included in the volume. In any case, comparable figures for the following principal groups of items are given for practically all countries represented merchandise, interest and dividends, other services, gold, and capital items sub-divided into long term operations and short term operations.

The chapter devoted to a detailed analysis of recent tendencies in international business transactions, is an exhaustive one. The changes in the balance on current account of creditor and debtor countries, the international movements of capital from one country to another, the effects of the recent improvement in world trade and the increase in the prices of some raw materials upon the balances of payments of creditor and debtor countries are subjects of careful scrutiny Equal attention is paid to the effects of tourist traffic, emigrants' remittances, capital market and gold movements.

Most of the detailed statements given for individual countries are accompanied by a summary table showing the balances, and for the last few years also the totals of all inward and outward payments. For the sake of easy comparison, these balances have been converted into United States gold dollars and have been entered in a synoptical table which is a feature of the chapter on recent tendencies

One of the tables shows that the aggregate balance on account of current international business transactions of the three principal creditor countries, i.e., the United States, the United Kingdom and France, was passive in 1936 by 259 million gold dollars. This of course means that a reciprocal change has taken place in the aggregate balance of debtor countries and that the strain to which these countries had been put in their international transactions has relaxed On the other hand, although there was a considerable increase in international payments of dividends and in receipts from shipping services, which benefited mostly the creditor countries, there were few new capital issues floated in international capital markets for the account of debtor countries.

An interesting sign of the general improvement is the rise in international payments on account of tourist expenditure by nearly 40% between 1934 and 1936

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THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER A BIOGRAPHY *By K M Panikkar, 1937 Oxford University Press, London Pp 400 Price 18s. net*

Mr Panikkar is a versatile writer who has specialized himself in the polity of Indian States and is recognized as their accomplished spokesman We greatly admire his *commendable execution of a delicate task in writing* an informing biography of an eminent living prince, presenting to the world a balanced and correct view of the Maharaja's life and work and showing thereby what good an Indian Prince can do in the midst of adverse surroundings. We presume that the undertaking was not prompted by the Maharaja himself, as it is ushered by Lord Hardinge with his own short foreword pointing *out the value of* the Maharaja's services to his country in addition to the *successful administration of his own* State. The volume indeed constitutes an important chapter of modern Indian history and deserves to be in the hands of those who are shaping the destiny of India at the present moment. It tersely summarises the position and difficulties of Indian princes a grasp of which is so very essential in harmonising the two essential *halves of the Indian nation.*

There are many features in the present Maharaja of Bikaner's past life, which are more or less common to that of several other Indian rulers and which on that account appear to assume a stereotyped character the same monotonous tale, that is to say, of a minority administration, tuition under an English guardian, intrigues of the palace and of the hereditary nobles, the *wranglings with the British Residents*, state-visits by the Viceroys, the usual items of administrative reforms such as roads, railways, canals, buildings and even the erection of equestrian statues to beautify the capital. But it is a pleasure to read in Mr Panikkar's well arranged seventeen topical chapters how ingeniously the Maharaja Ganga Singh has carved out of his hard surroundings

an outlet for his innate powers of head and heart and how manfully he has played his part in the post war problems of India It is this latter portion of the present biography which is both interesting and instructive, revealing as it does the Maharaja's tact in handling many important problems involving vital Indian concerns towards a successful termination Few know the inner working of recent events and one is agreeably struck with the patriotic and laudable course which the Maharaja has adopted between two conflicting calls of duty, viz, his loyalty to imperial Britain and the permanent interests of his own enslaved nation.

The Chamber of Princes and the present consummation of the Indian Federation consisting of British India and the States, are two most noteworthy achievements directly initiated by the Maharaja's own personal exertions He has always played a prominent and beneficial role in Indian politics and attained a unique position as India's ambassador striving for the lasting good of India He first distinguished himself by the part he took in the great war so that he was invited by the Imperial Government as a member of the Peace Conference and thereafter represented India at the several Imperial and Round Table Conferences and also at the League of Nations This has made him a world figure and it must be said to his credit that in all his activities he has faithfully served the interests of the whole Indian nation, although it may be doubted whether all these conferences and the world wide deliberations have at all materially contributed to the eventual good of India. The Maharaja's honest endeavour cannot, however, be for a moment doubted More than once he has emphatically declared that "after the States concern for the Empire, our greatest anxiety is to see our country progressing and prospering and our fellow countrymen in India receiving what is their due" As a loyal Prince with his unavoidable affiliations to the British Crown, he had to put British interests first and the Indian interests next An average Indian however, would put India's interests first and the British interests next. Indeed the various quotations from the Maharaja's speeches and writings form a happy background for his life's mission

At the present moment, when the question of Indian Federation is engaging the attention of every thinking man the clear enunciation by the Maharaja of Bikaner of the States' position and attitude towards "the new and integral nationalism of the Indian people" is a great advance in the right direction It is expected that, shrewd as the Maharaja is, he fully realizes the implications of Federation, the growing strength of democratic feeling in India, and the consequent sacrifice required on the part of Indian States. They can no longer look upon their States as their own private patrimony as merely means of personal enjoyment and greed but as a divine trust which they have to discharge faithfully and in all conscience Mr Panikkar himself has quoted the oriental ideal of Kingship being ever present before the mental vision of the Maharaja and it is but fitting that the Maharaja should now boldly come forth to call upon all his order to make a voluntary surrender of those rights and privileges of Purna-Swarajya, which the British Government have already yielded to the people under their charge and thus help to fulfil the sacred ideal of a united Indian nation within his own lifetime. Japan owes her rise to a similar sacrifice of powers on the part of her nobility the Indian Princes have already long enjoyed autocratic rule it is in vain for them to covet the same powers in perpetuity. Circumstances will sooner or later compel them to make the surrender They will save much trouble to themselves if they do this of their own accord Let the Maharaja of Bikaner give the answer by taking the lead

G S. SARDESAI

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA *By Dr Bal Krishna. Published by School and College Book-stall, Kolhapur, 1937. Pp 6+256 Price Re 1-8*

In this small but admirable book on the Federal Constitution as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935, the author has tried to give as much useful and relevant information for the students and the general reader as he possibly could within a limited scope In an introductory chapter Dr Bal Krishna has tried to explain the fundamental differences in the various types of constitution and has also put down the merits and demerits of each type He has also tried to deal briefly yet clearly the various essential and predominant features of a modern state The author has devoted one whole chapter to the growth of the Indian Constitution specially from the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909 and has referred at some length to the various events and developments in Indian politics since 1919 to the passing of the present Act. The scheme of the Federal Constitution for India has been discussed and dealt with in an independent chapter and Dr Bal Krishna has stated the reasons for provincial autonomy, and has discussed the factors contributory to the Indian Federal Constitution and the difficulties in the way of a normal type of Federation in India. The author has devoted one separate chapter to each of the following viz., the Home Government the Federal Government, Provincial Government, Federal and Provincial Legislatures, and powers of the Legislatures The chapter on Indian Finances briefly gives a review of the financial changes since the reforms, and after describing the new scheme of federal finance the author puts down the criticism of the Niemeyar award and details all the financial safeguards on the Central revenues as imposed by Constitution. The chapters on Administration of Justice, on problems of the new constitution, Local Self government, and on Administrative problems not only give us the remaining important provisions of the Act but also give for the information of the readers many details of the present administration which are not directly dealt with in the new Constitution The chapter on Indian States sums up all the provisions of the Act which refer to the States, but it does not go further The author comes from an important Indian State (Kolhapur) and hence it is expected of him that he will throw some light on and explain in fuller details the obscure and difficult yet very interesting and intriguing problems of Indian India. Again, when dealing with the growth and the development of the Federal scheme the author has not fully brought out the part played by the Indian States in it, nor has it been made clear how the various constitutional and legal difficulties arising out of the problems of the Indian States were finally and automatically solved by their agreeing to federate with British Indian provinces. The centripetal forces that are working today in India are daily bringing the two Indias nearer to each other, the problem of the Indian States, therefore, is the problem of tomorrow, and hence it is earnestly hoped that the author will make good this deficiency when bringing out its second edition In the end the author has briefly given all the salient features of the new constitution. The author has not been slow in attending to the needs of the students and hence has appended short summaries

of the various chapters He has also taken pains to add a very useful and exhaustive index to the book

RAGHUBIR SINH

INDIAN POLITICS SINCE THE MUTINY *By C Y Chintamani, Chief Editor, the 'Leader, Allahabad Published by the Registrar Andhra University, Waltair, 1937 Rs 2*

This book is a reprint of the lectures delivered by the well known public man of Allahabad to the students and public spirited men of Waltair under the auspices of the Andhra University Those who are familiar with the *Leader* of Allahabad, may well expect a fresh outlook and new angle of vision from Mr Chintamani The subject chosen by him for this lecture admits of much deep insight into the under-currents of responsiveness and reaction to various activities since the Crown assumed the sovereignty of India. The establishment of Universities functioning of co-ordinated and graded courts of justice English precedents serving as beacon light for forensic discourses and public movements public discussions in the press gradually ousting authority and dogmas, and several other factors, have contributed their legitimate shares in moulding and shaping Indian politics When we took up the book, we expected to get an insight into all those forces acting and reacting in India The author has not attempted it It is only an account of the development of public life and political institutions and of prominent political personalities. It serves a useful purpose in opening up a vista of momentous chapter in Indian history and a future research scholar who would try to correctly interpret this history will find some useful materials from this book To that future scholar, we should point out a few points wherein we differ from the learned lecturer The opening sentence of the book is 'Public life, as we know it today may be said to have been non-existent at the beginning of the period of review' With the qualification— as we know it today the remark is unexceptionable But the vast unknown intricacy' which is the public is being forgotten today 'The Public' which looms large in the press and platform is a narrow cooped and cabined view of the intricacy A scholar should always note this. Similarly there may be difference of opinion as to Raja Sir T Madhava Rao's observation as to the Congress as 'the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation' (p 21) Nor can we forget that the lecturer's Liberal party politics' is responsible for the following injustice done to Balgangadhar Tilak —"It was an idea with him that Indians should never express appreciation of anything however, good done by Government, for he said, that would blunt the edge of agitation For this reason his opinions uttered in public with a political motive, were not always what he held and expressed in private He was opposed to the Bengal boycott agitation as he thought boycott impossible, but was one of its most vehement public advocates He was satisfied with the Montagu Act, but would never say so in public." This passage will be painful reading to many like the present writer who knew him and were known to him

NARENDRA NATH SEN

THE CHILD IN INDIA *Edited by Clifford Manshardt Published by Taraporevala Sons & Co Price Rs 4*

Those who have some idea about how defective and destitute boys and girls in big cities are exploited by villains of society will welcome the present book which has been published to commemorate the coming of age of the S P C W I The history of the society given in the first article by Mr R P Masani (one of the founders) reveals some of the heinous methods and nefarious tactics that are usually adopted by the exploiters in Western India to get hold of their victims There is no reason to suppose that such processes of victimisation and exploitation are confined to Western India only Though much remains to be accomplished as yet, it is fortunate that people everywhere have begun to realise the extreme importance from social, moral and every other point of view of the task of protecting children from the clutches of these villainous bands of professional exploiters The reviewer has seen and heard much about the activities of the Society for the prevention of cruelty to "kittens and would be very glad to see an encouraging report like the present one of the work of the Society in Calcutta for the protection of children in India

The book deals not only with the actual concrete situation but contains articles of much psychological value on various problems connected with the development and training of children normal as well as defective It can be safely recommended to any organised society college or university dealing with the subject of Applied Education It is particularly to be desired that municipal corporations and philanthropic organisations which have made the improvement of the health and welfare of citizens their sole objective should carefully go through the pages of this book including the admirable introduction by Lord Brabourne.

S C. MITRA

TALES FROM THE MYSTICS OF THE EAST *By General Parakram Jung Bahadur Rana Published by Kitabistan Allahabad Pp 133*

When God created Man, says George Herbert, He gave him everything from His "glass of blessings", namely strength, honour, wisdom, etc., except the gift of peace That is why perhaps ever since the *mantra* and momentum of his prayer and progress has been "from restlessness to rest." This rest, according to the author, rather translator, of *Tales from the Mystics of the East* is found in mysticism, which "is a course of thinking that has for its objective the achievement of *rest* for the soul" (Foreword p i) Is it *rest* or rhythm for the soul?

The tales in the book are fifty-one in number and are based on the traditions and teachings, among other mystics, of Buddha, Guru Nanak, Mirabai, Jaidev, Sadan and Kabir from India and Rabia, Shibli, Attar and Hasan Basri from Persia. The themes of most of these have already passed into the stock in trade of all seekers of the Supreme Reality The inevitability of the death of the body the futility of desire for the wealth of the world the ever burning beauty of love, the worship of God in the image of what is the holiest and the highest in one's own self—these and other allied truths are embodied and embellished in the *Tales* They are so many beads of beautiful meditations in the Rosary of Remembrance. They are dreams of the unborn Spirit They inspire the pilgrim on the path to engage himself in the divine commerce in which Kabir spent his whole life

"One day Kabir was working on his warp Somebody asked him, What is that you have engaged yourself in?' He replied 'In breaking at this end and joining at the other'" (p 91)

Yes, breaking down the barriers of finite form at this end so that the spirit in man thus released the Spirit at the other end—the dewdrop merges into the shining sea!

The get up and printing of the book are of high quality, though here and there some "slips" of preposition and punctuation have crept in inadvertently

G M

MUSIC IN EIGHTEEN CENTURY SPAIN : *By Mary Neal Hamilton. Published by the University of Illinois at Urbana, 1937 Pages 283 Price $3.00*

A great service has been rendered to the music world by the author of this book who as she says in the *Preface was stirred up to write by the wealth of the* material almost unknown to most people, and by the *scanty attention paid to the subject by writers on the* subject, Music, like art and literature has been influenced *by religion in Spain to an extent unknown in other* countries The great masters of the golden age of *Spanish literature were mystic writers, and a good many* of the writers were priests and members of religious *brotherhoods and communities Similarly in Music the* originality of Spanish musical talent was in the religious *sphere* "*It is not generally understood, how much* Spanish musicians gave to the Roman Church The name *of Palestrina is at once remembered as a musician in* whom was achieved the height of polyphony although *one forgets entirely* that he was *one* of the *series of masters'* of polyphony some of whom preceded him *Among them one* of the greatest was Cristobal Morales of Seville ' The names of other masters disciples of Morales, are mentioned

Singing and dancing were used in the big religious functions and to this day the seises in Seville and in the Mozarabic ritual of Toledo are a relic of past Another typical development of Spanish drama is the "Autos." Lope de Vega, Calderon Tirso de Molina all wrote large numbers of this kind of drama and it was natural to apply religious music to their performance

This should suffice to give an idea of the comprehensive account of Spanish Music presented by the author The book is well documented. The author has not only a good knowledge of the language, but has entered sympathetically into the customs and traditions of the people She has travelled widely and knows her Spain well Spaniards should be grateful to her for such scholarly presentation of the subject in English Music lovers in general will certainly welcome this book.

P G Bridge

INDO BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS *By Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Esq 1937. Price Re 1*

This is a small compendium seeking to examine the effects of the Ottawa Trade Agreement in regard to the trade relation between India and Britain during the last three years and to indicate its implications on India's foreign trade in general The author very carefully studies the course of India's foreign trade during recent years and comes to the following conclusions

(*a*) The Ottawa Agreement has resulted in some expansion of India's exports to Britain but not to the extent anticipated, (*b*) This involved some diversion of trade from other *countries to the United Kingdom. (c)* The Agreement in its present form has seriously affected India's trade *with other foreign countries*, and in many directions India has given much more than she has received.

In view of the above the author makes some con*crete proposals as to how* a new trade agreement with Britain should be shaped

The publication has been a timely one and provides a very helpful study of the subject both from the theoretical and the practical aspects of the question of bilateral and multilateral trade agreements in general, and Indo-British Trade Relations in particular

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN NORTHERN INDIA *By S A Husain, Ph.D (Econ.) London, Lecturer, Faculty of Commerce, University of Lucknow, Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.*

This book attempts a critical examination of contemporary marketing methods and practices and examines the defects of present-day conditions in some of the commodity markets in Northern India. The work is divided into three parts dealing respectively with (a) Marketing and world agricultural conditions, (b) Marketing machinery as found at present and (c) *the proposals for the future improvement* of Indian marketing arrangements

The author has dealt principally with some staple agricultural commodities, namely, wheat, rice, sugar cane oil seeds, cotton and jute The book has been approved as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London

Of the many problems with which Indian agriculturists are faced today the problem of marketing is undoubtedly one of the most baffling The author has done a distinct service to the cause of a scientific presentation of the case at the right moment.

The book contains many valuable suggestions, but on certain matters the author appears to have been misguided in his judgment For example, with reference to the possibility of raising the price of jute by restrictions on cultivation he virtually echoes the European contention that high prices of jute will provide a working margin for its rivals and will encourage its substitutes Interference with the freeplay of supply and demand should, therefore, in the opinion of the author be avoided and they should be allowed to find their own level Those who are intimately concerned with the problem of jute know the fallacy of such an argument too well

In spite of such occasional lapses the book must be considered as a very valuable contribution towards the literature that seeks to bring about the salvation of India through a proper handling of her agricultural problems

Nalinaksha Sanyal

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN BURMA *By J Russell Andrus, M A., Ph D, with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Dr Ba Maw, M A., Ph.D., D Litt., Bar-at Law Minister for Education, Government of Burma Published by the Oxford University Press 1936. Price Re 1/8*

Dr Andrus of the Judson College has described briefly the work that is being done in Burma, both by the Government departments and the private agencies, particularly by the Christian missionary bodies, to improve the conditions in the villages As in Indian Provinces, conditions in Burmese villages are also appalling and whatever is being done is hopelessly small compared with what has still to be accomplished And the merit of Dr Andrus small book of some 145 pages lies in the suggestions he has made to young men with education and spirit of social service, as to how they can participate in the noble work of rural uplift I *personally believe that the greatest need* in connection with rural reconstruction is education and intensive *and extensive and ceaseless propaganda*—both for adults and the children—organised and conducted in a form in which *it can be effective in the peculiar local* conditions.

Gurmukh N Singh

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY *By M P Gandhi, M.A Published by the author from 14-B, Heysham Road, Calcutta. Pp 178 Price Rs 2-4*

The history of India's industrial development is a story of conflict between the economic interests of Britain and India This is particularly true of Indian Cotton Textile Industry Mr M P Gandhi in the monograph under reference here discusses at great length the history of Indian Cotton Textile Industry from the time of its early prosperity to its decadent stage *under the British rule and its revival since the Swadeshi* movement in Bengal to the present day

The author discusses the problems of the industry in all its various aspects from the field to the factory and from the factory to the market. The book contains all the relevent statistics which make the publication useful, and interesting at the same time

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

HINDU SANGATHAN *By Bhai Parmanand M.L.A Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha Lahore Pp iii+236 Price Re 1*

Bhai Parmanand wrote the book in Urdu It has been translated into English by Prof Lal Chand Dhawan Bhai Parmanand points out the weakness of the modern Hindus, and stresses the need of Hindu Sangathan. He is pained to see that the Hindus sadly lack communal consciousness. The lower classes, or the masses, are too depressed to be of any help and the so-called upper classes are too self-centred and indifferent to the common interests of the community His heart bleeds to observe *the supineness and indifference of his own people, when* the Muhammadans are organising themselves on absolutely communal lines, and threatening to swallow up the Hindus. To the Muhammadans, India is still a land of warfare and it is the duty of Muslims to convert Hindus to Islam For this they stick at nothing for the end justifies the means Even during the much trumpeted Hindu Muslim Unity of the Khilafat day agitation they forced hundreds of Hindus in Malabar and elsewhere to embrace Islam While the Muhammadans are thus active, the Hindus are dying for catch phrases and the external charms of Nationalism. Hindus alone regard this country as their own and naturally true patriots can be found only among them He says "It has been an old belief of mine that the way to unity between the two communities is to separate them and for this purpose he is ready to co-operate with the British Government"

In spite of the defects of translation and obvious misprints, the book is eminently readable, and it provides one with much food for hard thinking. We would ask especially the National st made-easy Congressmen of Bengal to *read* mark and inwardly digest the book And if it is possible for him to refute the arguments of the author

J M DATTA

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH *By Eric Temple Bell. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W C 1 Pp 279 Price 7-6 net*

This is a serio-comic account of man's endless quest of truth—or of "that mystical moonshine which philosophers call Truth (p 123) About this endeavour the author seems to think that either truth cannot be known, or, if known it ceases to be true Man in his search for truth is compared to a blind mule who can run very fast indeed but who dashes against lamp-posts and smashes himself (p X) If we were to take the author at his word, then Plato was a dazed dreamer (p 116), Euclid was a fool (p 119) and most mathematicians were insane (p 126) He, however, does not mean as much, for he hastens to add that some mathematicians are *not* insane.

That man's truth-seeking has often been abortive, need not be denied But does he deserve no sympathy even for that? Could he really do otherwise than thus run after truth?

The book is full of learning but also of jest. We would not say the jest is not good humoured, but the author's heart is not overflowing with sympathy for man's endless theorising He has intimate knowledge of the world's scientific history and with a little more sympathy and respect for the ancients, he could have easily given us an excellent history of science But there is more banter than is necessary and the similes often verge on the vulgar The style is overloaded with witticisms and thus makes the narration somewhat clumsy and obscure But with all this the book provides delightful reading

A PEEP INTO THE SPIRITUAL UNCONSCIOUS *By M M Zuhuruddin Ahmad M.A LL B., Principal, Bahauddin College Junagadh (Price and Publishers not mentioned) Pp 194*

This is a book on *Dreams* In the earlier portion, it contains able summaries of current views on the subject. including that of one Mr Dunne, who has advanced an interesting theory about *Time* under the name of *Serialism* Dunne's theory, according to some critics is a mixture of mysticism and meaninglessness. (*Cf* Bell, in his book *The Search for Truth*) Our author uses this concept of *Serialism* to understand the nature of memory (p 71) So far his book is a scientific attempt

But slowly and, perhaps unconsciously he drifts away from dreams into dreamland and towards the end *of the book and in the appendices, he actually* warms himself up into an ecstatic mystic of the religious order And in pages 182 *et seq.*, he launches upon a dissertation on the relation between *Resurrection* and *Judgement* and tries to establish the superiority of Islam over Christianity in this respect Without implying any disrespect to any one's religious susceptibilities, it is perhaps permissible to say that such an attitude of mind is not scientific, and, without explaining anything, it may itself call for an explanation

The diagram at p 168 and the terminology employed therein also will baffle many a psychologist. Terms like "the material conscious," the "social" and "spiritual" unconscious "racial personality," and so on,—though not exactly jargon— will not be readily understood by all

U C BHATTACHARJEE

JNANA YOGA *By Swami Vivekananda. Fifth edition Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Almora, Himalayas*

Swami Vivekananda is popularly regarded as the prophet of service—of Daridranarayana but he is pre-eminently a prophet of the Advaita Vedanta as he himself remarked to a disciple, he preached the message of the Upanishads—and Upanishads alone He was a teacher of Seva, of Yoga and of Bhakti but the Vedanta forms the background of all his teachings. This book, embodying eighteen lectures, as well as that "veil rending" song of the Sanyasin, has therefore a special significance for students of Swamiji's philosophy It may

not out of place to refer here to Swamiji's exposition of the doctrine of Maya which forms the key to the understanding of the Advaita Vedanta Those who are baffled by reading the same in Sanskrit works (as Na Sati Nasati Na Sadasati, etc) will find Swamiji's exposition amazingly simple yet convincing The get up and the printing leave nothing to be desired

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

GEETA MADE EASY *By Keshab Chandra Chatterjee B A, B T Published by the author Baichi (Hooghly) Pp 87 Price As 12*

The title of the book is a misnomer The book does not contain the text of the Geeta with easy explanation as the name suggests The first part of the book (introduction) contains some stories to illustrate in general the Jnana yoga the Vakti yoga and the Karma yoga of the Geeta and other tenets of Hinduism In the latter part of the book the synopsis of the eighteen chapters of the Geeta is given The didactic stories incorporated in the book are a very pleasant reading

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF SCHOOLS IN INDIA *By W M Ryburn Published by Oxford University Press Pp 283 Price Rs 2 8*

Books on school organization often tend to be stereotyped and formal in nature Fortunately Mr Ryburn has written a book which is neither and which consequently is both interesting and stimulating Development of educational ideals always outpaces the development of educational organisation From the nature of things it is bound to be so but things become difficult when rigid organisation of education stands in the way of progress of education and dry formalism becomes *sacrosanct. In our country specially the existing* organisation of the school system represents ideals of a past age which is irrecoverably gone by

If that system is to be of use today it must move with the times and the entire school organisation must be changed and a new orientation given to it In his book Mr Ryburn shows how this can be achieved He is not too radical nor is he a visionary His suggestions are eminently practicable and this fact adds value to his book Perhaps I do not agree with some of the *things he has said therein e g in the matter of discipline,* rewards and punishments, religious instruction etc., but I do think that it is a book which should be in the hands of everyone who has to deal with school organisation in some form or other It will be specially useful to teachers in training and I recommend it to them without hesitation

A N Basu

HEROES AND HEROINES OF INDIA PART I AND II *Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited Bombay Calcutta, Madras and London Part I—Pp* [illegible] *Part II—Pp 66 1937 Price each part annas 10*

In the two parts of the book are narrated the lives of some historical personages, men and women, selected from all periods of history, who have left a deep impression on the minds of their countrymen The essential features of the characters and their special contribution to the life of their fellowmen have been brought out in a very simple language The people dealt with include Shri Krishna Shri Ram Chandra Sita, Mahabir, Raja Ram Mohun Roy Akbar, Dadabhai Naoroji Nur Jahan and others. The book is chiefly meant for boys and girls and may very well serve as a text book

SOUREN DEY

SANSKRIT

VILASAMANIMANJARI *Edited by Ganesh Rango Kulkarni B A, J L B, Pleader, Kolhapur Published by D N Moghe, B A, School and College Book Stall, Kolhapur*

The Sanskrit texts of two interesting works on the game of chess are edited in the present volume with translation and explanation in the Marathi language Of these the smaller one—the *Buddhibalasaptaka* or *Balakautabuddhibala,* as it is called by the editor, which is complete in seven verses is edited with an anonymous Sanskrit commentary which refers to a number of other works on the subject The editor assigns it to the Pre Muhammadan period owing to the absence of Persian terms which are frequently used in the other work. But more positive evidence is required before any definite conclusion is arrived at in this respect as the use of Sanskrit terms in the place of Persian ones may not unlikely *have been due to late coining The bigger work* which gives the title to the volume—the *Vilasamani manjari* composed by Trivengadacharya in the beginning of the 19th century at the instance of Baji Rao—is one of the latest, if not the last—of the few works in Sanskrit on this old game of India It contains one hundred problems with their solutions and is divided into four chapters. Though a late work it appears to have enjoyed a good deal of popularity as is testified to by the fairly large number of manuscripts of it found in different *parts of the country and referred to by the editor in the* elaborate introduction to the volume which *inter alia* deals with the origin and development of the game The foreword in English contributed by Dr Balkrishna summarizing the main conclusions of the editor's introduction in Marathi will be welcome to the vast majority of scholars who are innocent of the provincial language The whole of the introduction as well as the text will be easily intelligible to and appreciated by a wider circle of readers when the proposed English version of the *editor comes to be published We hope, it will be* possible in the meantime to trace and make use of the contemporary English translation of the work made by one Cruz and reported to have been published in Bombay in 1814, which is expected to contain an account of the author

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

KRANTI YUGA KE SAMSMARAN *By Mr Manmatha Nath Gupta Published by the Sahitya sevak Office Jalipadeva, Benares 1937 Pp 214 Price Re 1-4*

The author, who was a convict in the Kakori conspiracy case writes about revolutionary movement in India The life and activity of many persons convicted in the various cases read like romance The author has succeeded in rousing interest for his own memoirs

SRI GURU GOVIND SINGHJI *By Dr Sarder Jaswant Singh M A, B Sc., M D Published by the author Generalganj, Muttra. Pp 38 Price Re 1-8*

This is the third publication in the useful series called "Sikh Itihas Mala", published by the United Sikh Missionary Society of Muttra. The author has done a service by writing this *work on the life and teachings* of the Guru His viewpoint is that of a devoted Sikh, he has tried to show the Guru as an *Avatara.* But this attitude detracts much from a really historical work What the Guru did, stands as the best monument for

him and an objective study is more needed than devotional attitude All admirers of the Guru will welcome this book The teachings in the original are sure to be found interesting and profitable coming as they do from a person who made a nation There is a picture of the Guru

GITA GOVINDAM *Edited by Mr Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee M A Published by Sudhir K Mukerjee, 376A, Rash Behari Avenue Calcutta*

Different sides of the teachings of Guru Govinda Singh are brought out In the Introduction the editor explains and annotates the texts and delineates their bearings on religion and society

RAMES BASU

DOSHI KAUN? *By S Dube Published by Delhi Pustak Bhandar Delhi Price Rs 2-8*

Shalini a rich man's daughter educated after European models and Ashok kumar, a brilliant scientist are the two leading figures in this improbable and even absurd story, the only aim of which seems to secure a cheap gibe at Western education and culture The book originally formed a scenario for a film Considering the quality of the paper and the printing, the price is too high

S H V

GUJARATI

SHAYASAT NE SHAYST *By Jehangir Kavasji Tavadia B A, Ph D, Lecturer Hamburg University Printed at the Mody Printing Press, Fort Bombay Paper Cover Pp 37 1937*

This is a translation into Gujarati of a Pahalvi Text on religious customs (of Parsis) It has already in (1930) been translated into English by Dr Tavadia, who has written a scholarly introduction to it The style used by Dr Tavadia is easy and is sure to be understood by those for whom it is meant The customs and rituals described in this small book are very interesting The one relating to the untouchability of a woman undergoing her monthly sickness specially arrests attention as it shows that in old Iran, the practice was the same as India The book will surely prove a useful guide to Parsi priests.

JAVAHIR JYOTI *By Chunilal Nagjivora. Printed at the Shah Printing Press, Rajkot Thick Card Board Pp 178+31 Price As 6 1937*

This is a collection of lectures delivered by the Jain Maharaj Acharya Shree Javaharlalji when he stayed at Rajkot during the rainy season of 1936 They relate to Janaseva, Manav Dharma, Brahmacharya Khadi etc He had interviews with Mahatmaji and Vallabhbhai Patel also The lectures display scholarship and therefore merit close attention

LAHT KALA AND BIJA SAHITYA LEKHO *By the late Mrs Chaitanyabala Majumdar and edited by (her husband) M R Majumdar, M.A., LL.B Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Press, Baroda Thick Card board Pp 270 Price Rs 2 (1937)*

Mrs. Chaitanyabala died young she was only twenty two when she died She had a literary turn of mind and luckily she was married to a husband who encouraged her in her studies and she was thus able to turn out good literary work The present volume contains nine literary essays. 1 On Fine Arts. 2 Nature and our older poets. 3 Women and social service. 4. Defects in the present system of Educating Women 5 Direction in which women should direct their studies 6 Literature of Garba 7 Usha Haran or Aniruddha Haran 8 Whose was the most remarkable Swayamwar? 9 Literature in verse of the twelve months in the year The first essay was read at the Bhavnagar Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in 1924 and she was heartily congratulated on her performance The other essays display a very creditable knowledge of the literature bearing on its subject matter and a very nice way of marshalling the facts leading to the conclusions arrived at by her The husband has indeed discharged his loving posthumous duty to his deceased spouse by ably editing and publishing her work.

AJNI SABBATHSHALA TRANSLATED FROM THE ENGLISH *By Rev W Graham Mulligan, M.A., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission Ahmedabad and published at the Mission Press Surat Paper cover, pp 112 Price As 4 (1937)*

The title of the book means "The Sunday School of Today" and the book is a translation of an English book of that name by Edward A and Edith M Annett of the Indian Sunday School Union Coonoor

The outstanding merit of the book is that it does not read like a translation so well has the translato entered into the spirit of the original and reproduced it, so to speak in his own words We first read a few paragraphs at random and thought that we were reading not a translation but an original work till we noticed the title page where it is so described

We have had occasion to notice some time ago another book written by the same translator, and we notice a distinct difference in language and style in the present work The style of the present book is that of a cultured Gujarati, and, as the nature of the book demands, the language contains a large number of words of Sanskrit origin The book is intended for the use of trained teachers, and every word is accurately used We do not know whether the language of the original is involved or simple, but the translation certainly reads smoothly and easily Grammar idiom, and the general form of the language are faultless A translation always furnishes the best test of the translator's knowledge of the language into which he is translating The Rev W Graham Mulligan stands that test very well We have great pleasure therefore, in welcoming into the fold of Gujarati writers one who has so well equipped himself for the work expected of him by painstaking and accurate study of the language, and attention to detail

K. M J

TELUGU

SULABHA VYASAMULU *By Akkipeddi Ramakoti Sastry, Head Master, B H E School, Kuchipudi Guntur District Pp 138 Price As 8 Can be had of the author*

The work comprises a wide variety of topics in the form of short essays both instructive and provocative A reliable asset for the enhancement of adult education

ADHARAMULU (SHORT STORIES) *By J Kodandarama Sastry, Kollur Pp 108. Can be had of the author, Care of Lakshmi Press, Tenali*

The work is divided into two parts—the first comprises of four stories depicting the misery and the position of womanhood in Society while the second part of five stories portrays the position of people brought about by capitalist exploitations and the drink evil On the whole, it is a readable stuff

R S BHARADWAJ

WORLD AFFAIRS

"We are suffering today from the worst of all diseases, the paralysis of will" writes Mr J M Keynes in *The New Statesman and Nation* (March 26 1938) in examining the British foreign policy of the hour "We have become incapable of constructive policy or decision of action We just re-arm a little more, grovel a little more and want to see what happens" *British foreign policy in fact* revolves around the two opposing poles—appeasement and armament and is inspired by one single desire—to gain time To gain time to avoid at all cost any risk of war how much there is to be said for it —Mr Keynes knows that well enough So the search for peace and appeasement proceeds even though it means humiliation for the Britisher and danger to his interests

Anglo Italian Pact

The policy of appeasement has had its first success in these years in the Anglo Italian Pact signed on the 16th of April last After the fall of Eden it was a foregone conclusion that a conciliation with Italy must be arranged for Mr Neville Chamberlain had staked his all on it Or, to be more correct, he had already lost his all to Mussolini when he surrendered to his threat of 'now or never' But it was necessary for him to find a justification for his approach, if only to win back his small internal credit in the homemarket, by the successful conclusion of this negotiation He has been successful, of course by conceding the real success to Mussolini The Pact professes to be a "contribution to the general cause of peace and security" To some extent it reduces the European tension Anglo Italian rivalry in and around the Mediterranean is sought to be ended, and even Egypt is assured of an invitation to participate, when the Instruments take effect with a view to reach a definite agreement on the boundaries between Italian and British possessions in east and North Africa According to the *Reuter* report,

(1) The Instruments attached to the Protocol reaffirm the Anglo Italian Declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and also the 'status quo' in the western Mediterranean.

(2) The two parties agree to a periodical exchange of information in regard to major prospective administrative movements or the redistribution of their respective armed forces in the following overseas territories in or bordering the Mediterranean The Red Sea the Gulf of Aden Egypt, Sudan Italian East Africa, British Somaliland Kenya Uganda and Northern Tanganyika.

The parties also agree to notify each other in advance of any decision to provide for new naval or air bases in the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea or at the approaches thereto.

(3) The parties bind themselves to respect the integrity and independence of Saudi Arabia and Yemen and agree that their common interest is that no other Power should interfere

The position between Great Britain and Italy in regard to certain areas in southern Arabia is clarified and regularized. This applies particularly to the Aden Protectorate where certain rights are guaranteed to Italy

(4) Each party reaffirms their guarantees for the free use of the Suez Canal for all Powers.

(5) The Italian Government confirm their adherence to the British formula for proportional evacuation of foreign volunteers from Spain and pledge themselves to apply this evacuation at a moment to be determined by the Non Intervention Committee and undertake that if evacuation is not completed by the close of the Spanish war all the remaining Italian volunteers will forthwith leave Spanish territory and all Italian war material will simultaneously be withdrawn

Italy declares that she has no territorial or political aims and seeks no privileged economic position in Spain, the Balearic Islands, the Spanish possessions, and the Spanish Zone in Morocco and has no intention of keeping any armed forces in these territories

(6) Here the British Government repeat that they regard the settlement of the Spanish question as a pre requisite of the attempt that they intend at the forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations to clarify the situation in Abyssinia.

The present British Cabinet did not intend this Pact to be a fulcrum to drive Hitler and Mussolini apart. Italy, however, has been quick to remind that in no case is the Rome-Berlin axis to be weakened In the natural order a Rome-Berlin London axis is expected, with Paris to finally come in into a Four Power Pact The French Charge d'Affaires is following the British Foreign Office in opening talks with Italy The pact does not however, cover all fields nor clarify the situation The Abyssinian question is made to wait on the permission of the League, at which, as the *Times* pointed out, the Soviet may and must, put up objections More than that, Spain may prove a serious problem As the victory of General Franco over the Republicans is becoming more and more a certainty, it becomes easier for Italy to disavow all ambition of aggrandisement and agree to evacuation of Italian volunteers from Spain while it becomes more and more difficult for the

known In December last was inaugurated at any rate the Siamese Parliament Its ceremonies, as a writer in *L'Illustration* points out, are modelled rather on those of Britain There are of course no parties in the chamber and there are two categories of members too one elected, the other co opted by royal sanction The elected element is sent by a universal suffrage which extends to all Siamese over the age of 21, regardless of sex or religion the priests and the royal household being excluded Obviously it is anything but Fascist in this respect The world likes labels Fascism Bolshevism etc for they save it from independent thinking and scrutiny But the labels in fact do not satisfy all situation Siam is probably one such instance Or perhaps Siam is on the way to Fascism and is evolving duly her own version of it

A Perspective

Our changing politics is changing the world so rapidly that it is becoming difficult to see things in their proper perspective Tremendous events shape and reshape the face of the earth The less noisy band of workers who devote their life in the laboratory or in the library are lost to our sight Yet they probably are changing the face of our civilization without even knowing it themselves While the Italian challenge is known to all, few care to see that in the clearing of the swamps and establishing new cities, the Duce can justly claim a triumph In encouraging archeological exploration like that of Prof Tucci in Tibet a few months ago, he is proving himself to be a real civilizing force The world is afraid of Hitler's aggression and wrinkles up its nose at 'the Baroque excesses of the Nazis' Yet at this very hour another scientific expedition is being prepared and equipped for proceeding on its work in India and Tibet. The Moscow trials must send a just shudder through many people and even through the friends of the Soviet like Fenner Brockway Political allies of Russia are forced to admit as the *L'Illustration* concludes, "The new process of Moscow will not certainly create any confidence in the Russian alliance" But, great scientific undertakings still stand to the credit of the Soviet, and in the very same issue of the French journal we are presented with excellent photographs of the Arctic pioneers of Russia who for nine months under the leadership of Papanni and his three other scientist compatriots, pursued their researches in the ice-bound pole till they were repatriated The world is sliding into political barbarism, but science has its heroes as yet

The Front Of Science

The advancing front of science has approached the borderland of life,' a fascinating area for all, and therefore, a treacherous twilight zone' for scientists The 'viruses' at present occupy the scientists, as a report in the *Nature* (March 26) shows Dr Wendell M *Stanley of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical* Research (U S A), reported isolation of two viruses causing disease in animals "Like the virus of the tobacco mosaic disease" we learn from *Evolution* (U S A), these viruses are not small living bacteria, as had been supposed, but giant protein molecules resembling the ordinary protein molecules of protoplasm but larger, and having the life like ability of reproducing themselves rapidly when in contact with living matter The virus molecules in common with all forms of life, are found subject to mutation Some diseases are said to have their origin in such mutation from a harmless to a harmful one Again certain viruses that produce disease in one plant are harmless to other forms of life, and, by certain chemical methods the virus proteins can be rendered inactive Apart from the medical importance of the discovery, its importance as a new advance in evolution, we are told, is great

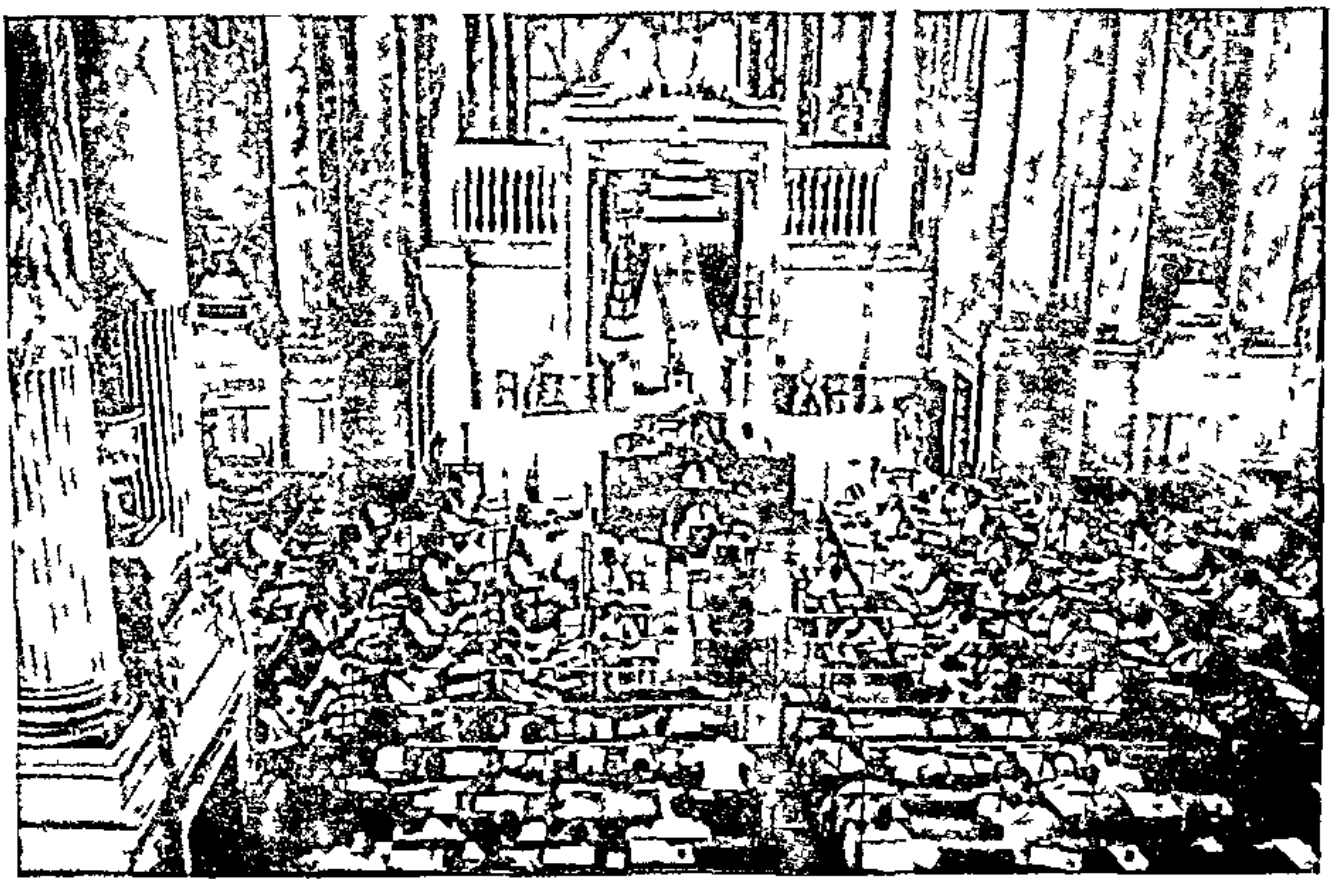
Evolution itself again is being sought to be sped up by some scientists

"In view of the properties which this protein possesses says Dr Stanley 'the borderline between the living and the non living tends to become non-existent for although it possesses properties which have been regarded as characteristic of living things, such as specificity of host range and the ability to reproduce and mutate it is nevertheless a protein molecule, and as such *may be regarded as non living*"

"The sole objection" says Dr Stanley, 'to the final and complete acceptance of virus proteins as protein molecules is that although an analogy of a protein reproducing itself in the test-tube is known, the self production of a protein in the living cell is today not an accepted chemical reaction Immediately we are forced to the inside of a *living cell we are faced with a set of* conditions that we have not fathomed as yet The virus protein is *apparently imbued with something of which* today we are ignorant."

"Knowledge of the mechanism by means of which a given huge molecule like protein when introduced in a certain cell, is able to bring about the organization of the amino acids and cellular constituents with formation of exact duplicates of the introduced entity is of tremendous importance, for this mechanism is the basis of biological *heredity*"

Researches in experimental genetics in the U S A and U S S R have already placed



The sitting of the Chamber of Representatives in the ancient Royal Throne Hall of Siam



Prince Adit the premier Regent of the State followed by two other Regents leaving Parliament Hall after the royal pronouncement from the Throne



MAHATMA GANDHI
Photographed at Sodepur Khadi Prat sthan dur ng his recent v s t to Bengal
By Satyendranath Bisi

in the hands of men a volume of knowledge usefully employed in agriculture and animal husbandry Its imports are well known To affect the genes and cause mutations artificially and thus speed up evolution, X ray was being considered a probable means Dr Albert Blakeslee, Director of the Station for Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution of Washington tried out the effect of various chemicals in his effort to induce hereditary mutations He found a chemical *colchicine* would cause mutations in plants doubling the chromosomes and genes The report says

"The alkaloid colchicine we have found will induce an abundant production of branches with doubled chromosome number When seeds are heavily treated all the seedlings may be affected Doubling in adult tissue has been induced by immersion of twigs in solutions and in agar by treatment of buds with mixtures of colchicine and lanolin and by spraying with solutions By the use of colchicine changes have been induced which are interpreted as being due to doubling of chromosomes in the following genera Datura, Portulaca Cosmos Phlox Nicotiana and several other

"If control of chromosome doubling proves of general application as seems to be the case the plant breeder will be able to work with greater precision in his efforts to control the evolution of economic forms of plants propagated vegetatively as well as those prduced by seed Starting with a sterile hybrid a pure breeding double diploid has been synthesised having hybrid vigor and the desirable characteristics of tetraploidy Doubling the chromosome number would give enlarged flowers and fruits to the horticulturist In addition to increase in the size of the organs of plants, doubling the chromosome number has changed a self sterile to a self fertile form changed a dioecious to a hermaphroditic race and an annual into a perennial and has increased winter hardiness In Zoology the causing of chromosome doubling *is an unexplored field but it will probably be a fertile* one The ability to induce chromosome doubling therefore is of importance to practical as well as theoretical genetics."

The Shifting Focus of Science"

Not the face of the political world alone is thus being changed The advancing front of science it is apparent looks like the changing face of science The *Nature* (March 5 1938) opens with a remarkable article in which the writer H J , in reviewing Mr Hogben's book 'Mathematics for Million ,' points out the great shift that has taken place in science from time to time with the change in the social structure

No man of science can do other than concern himself with the problems characteristic of his period The changing face of science can be seen without difficulty to fall into clearly defined stages We have suggested three Each phase is carried through by the activity of the individual scientific workers, great and small, contributing in various measures, partly driven on by the developing internal logic of the subject and its accumulating experimental knowledge, partly canalized and fed by outside social forces not normally apparent to the individual workers How scientific work is financed and for what special *purpose that work is pursued, for example,* is a question the answer of which, in these days of industrial and governmental research points to one only of the socially determining factors *The shifting focus of science, however much it* may provide with subjective satisfaction to its devotee is nevertheless an objective feature of nature and therefore if for that reason alone, a fit subject for scientific investigation

Today we are witnessing just such a shift It began tentatively in the early days of this century with a scrutiny of the logic of mathematics and a study of the methodology of science It passed to a series of startling attempts to evaluate the philosophical implications of more recent scientific knowledge, implications that sought to deny the certainty of science and strove to lead it back to mysticism The significant feature of this phase was that these pronouncements were couched in popularized writings a concession to a sense of social responsibility Now at last a serious attempt is being made to probe further back to the social origins and social consequences of scientific discovery Scientific history like ordinary history is at last beginning to be seen in its social context and the shifting focus of science is part of its history

'The new concern of men of science with the uses and misuses of science has undoubtedly developed with the increasing tenseness of the international situation The concern of this journal with these matters evidently derives from this source but did not in fact become apparent until the latter had reached a critical stage Nevertheless the social background was always there for study It required a social crisis to direct our attention to it

Every shift in interest of science is accompanied by *opposition on the part of those* absorbed in the older problems and convinced that the new development leads away from the true path of scientific rectitude A multitude of specious reasons are certain to be brought forward to show that political prejudice must necessarily intervene to prevent the formation of balanced judgments Such considerations need not deter those who are genuinely concerned with the trend of scientific development as a feature of natural change

In his own way, Hogben has established beyond dispute the existance of a qualitative relation between the growth of mathematical facts and the severely practical problems of the society that gave them birth That is in itself a significant scientific advance What requires farther advance is the changing nature of this relationship

In its early history society encountered quite definite immediate problems that required *for their solution a definite mathematical* technique By the eighteenth century the situation in this respect had become drastically transformed The new merchant and industrial aristocracy was purchasing social prestige by *the endowment of university foundations and* educational institutions generally While out of the practical needs of social life there had blossomed forth the earlier mathematics that dealt with the directly important problems of mensuration experimental *practice had also* been called into being for these same ends and experimental practice involves theory and theory its mathematical technique and mathematical technique its special tools and its specific logical problems To such questions could the universities devote themselves but the linkage with the severely practical problems of social life the problems of the common man, while it still existed had become more remote The danger for us lies in the belief that the link no longer exists a belief that show itself in the idea that mathematics is an independent logical discipline with an absolute line of cleavage between its pure and its applied form It shows itself in the effort to accord mathematical ideas a priority over the physical facts of the world *and so to present the universe and the struggling* society on this earth as a series of grandiose mathematical theorems '

Is Pure Science as we conceive, it, an imaginary thing then? An answer in the *affirmative is likely to be returned by the* writer who with much cogency will maintain that our scientific research at the hour more than ever before is a handmaid to the politico economic forces that rule the world The *facts are incontrovertible, conclusion* is obvious too There is going to be a shift but a Nazi theory of race or a Marxist Leninist theory in surgery, is neither science nor sense These fail to disarm our suspicion that political prejudice must necessarily intervene to prevent the formation of balanced judgment.'

G H



A scene from Rabindranath Tagore's new dance-drama "Chandalika" which was recently staged at Calcutta

INDIANS ABROAD

Who are they—'the Indians Abroad?' The intriguing question confronts us sometimes For paradoxical as it may sound we Indians cannot be sure what part of the vast Indian world will be accepted by the authorities that be as India or something else But one year ago Burma belonged to the Indian Empire and Indians in Burma in spite of the difficulties they faced could consider themselves to be still within their own country The bond was drawing them closer when it was snapped on behalf mainly of the interests which were non-Burman Today Burma is a separate land and the Government of India are going to appoint an Agent on behalf of the Indians abroad there Ceylon has been always a Crown colony and politically out of the Indian pale Yet even now socially and culturally the small island belongs to the Indian orbit But this has raised problems and Indian labour from the South has been the object of a long and bitter attack by Ceylonese politicians Immigration of Indian labour has been a sore point with them And now that the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the question has been released we find much of the Ceylonese complaint was without point The resentment however is still there and Ceylonese politicians are not pleased with the report But our question still remains unanswered Are Indians in Ceylon to be regarded as Indians abroad? What is India then? Recently the question has been brought back to our minds by a case from Rhodesia. Even an Indian born in the mainland of India can not be sure of his own position, as we read in the *Indian Opinion of Durban*

Indian and British Subjects in Rhodesia

Considerable surprise and much resentment has been aroused among the Indian community by a ruling by the chief registering officer for the parliamentary franchise that Indians born in an Indian State are not British subjects but *British protected persons, and are accordingly* not eligible for the parliamentary vote except in such cases as were included in the 1948 rolls. The registering officer says it has been legally ruled that protected persons are not British subjects and he holds that this applies to all Protectorates, such as Bechuanaland and Nyasaland as well as to the Indian States. Persons born in Protectorates, he rules, take the nationality of their parents and this law applies equally to White people. Naturalisation is essential to secure any other nationality He has volunteered to take a legal ruling on this point if he affected Indians so desire The decision affects a large number of Indians in the Colony, including many property owners It is probable that the position will be tested by formal appeal to the Magistrate and thence to the High Court

The Indian abroad is at the mercy of the authorities that be Even his nationality is denied whenever that suits them Of course, his nationality is more often a handicap to an Indian outside—and inside too sometimes—than an advantage

The United Non European Front

In the third week of April, a message from Capetown informed of the formation of a United Non European Front' of the Bantu the coloured and the Indian people Naturally European opinion everywhere particularly in the Union of South Africa cannot view with equanimity this move, which was being mooted for the last three months in the press and platform The 'Front' would really appear to be strong and formidable composed of 45 organizations and 30 thousand Bantu coloured and Indian delegates Following is the resolution that was passed

Realizing that the general conditions of non European peoples can only be improved by the abolition *of political inequalities embodied in the South Africa* Act this Conference resolves to initiate a non European United Front movement for co operation between the native Indian and coloured races in the struggle against the colour bar in South Africa."

In the absence of a mandate from the South African Indian Congress the Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress could not attend the Conference, but sent a message of sympathy It is not known what Indian organizations are formally associated with this new and fateful movement, which may turn South African politics into a violent crusade of racial hostility and hatred For that, of course the Europeans should thank themselves It is *their own creation* Indians, in *India or* outside, may not share the alarmist views of the European people, but they are certainly anxious to ascertain the character and the possibilities of the movement as well as the natural consequences that are likely to flow from the adherence of the Indians in South Africa to such an organization Sir Raza Ali remember, was not in favour of the [illegible]

ing common cause with the Bantu races Seth Govindadas, a non official on tour in Africa, advised similarly asking the Indian settlers *not to join forces with the coloured people* and the natives in any organization like the present one We hope there was no assumption of racial superiority behind all this These are *sound counsels which should get respectful* consideration from all South African Indians must have weighed them and we believe their Congress will be cautious enough before *making any move in this matter* A *United* Front' based on a perpendicular division of the communities into racial blocks is a dangerous and, even a backward step In the present day world such Fronts' are fashioned out of the economic and social lines of horizontal cleavage which already exist In the case of South Africa the results whatever principle were adopted would have been the very same Still one must know the path one follows Indians if they make common ground with the Bantu and *other people must recognize* how they are to plan their future and agree partially to forget their Indian origin and Indian tradition For ourselves in India it may pain us to think that *Indians are cutting themselves adrift* from our moorings But the primary consideration with the settlers everywhere should be the interests of the land and the people which they adopt, and which give them their living There cannot be any thing fundamentally wrong if the Indian people of the Union find themselves in the same camp side by side with the Bantu and the coloured people, provided, of course they know and realize the consequences of the step They perhaps as yet fail to see that the Front if it lasts will call for a unision of the oppressed and suppressed forces within this South African Colonial world and, cultural and racial exclusionist tendencies, of Indians or of any other people are to be given a go bye there once for all The move therefore, is to be watched to see the 'possible *repercussions on the complex problem* of race relationships in Africa as a whole' and on the equally complex problem of relationship between the oppressed and *oppressors in the colonial countries* world over

The Indian cause in Natal and elsewhere has received however, more attention as a result of this Anti European Conference and Major W T Walker, Secretary of the Natal Municipal Association in resigning from the Municipality drew *pointed attention to it*

"*I commend to you with all seriousness an almost* immediate closer contact with the Natal Indian Congress officers either by means of the 'Hofmeyer' Sub Committee of the Association or a full dress Executive Committee Round Table Conference between the two parties, immediately after their Congress, to be held very shortly

I wish to stress this subject as the matter is becoming daily more critical and unless handled in a sympathetic and commonsense manner, a position will be reached in our non European life that will shake the very foundations of our existence

"*I do most earnestly plead with you to cast aside* all prejudices and misunderstanding of our fellow South Africans for such are the Indian people, just as much as you and I are

"For the sake of the future of our country these *imaginary barriers between the European and Asiatic have* to come down (*Statesman* 25th April 1938)

The Cape Coloured Commission Report

The Cape Coloured Commission Report is another important event from South African side It is a document of considerable significance *reviewing the whole position of* the races in the Cape and is bound to prove helpful to the Indian community too Their problems differ from those of the natives only *in degree not in kind—a point which we* should know forms the real plank in the Cape-town United Front' platform whether that is joined to or not As noted in the *Statesman* (April 18 1938, Calcutta)

The incidental improvement in the condition of the native land to help in the regeneration of the other races of the Dark continent The grant of limited and indirect franchise to the Bantu in the Union Parliament has *already played a very influential part in the drive for* securing similar and if possible wider franchise for the Coloured and Indian people The present Commission recommends such franchise for the Coloured people Sir Raza Ali recommended as a beginning the immediate *grant of a limited franchise to the Indians of the Transvaal* The cumulative effect of these apparently disconnected *facts is hard to be towards the uplift of the non* Whites of South Africa

This has been followed in Durban by the Indian settlers raising a strong agitation against the housing policy of its Municipality, threatening in one case with Satyagraha The Municipality, it is learnt, is ready to reconsider their *policy in respect to Indian housing*

Zanzibar and Clove

The Clove boycott which in Bombay and Calcutta *is proving so effective*, has at last forced the Zanzibar Government to a mood to hear A reorientation of the Clove policy is recognized and the Zanzibar Government have drawn up revised terms for a *parley with the* representatives of the Government of India But to believe the *Zanzibar Voice* (April 3, 1938) *the Administration is still anxious more* for the Clove Growers' Association than for the trade, or the Arab growers

"Though these proposals go some way to meet some of the reasoned and justified objections of Zanzibar Indians, they are hardly likely to be acceptable to them for the sinister Clove Growers' Association will be there with its unwanted interference with free trade in cloves

One of the most important modifications now suggested is that the prices paid by licensed dealers 'will not be prescribed by law, but will be a matter of arrangement between the parties concerned All the same before export, all cloves will pass through Clove Growers Association at the price fixed by the body

We are not against giving protection to clove growers but that cannot be done by organizing a costly and unwanted association as the Zanzibar administration has done"

Elections for Indians in Mombasa Municipality

So long the seven Indian seats were filled by nomination But by a notification it has been announced that the seven members on the Municipal Board of Mombasa are to be henceforth elected by the Indian community The elections probably take place in June next This is a valuable right conceded which Indians in other towns should try to secure too

Malay Unemployment

The reduction of the quotas for rubber and tin production has thrown large number of Indian workers in Malay out of employment This is also evidenced by the larger repatriation figures

900 unemployed Indian tappers at Bahau we learn from the *Madras Mail* have come into collision with the police on a recent occasion Arguing that repatriation of Indians during the slack season "is fundamentally a bad policy" the paper proceeds to say that "with the constant fluctuations in the prosperity of Malaya's principal industries, rubber and tin, there is ever the possibility of the workers who are not wanted at one period may be urgently required a few months hence" Stressing the "moral aspect" of the question, the spokesman of the planters' views felt that these unemployed Indians "are surely entitled to some consideration in bad times" A policy of permanent settlement has also been recognised to be the only way of meeting the exigencies of the present and future situation concerning employment of Indians in Malaya

Wage Reduction to Relieve Unemployment

It has been suggested that an actual reduction of the wages of the employed Indians in the estates would provide means for the employment of others who are displaced now The Central Indian Association sent on March 29, 1938, telegrams to the Government of India and the Government of Madras protesting against this

Reduction of wages of Indian labour, runs the message is imminent If wages are now reduced this action will finally render infructuous the main labour of Sastri delegation. The present labour situation is definitely detrimental to the economic interests of Indian labour It is suggested that assisted emigration may be stopped pending settlement of issues between the two countries We respectfully urge the Government of India to take up a determined and firm stand and safeguard Indian rights.

Emigration and Wages

The Secretary of the Association briefly explains the position in a letter to ourselves

The question of wages relating to Indian labour has followed a checkered career for over 10 years The employers have fairly successfully dodged paying even the so-called standard wages taking advantage of the economic conditions during periods of depression Soon after the standard rates were introduced they were reduced by 20 p c owing to slump In 1934, the Government of India permitted assisted emigration without securing the restoration of the wages at least to the pre-slump level.

Towards the end of 1936 the industry was attaining a state of high prosperity and about the same time the Sastri Delegation visited Malaya. As a tactical move, the wages were put up by 12½ p c before Mr Sastri landed in Penang Mr Sastri in his Report pleaded for the full restoration of the cut and he hoped thereby to do some justice to the claims of Indian labour for higher wages.

In March 1937 there was a shortage of labour all over Malaya Prices of rubber had artificially risen and the production quota under the scheme of international control was raised to 90 p c The Chinese who always put on the screw whenever prices soar up, went on strike. The employers got frightened They immediately agreed to pay Indian male labourers 50 cents and female labourers 40 cents on condition the Labour Department stimulated recruitment In the middle of 1937 there was a great scramble for Indian labour By all means available—fair as well as unfair—a very large number of labourers was brought over from India

For some months there is now what is called a recession' The employers are everywhere burdened with more men than they need. Having succeeded in drawing off a large labour flow by holding out an inducement for increased wages, they have now placed themselves in an advantageous position this year in being able to dictate to labour their own terms The present position is exactly opposite to what it was during the corresponding period of last year

It is the Indian labour who suffers in this game The present evils are due to uncontrolled emigration from India Unless India regains control of emigration in her hands it is impossible to maintain any higher standard of living for our people or to maintain their wage level The situation is drifting back to the same unsatisfactory position as it was before the Sastri Delegation came

In a way the present situation is not entirely hopeless. If it results in the sweeping away of all the cobwebs that have been so finely spun both by the Malayan authorities and also by the Sastri report, a way will then have been created for entering into an agreement with the Malayan Government on the basis of a juster appreciation of the needs and rights of the Indian labour in particular and of the Indian community in general

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Italy's Weakness

Writing in *The New Statesman and Nation*, a correspondent gives a clear picture of the financial and economic difficulties of Italy which economically is the weakest of all the dictatorships The writer first points out the disadvantages with which Italy starts

Italy is not a rich country Her natural resources with the exception of agriculture and water power are negligible Nor has she any large revenue from foreign investments or shipping services Only a well developed tourist industry and a declining amount of emigrant remittances help her to supplement the income of her export trade Equally the financial structure of the country the banking system and the amount of national savings can scarcely be regarded as strong while the standard of living of the people has traditionally been low

Far from being a source of immediate profit Abyssinia continues to be a liability of serious magnitude

After a temporary lull following the capture of Addis Ababa native resistance against the invader has been steadily growing In particular the last four months have seen increased military difficulties for the Italians the number of troops black and white in Abyssinia has had to be raised from 130 000 to over 200 000 the development of the colony has completely stopped trade has come to a standstill and Italian firms have either returned to Italy migrated to French Somaliland or gone bankrupt in an attempt to fulfil their mission

The result is that whereas Italian expenditure on Abyssinia amounted to approximately 400 million lire a month during the first nine months of 1937 it has since risen steadily until during February it reached the enormous sum of 850 million lire It is necessary to remember that none of it is productive capital investment but that it is solely devoted to the maintenance of the Italian occupation

In Spain too, the Italians have little cause for satisfaction The duration of the war has been hopelessly underestimated in Rome and so has been the cost of Italy's support to Franco

The Italian Government has to bring extraordinary resourcefulness into play in order to finance its numerous adventures

Naturally only part of the money can be found from the normal sources of budgetary revenue And even after taxation in every shape and form has been raised to unprecedented levels the budgetary deficit has increased from 2 1 milliard lire 1934-35 to 12 7 milliard in 1935-36 and 17 52 milliards in 1936-37 In the current year the deficit is slightly lower namely 16 9 milliards thanks to the favourable development in the first few months of the year But a fresh rise to not much below 20 milliards in forecast for 1938 39 if the present rate of expenditure is maintained

Borrowing does not suffice to meet the deficit and the Italian Government has to take recourse to measures like the recent levy on the capital of joint-stock companies

This was not necessarily a dangerous thing to do if the Government had succeeded in keeping prices at a reasonable level As it is, however the flood of money that is being spent is acting as a powerful inflationary stimulus to prices Thus the official cost of living index between 1934 and the end of 1937 has risen from 74 4 to 97 2 But owing to official reticence as to the full extent of the price inflation this figure does not tell the whole story A rise to 120 is very much nearer the mark Wages of course have also risen although much less than the cost of living If in addition, one makes allowance for the increase in taxation it appears that the standard of living of the Italian people has fallen by approximately 25 per cent since 1934

A severe fall in the standard of living then is the first result of the Duce's military adventures And although even the most ardent Fascist cannot maintain that the present rate of deterioration in the standard of living can be kept up much longer without causing harm to the morale of the people the more immediate danger of Italy's economic situation lies elsewhere Abyssinia Spain rearmament and the *autarkie* drive are all enormous consumers of raw materials and of raw materials which have to be imported from abroad Consequently Italy's imports of primary products during 1937 showed a heavy increase and as exports (partly as a result of the high Italian price level) recovered but little the balance of trade showed the tremendous adverse balance of 5 64 million lire Against this, Italy's net foreign exchange income from emigrant remittance tourist trade and services" is less than 2 5 milliard lire Thus Italy suffered last year a net loss of gold and foreign exchange of over 3 milliard lire. At the same time however, she continued to live on the raw material stock which had been laid in during the Abyssinian War If allowance is made for this the total loss of substance during the year was approximately 4 milliard lire That compares with a total gold and foreign exchange reserve of 6 milliard lire still held by the Italian authorities

It is not surprising therefore, that Italy's foreign exchange position should have given rise to serious fears in Fascist circles

Dictatorship

The essential idea behind dictatorship is the idea that national unity is best attained by national uniformity, by making everybody do and say the same thing till they come to believe and think the same thing, (writes Raymond V Holt in *The Inquirer*) and this uniformity is achieved by propagating a new mythology, which is presented as a kind of idealism while in fact appealing to racial egotisms and hatreds A

factor in this propaganda is that people are not allowed to know what the rulers do not want them to know, and those who do not accept this state of things are terrorised, tortured or imprisoned Even decent people acquiesce in these cruelties because

they are taught to look upon the victims as outside the pale of humanity as in the sixteenth century at the time of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew French Catholics looked upon the Huguenots and in the seventeenth century at Cromwell's massacre of Drogheda English Protestants looked upon Irish Catholics Other acquiesce because they are unwilling to believe that these things really happen and they find it easy to persuade themselves that things are not as bad as they are painted because nowadays the worst of these cruelties are done behind the scenes In the days of the Inquisition when men were burnt alive for heresy the burnings were public Modern technique here as elsewhere is more efficient Those who do not want to be disturbed by what they suspect can pretend that nothing terrible is happening

At first these methods seem to produce the results desired Immense power is generated by the mass production of opinion as it is by mass production of electricity Sometimes this power is turned to good use for those who wield it are able to ride roughshod over any resistance to their schemes—whether the resistance comes from selfish vested interests or from enlightened humanitarians And this again blinds some people to the issues at stake

Sooner or later however the system will crack up and the appearance of uniformity will be resolved into a clash of bitter antagonism. Such dictatorships inevitably undergo progressive deterioration Under them there is no place for men with sensitive consciences or independent minds and the worst men come to the top The time servers, the brutes and the self seekers shelter themselves under the belief that all criticism and expression of opinion is disloyal, and so things go from bad to worse And when a crisis arises all confidence has been undermined and all sense of individual responsibility destroyed People do not know what to believe and so they believe the worst At the height of their popularity the dictators can do no wrong and when a crisis arises they can do no right

Japan's "Anti-British" Drive

Britain has become Public Enemy No 1 in Japan and is now rarely referred to in the press except as 'Crafty England,' writes Hessell Tiltman in the *Asia* At great mass meeting held in Japanese cities, the British Empire is held responsible for the cultivation of anti Japanese feelings among the Chinese and accused of "furnishing the Chinese forces with financial assistance and materials of war"

Most famous of all the charges leveled at England was the story, widely believed to this day, that during the bombardment of Woosung and the landing of Japanese troops at that point below Shanghai, British warships steamed up and down the Whangpoo interfering with the firing of the Japanese warships and creating a "wash" which impeded the landing operations No shred of evidence was forthcoming to prove that the vessels ever existed, although the incident was reported to have occurred in broad daylight Later, at Tokyo, *Gaimusho* officials admitted frankly that there was, so far as they knew, no truth in the allegation But they pointed out that "the fact that the story was widely believed a indicative of the state of Japanese opinion" A state of mind I may add, which the Japanese press has not seen fit to correct by publishing any repudiation of this canard

Finally, there is the clinching argument that the British have been upholding the fighting spirit of the Chinese army and the Kuomintang not only by moral but also by material support To this charge the retort may fairly be made first that Japan not being at war with China, there existed no reason why any nation should refuse to sell munitions to that country, second, that if Japan owned thirty-eight per cent of all foreign investments in China threatened with national destruction, interest might reasonably dictate a sympathetic policy towards the government of China and, third, that high officials of the central government had complained bitterly to me that Great Britain had not lifted a finger to help us in our hour of need"

Why then pick on the British? The answer is that certain exporting interests in Japan believe it is good business to do so while others in the ultranationalist camp have reached the conclusion that Japan cannot secure her place in the sun until Great Britain has been pushed back into the shade—at least in Eastern Asia In the light of this philosophy a head on collision with the U S S R would yield a meager reward compared with the rich booty destined for any one who can edge the British bankers financiers, traders and merchants out of China and liquidate the £300 000 000 or more of British capital poured into that country during the past century without war if possible

If as I believe neither the present Japanese Cabinet nor the General Staff nor the majority of the Japanese people desire to find themselves in serious conflict with Great Britain, or to interfere in any way with existing British interests in the Far East, there are certain prominent personalities in Japan who know quite definitely where they want *Dai Nihon* to go next These leaders, who are believed to have some support in Japanese naval circles and are openly angling for the backing of the army would gamble with the future prosperity of the empire by attempting to carry out the idea which lie behind the slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics" (which does not, however include "China for the Chinese") by making their temporary peace with Russia in order to turn the national energies to the task of eliminating as painlessly as possible, the British position in China To this end they have already vetoed the appointment to the Japanese Cabinet of one able personality on the grounds that he is anti Russian and as the first step in the fulfilment of this dramatic *volte face* in the foreign policy of the nation have advocated the occupation of Canton and South China by the Japanese army (thereby garroting the trade of Hong Kong) and the occupation of Hainan Island by the Imperial navy thus cutting the communications linking Singapore with Hong Kong and invalidating the whole strategic conception on which the Singapore Base was constructed.

The Heritage of the North China Peasant

A close acquaintance with the Chinese peasants, reduced as they are by circumstances to the borderline of starvation, reveals the fine heritage of a great people, which even extreme want cannot take away F S Drake

writes in the course of an article contributed to *The International Review of Missions*

The peasant is a farmer and has been a farmer for at least forty centuries The farming instinct is deeply rooted in his nature, and no matter where a Chinese of peasant stock may be placed or how small a patch of land may be at his disposal, he will speedily make something grow in it It may be only a few grains of maize, or a vegetable marrow, or even a daisy in a pot, but something growing he will surely have

This instinctive love for the land is enhanced by the fact that the Chinese peasant is for the most part the owner of the land he ploughs It is the land he has inherited from his ancestors and which he will pass on to his heirs It may be a small patch—one third of an acre is reckoned to be enough for one person but it is the source of his life and the guarantee of his freedom Some member of the family may add to the joint income by small trading in the cities or by bodily labour for others—pushing a wheel barrow or pulling a ricksha—but in time of necessity he can always return to the family plot, and though it may make it tight for all the rest to feed an extra mouth yet he will not starve This is what gives stability to the Chinese social system and makes it possible for the Chinese to ride successfully over the calamities that again and again sweep over them

The ownership of land is related to a religious factor the worship of ancestors

In the mind of the lowliest Chinese peasant there is a consciousness of the ancestors from whom he has descended, from whom he derives both his own life and the land which he works who are buried in that land in which he himself will one day be buried and which his children will work after him So the Chinese peasant thinks in terms of the past and of the future as well as of the present He himself is but one link in the chain of life The ancestral land the source of his life and of that of his children, is his heritage from his ancestors and it is his duty to maintain it and to transmit it to his posterity, so that he and they may minister to the spirits of the departed who lie buried beneath its sod

The consciousness of the individual as part of a long chain extending from the past into the future militates against excessive individualism, gives a sense of responsibility, elevates duty above personal desires and is the basis of the peculiar nationalism of the Chinese, which makes them never forget the land of their ancestors or the old family home, even though the family may have left it for a couple of hundred years, and which makes them abroad desire above all things to return home to die

Mention must be made of Buddhism and its influence on the Chinese peasant.

The Chinese peasant in all probability has never penetrated to the inner depths of Buddhist thought, although his women folk may be enthusiastic devotees at the temple festivals, but his outlook nevertheless is influenced to some extent by the Buddhist point of view, by which he senses a higher state of existence than that of the present, and feels a respect for tenderness and charity and deeds of mercy that he would not otherwise feel

Outer Mongolia

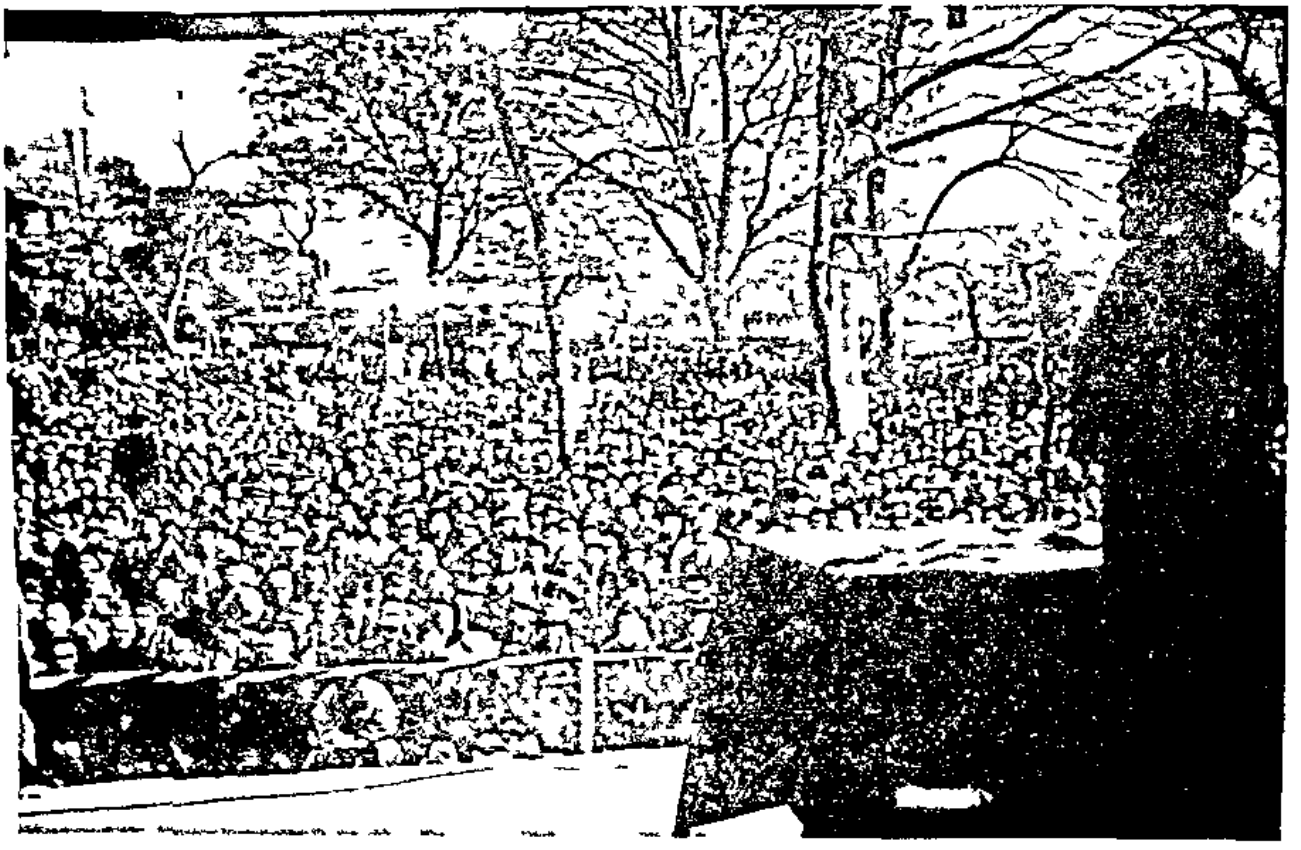
Rudolf Walter writes in the *Europaeische Revue*, Stuttgart:

Outer Mongolia had never considered herself as an integral part of the Chinese Empire so long as she stood under the Chinese influence, but had only felt herself bound up with China through the common bond of sovereignty of the Manchu Emperor recognised by her. She had therefore been treated by China more or less as an autonomous unit with special rights of self-government Outer Mongolia thus proclaimed herself autonomous on the 1st November, 1911, when the external bond of the Manchu dynasty fell off Russia has not only reckoned with this autonomy, but has defended it against China with her own diplomatic influence and military power In 1913, both China and Russia recognised Outer Mongolia as autonomous In 1915, however, the suzerainty of China over this autonomy was recognised and in 1919 China felt herself strong enough to cancel the autonomy and occupy the land under General Hsu Shutsang There was unrest among the Mongolians, the Chinese were driven out in 1920 and the "Living Buddha" set up at the head of an independent Mongolia. The Soviets now besturred themselves and in July 1921, the so called "People's Party of Revolutionary Mongolia," which represented the Far Eastern section of the Third International of 1918 captured Urga with the help of the Soviet troops and declared the independence of Mongolia under their own auspices The "Living Buddha" in Urga died subsequently on the 20th May, 1924, and with him the long line of incarnations of the Buddha came to an end In spite however, of the predominant Soviet influence, most of the supporters of the "People's Government of Revolutionary Mongolia," who might have been about 10 per cent of the population remained nationalistic and the Soviets soon recognised that nothing could be obtained by threats and violence . . The old trade used to be in the hands of the Chinese, who used to bring clothing, tea, utensils, etc., to the Mongolian homes in exchange for the Mongolian products of cattle, hides, wool, etc The new way opened to Russia did not prove satisfactory A proposal was even made for renewing the old relation of a Mongolian autonomy under Chinese suzerainty, but remained unheeded by the Chinese In November 1924, Mongolia had for the first time, an independent constitution, forged after the Soviet model Soviet Russia is now gradually penetrating Mongolia in every direction The Chinese and foreign undertakings in the land are by some means or other brought to a standstill The trade-routes through Inner Mongolia, manned by the Japanese, are closed and Outer Mongolia has become for the outside world a prohibited area For this purpose, the Soviet Government makes use of the small but orderly Mongolian troops as a vehicle of the revolutionary ideals of the Soviet It has been proved on various occasions that the Mongolian soldiers, who have to undergo a two years' compulsory military service, are prepared to obey their masters and shoot their own countrymen, who are known to them to be true Mongolian nationalists The disruption of trade with China has however, forced Outer Mongolia to think seriously of being economically independent They have been making steady progress in education health and hygiene The result of the present Sino-Japanese conflict is therefore of decisive importance to the future of Mongolian politics, because the old ideal of Pan Mongolianism has always remained wakeful and a Mongolian who takes his bread willingly and contentedly from the hand of a foreigner, is yet to be born.

[Trs Dr V V Gokhale]

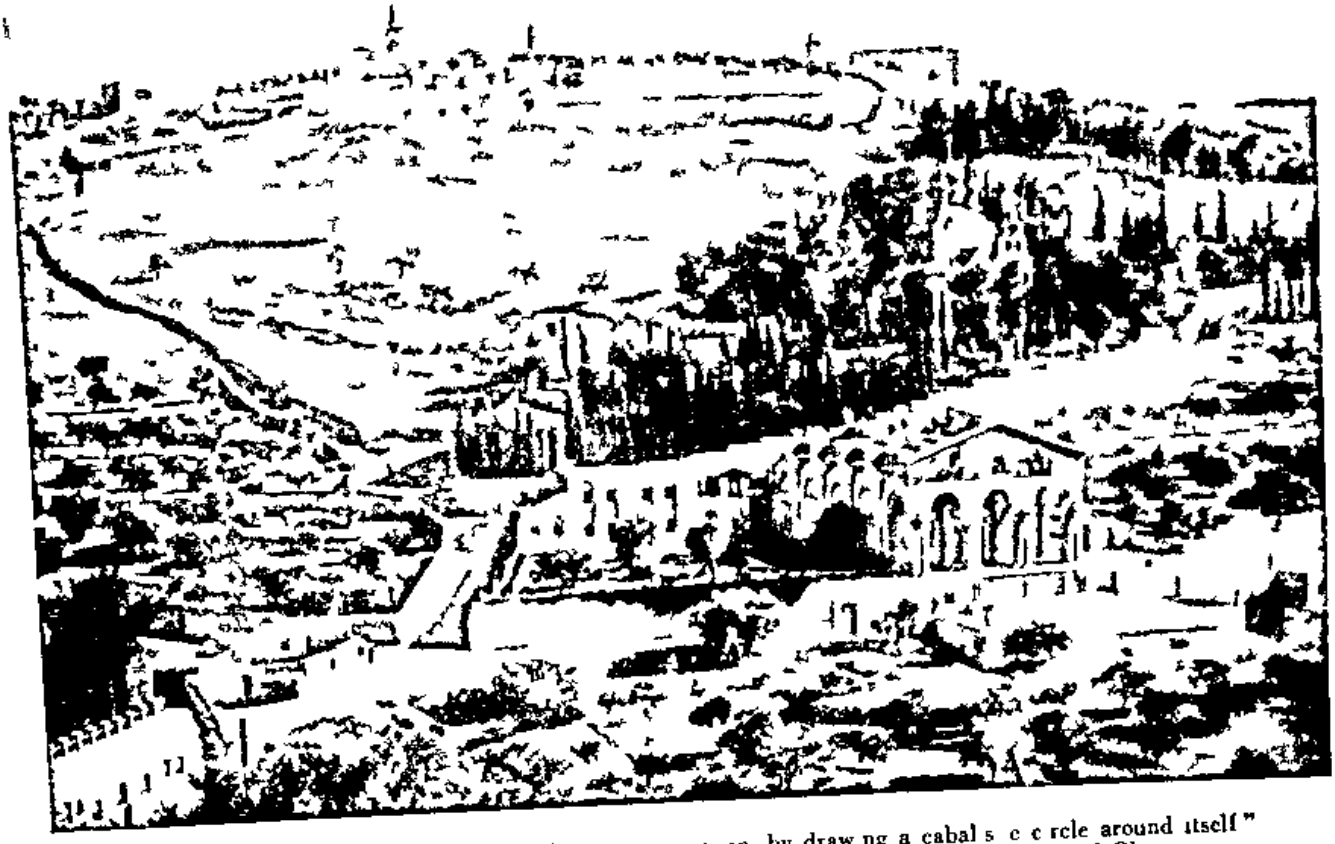


Cairo In it i ler t tre t a l an [ate l lazar Ea t ar l We t n_le but do not mix

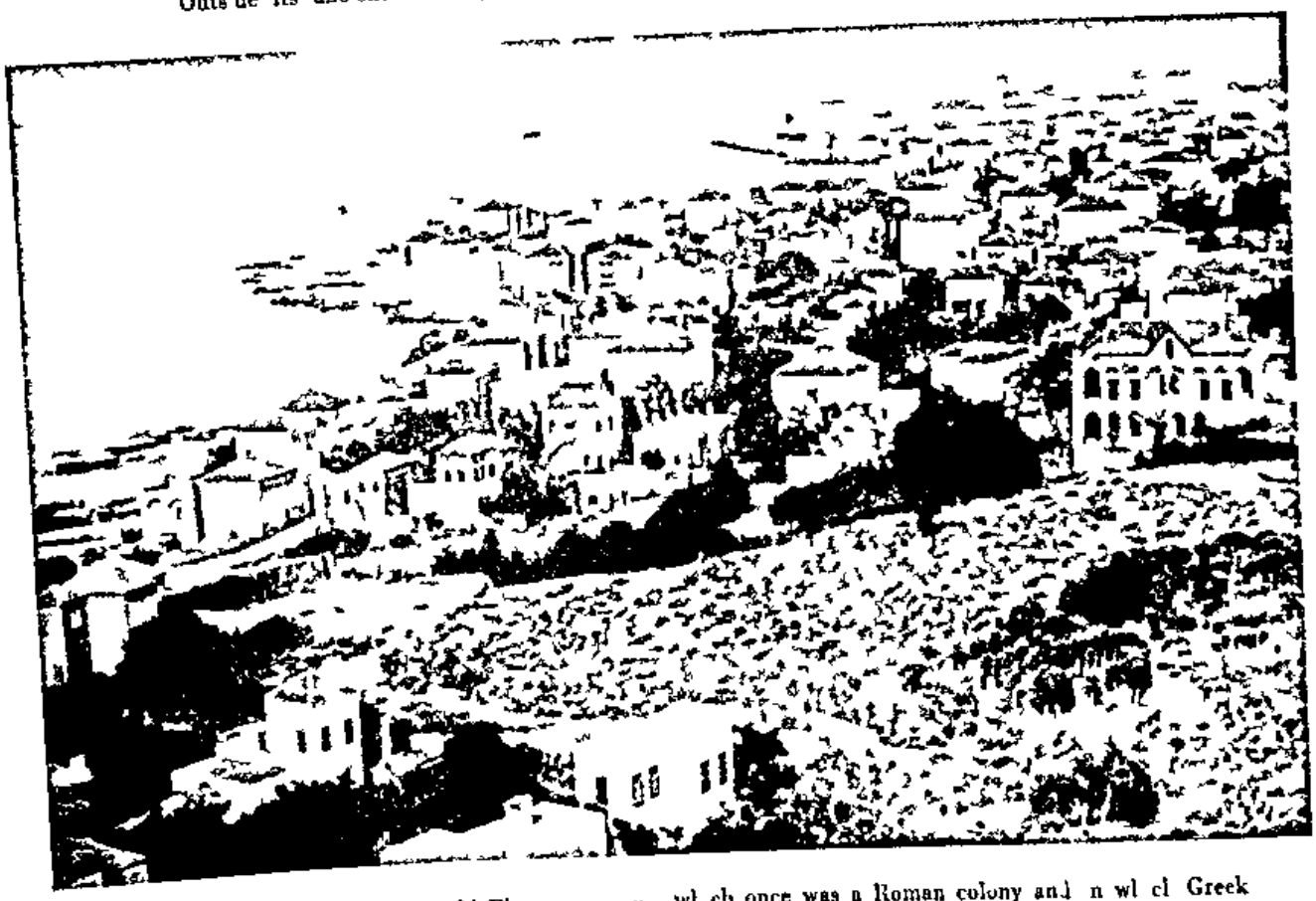


A view f the gre at anti Brit h ma s meet ng eld at H baya Park, Tokyo, n N vemb r 2 1937
There were banners beside the speaker s platform which rea l "Break off relations with Britain" and
"Redistribute Britain s Colonies."

Asa



Jerusalem s e le p bl m of modern wes e n za on by draw ng a cabal s c e rcle around itself" Outs de its anc ent walls yet w hin le for r ss of fa h s the Mount of Olives



Be rut ch ef seaport of Syr a tl e old Pl œn c an c y wl ch once was a Roman colony and n wl cl Greek culture flour sl ed for centur es *[Asia*

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The West must Learn about India

William Norman Brown Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, U S A, in his article in *The Aryan Path* makes a sincere appeal to all Westerners for a real understanding of the mind and heart of India

Fifty years ago India was an economic prize to supply an industrial western country with raw materials and consume its manufactured products while the will of her people was of no consequence outside her own borders, if a will even existed During the twentieth century her status has changed She still is an economic asset to the West but she has cultivated so much of political nationalism and asserted herself so effectively toward nationhood that her opinions and desires begin to affect the outside world. When another fifty years will have passed, her expanding industry her growing trade with its wider diffusion among the nations her more vigorous and modernly motivated intellectual life all heightened in importance by the great numbers of her population will compel the rest of the world to listen to her voice and reckon with her aims and actions, and she will herself have become a power

The problem, then, for a western nation, is to ascertain just what it needs to know of India to understand that country in its world relationships, and to develop a method of getting that knowledge to enough of its leaders to guide its national policy toward India

The West will want to know—should be trying to learn right now—how strong the desire is in India for independence if the final demand will be for separate statehood or if home rule within the British Empire will be satisfactory Again what form of government will India adopt—democratic, fascist communist—what will her foreign policy be? And will she develop industry within her own borders, using her abundance of raw materials and labour and marketing her products at home with exportation of her surplus to other countries, and so enter into competition with western industrial nations or will she remain primarily agricultural and a consumer of imported products? What are the chances that Britain can hold her preferred position in India and what the chances of Japan for economic and perhaps also political domination? What is the substance of India's will to assert and develop herself will it grow stronger or is it only an illusion?

Even such immediate questions as these lead at once to the study of India's past Such is not a novel idea to Indians but we of the West hardly seem to have grasped it We must examine the development of her political institutions during the millennia of which we have records, if we are to estimate the significance and strength of the current demands for representative responsible government The temper of India's mind as revealed in her literature and previous dealings with governmental problems give shape to her present political thinking and will affect that of the future

The economic questions we have raised require the same sort of treatment

If politics and economics must be studied and interpreted in the light of general Indic culture still more obviously must social phenomena

It is of profound importance to the world at large that it should understand the social organization of a country containing over three hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants What is happening among so many people is important in itself to outsiders it is additionally important because of the effect in this narrowing world which their social developments will have upon the rest of us. The institution of caste alone is sufficient to illustrate the point The effect it has upon life in India and upon the relation of India to the world at large the changes it is now experiencing, its probable future the character it will give to the India with which the West will have to deal—these are so weighty as to demand that we study it intensively

The same sort of situation exists with respect to the arts

Indian painting sculpture, and architecture—some of whose characteristic features appear as early as in the Indus civilization of the third millennium B C.—so different in their fundamental motivation from the Greek that dominates the western tradition, so profound in their intellectual content so rich and varied in their form so powerful in their hold upon the people, these we must know from the Indian point of view, if we are to make any adequate appraisal of Indian civilization, while from them western artists may themselves derive ideas of value in their own creative work, as indeed some have already

What are the practical means of bringing the West to learn about India? It is not enough to point out the needs and advantages of acquiring such knowledge and then to leave it to chance or the unassisted efforts of our public or our leaders to find the necessary and valuable information Those who are interested in seeing India and the West understand each other, and who have some measures of specialized information about India, should try to think out a programme of specific and definite means for accomplishing that end.

In every case, the first requisite is that our attitude should remain objective for just as it is indefensible to try to make Indians think and behave like us, so too we should not aim to make Occidentals believe and act like Indians A humility and respect for each other, so often lacking in India as well as in America, must especially mark those who endeavour to interpret the one

is the other. The aim is understanding, not proselytism, so will success follow

Scientists of the World, Unite!

In the course of his Appeal entitled "The World's Dire Need for A Scientist Manifesto," published in *The Theosophist*, Dr Bhagavan Das says

Every great human movement has necessarily some sort of a philosophy of life behind it, conscious or subconscious, good or bad sound or erroneous Practice is inevitably connected with theory, instinctive or deliberate The French Revolution is said to have found its philosophers in Voltaire Montesquieu Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists, the greater Russian Revolution in Bakunin, Marx, Engels, Lenin and others Capitalist Individualism is said to find support in Bentham Spencer Darwin, Wallace, and Mill Fascism and Communism both are reported to trace their spiritual ancestry back to the German philosopher Hegel in different ways and they are now warring against each other with the implacable hate of step brothers On the present occasion, we must not endeavour to apportion blame or praise, but it is unavoidable to say for our purpose, that all those Nations all those Powers, without exception or distinction, which have been are now, or think of, exploiting, subjugating enslaving oppressing any weaker populations, nations, races or classes—*all such are to blame* in the degree in which they are thus treating the weaker

Now, it is obvious that the philosophies behind the gigantic movements, and also the science created weapons with which they fight are within the purview, nay are the main concern, are even the creation of the men of thought and science, in fact it has been said openly and repeatedly, by western writers that the last World War was much more a war of scientists than of soldiers, and such men, today, are almost all congregated in the Universities and various Learned and Scientific Institutes *A very great responsibility, a very urgent and high duty, therefore rests upon them, and an equally great power and authority belongs to them if they would only awaken to it, recognize it, assume it, and determine to wield it They are the educators of mankind They constitute the "spiritual power" today They should guide the "temporal power" everywhere, instead of allowing themselves to be misguided, exploited, prostituted by it* They can resolve and declare that they will cease to discover, invent teach, if the politicians and the soldiers do not cease to misuse the precious knowledge Education is the root, Civilization is the fruit As is the one, good or bad such is the other Science should compel the Sword to protect, not the Sword, Science to destroy If Science flings away Spirituality, and clings to Materiality alone, then it makes easy, nay, inevitable, its own prostitution and ultimate destruction by the Sword, as seems imminent now

Poison Gases in Modern Warfare

Science and Culture gives an account of how poison gases came to be employed on a large scale in modern warfare

The Great War of 1914-1918 was responsible for the development of a technique in attack and defence through the use of chemicals which were not explosives Early in 1915, it was apparent that the war of attrition had begun The battlefront in the west expanded from the Swiss mountains to the sea, the British fleet were effectively preventing the entry of essential raw materials into Germany. In their desperate attempts to break through this cordon in land and sea, the German High Command determined to adopt measures of extreme ruthlessness Indiscriminate submarine attack in sea and extensive use of poison gases on land were the outcome of this policy.

Never was the critical factor of surprise in war nearer success than when the Germans launched their first gas attack at Ypres on 22nd April, 1915 Field Marshal Sir John French described the situation as follows

Following a heavy bombardment, the enemy used poison gases for the first time. Aircraft reported that thick yellow smoke had been seen issuing from the enemy trenches What follows almost defies description. The effect of these poison gases was so virulent as to render the whole of the line held by the division incapable of any action at all It was at first impossible to realize what had actually happened. The smoke and fumes hid everything from sight and thousands of men were thrown into a comatose and dying condition and within an hour the whole had to be abandoned together with about 50 guns."

Competent critics are of opinion that if the Germans had completely grasped the probability of such colossal success and pressed the advantage with rigour, the channel ports might have fallen and the fate of the war might have been otherwise.

In May 1915, the Germans made similar gas attacks upon the Russians immediately west of Warsaw and with equally deadly results "The gas was discharged for a total time of not more than half an hour on a front of about 6 miles The affair seems relatively small, yet what was the result? The Russians lost not less than 5 000 dead in the field and their total casualties were 25 000 officers and men"

No other weapon could have produced results under the most favourable conditions for its use in as many days what gas was able to do in as many minutes

Poison gases having proved their deadly efficiency, their employment on a large scale was decided upon by all the combatants In the early attacks the gas under compression was discharged from cylinders into the no man's land in front of the trenches by means of lead pipes, and was transported into enemy lines by favourable winds The advantage of being able to command the locality of the incidence of gas cloud was immediately realized, and gas shell came into vogue The poison gases can generally be compressed into the liquid state, and into the shell were charged these liquids, which, by the use of a small amount of high explosive in the shell, were converted into fine mist when the shell burst Since gases can diffuse into a wide area, the gas shells need not be fired from guns with the same accuracy of aim as high explosive shells Guns of simpler mechanical design can therefore be used for this purpose General Ludendorff tells us that during the big German attacks of 1918, gas shells were used against artillery and infantry in quantities which had never been seen before, and even in open warfare, the troops were asking for gas It is surmised that about 50 per cent of the shells fired in the last phase of the war were gas shells.

The irritant gases produce lesions and congestions in the respiratory system and cause death by suffocation Chlorine, phosgene, diphosgene, cyanogen chloride,

chloropicrin, chlormethyl chlorformate are some of the powerful irritants whose deadly efficiency in war has already been demonstrated Chlorine and phosgene are fatal at concentrations of 40 parts per million and these were the two gases *which inflicted such heavy casualties* in the allied armies in 1915

Another type of gas which has great military value is known as Lachrymators They produce temporary or permanent blindness by weeping

Mustard gas has also another property which revealed the possibilities inherent in chemical warfare *It produced vesicant or skin burning effects, which* although rarely mortal were sufficient to put a man out of action for several months

The chemicals which produce sneezing came into use in the later phases of the war when the mask had become a part of the soldier's normal equipment Typical substances are some arsenic derivatives—diphenyl *chlorarsine, diphenylcyanarsine*

The chemical industries of Germany England and America have equipment and assets which may be valued at a thousand million pounds They are in times of peace, engaged in manufacturing acids alkalis fertilizers dyes, drugs etc But at a moment's notice their activities can be switched on to the production of war chemicals

The Hindu Conception of the Motherland

The Hindu conception of the mother country is more cultural than territorial The spiritual enters *more into that conception than* the material Dr Radhakumud Mookerji illustrates this truth in *Prabuddha Bharat* in his article on the Hindu Conception of the Motherland

The spirit of patriotism in the West finds a typical utterance in the following famous lines of Walter Scott

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own my native land"

But the Hindu raises his patriotic utterance to a much higher level A typical and most wide-spread utterance influencing the mass-mind in India is the following

"The mother and the mother country are greater than Heaven itself"

But this utterance which comes from later Sanskrit literature owes its inspiration to the Vedas the eternal fountain-head of Hindu thought through the ages. For instance the Prithivi sukta of the *Atharva Veda* contains the Hindu's earliest hymns to the motherland each of whose features receives its due share of recognition for its contribution in the making of the country "The seas protecting the land, the fertilizing rivers, hills and snows, forests and herbs, its agriculture, flora and fauna, and, lastly its people of different speech, of diverse customs according to their regions, its roads, villages and even assemblies (*sabha* and *samiti*)"

The *Manusmriti* finally describes the country as created by the gods.

He describes how patriotism is expressed in pilgrimage.

Indeed, in the heyday of Hinduism, in the spacious times of the Gupta emperors a fervent patriotism transformed into a profound religious sentiment found its own means of expression in its own way It invented its appropriate symbols and ceremonies, its own mode of worshipping the country It conceived of the system of pilgrimage which is peculiar to Hinduism, and is a most *potent instrument of instruction in geography by field* work. It educates the Indian popular mind or mass consciousness, in the realization of what constitutes the mother country through the religious necessity imposed on the people to visit its different parts for the sacred places and shrines placed in them The country as an abstraction is thus transformed into a vivid and visible *reality an ideal is realized in terms of blood* The romance of patriotism has fondly woven a network of holy spots covering the whole country, so that all parts of it are equally sacred and the equal concern of religious devotees

The number of places of pilgrimage in India is legion

It only shows the waking of a religious imagination in its attempt at visualizing and worshipping the physical form of the mother Goddess This religious imagination of the nation has, indeed impressed in its service every spot of beauty in the vast country which it has at once declared as holy and has endowed with a temple shrine or some religious symbol like a piece of hallowed stone or even a tree Here is patriotism run riot! It finds its food even in the natural beauties of the country Hence the Hindu's pilgrimage is to the eternal snows of the Himalayas, the depths of forests the palm-clad sea shore the hidden sources of rivers or their mouths and confluences. His treatment of natural beauty is also unique His love of nature is a religious emotion. A *place of natural beauty in the West is associated with* holiday making, pleasure trips, picnics hotels and cinemas In India it is marked by temples and pilgrims, hermitages and ascetics so as to lead the mind from Nature up to Nature's God The beauty of Nature in the one case is a stimulus to objectivity to outgoing activities In the other case it is an incentive to subjectivity mediation and renunciation

He says that pilgrimage inculcates love of country in the masses

A comparative consideration of the various lists of *tirthas* in different texts will show how fondly the Indian mind clings to the mother-country and considers every inch of its territory as sacred soil It worships the Virat deha the great body of the country of which *every* part it holds to be holy As a consequence, the Hindu has no holy place outside India like a far off Palestine or Mecca or Medina As has been explained, his culture is synonymous with his country

The later texts locating the holy places on a generous scale all over India indicate how far they have travelled from the early days of Vedic civilization when the country or the holy land was confined to Aryavarta. Now the country embraces the whole of India, as its civilization has penetrated into all its parts

A final expression of this evolution of the idea of the mother-country is embodied in certain texts prescribing the places where one should seek his last resting place to lay his bones, or have his funeral ceremonies performed. These places are *accordingly* to be considered as the most sacred of places by all Hindus in common, irrespective of provincial or religious differences, of sect or creed. In the contemplation of death they must sink these differences and realize the unity of their common motherland Death completes what life leaves incomplete.

Women's Place in Hindu Law

Writing about women's place in Hindu Law T Pattabhiramayya observes in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine*.

It can be said that the result of the establishment of British Courts of Law was rather conservative in the domain of Hindu Law and tended to restrict the rights of women *Mitakshara* is much more liberal to women than the Courts of today it did not accept the theory that women by reason of sex are disentitled to inherit, nor is there any foundation in it for the rule that women take a limited estate in property inherited by them All property, however acquired was *stridhan* according to its definition but judicial decisions exclude inherited property from the category of *stridhan* The theory that women *prima facie* take only a limited interest under grants *inter vivos* or by will is a creature of judicial decisions

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Poetry for a man like AE constituted a '*sadhana*' which implied continuity of effort towards Realization AE's view concerning one aspect of the future of Poetry is succinctly expressed in the poem called *A New Theme*

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The mountain tops of life shall climb
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It feebly murmureth,
Arise on some enchanted morn
Poet, with God's own breath
And sound the horn I cannot blow
And by the secret name
Each exile of the heart will know
Kindle the magic flame

As a marked contrast to the Victorians we notice that in such poetry as AE's the claims of the Infinite in thought, the *Infinite in feeling*, the *Infinite in willing* have been triumphantly asserted It is not true that this is entirely a new note in English literature We *have had something* of this in Blake and Wordsworth in their loftier moments and before them in even the so-called "metaphysicals," however closely connected some of them were with a narrower creed, and in a more pronounced manner still in the poetry of Shelley Shelley has been so systematically misunderstood, with notable exceptions here and there, that one almost hesitates to take his name, but without doubt if there is a new vision in poetry at all today, we must have to hail Shelley as its protagonist Shelley at least prepared the path for those who could sing and talk in graver and more assured tones regarding such high sentiments as make the mortal nature in us tremble like guilty things surprised

Granted the ideal, we can very easily understand AE's treatment of Love in his poetry.

The poet does not practise the rigorism of *self-denial*, but he has his own beautiful manner of teaching self abnegation The poet is in it but not of it, when he sings

We liken Love to this and that, our thought
The echo of a deeper being seems
And we kiss because God once for beauty sought
Within a world of dreams

We have not only the value that we consider to be important but at the same time we are made to recognize the Highest in our traffic with the beloved objects of this world

I sometimes think a mighty lover
Takes every burning kiss we give
His lights are those which round us hover
For him alone our lives we live

It is the meeting together of the Eternal Lover and the soul of man that we are constantly witnessing through our finite loves As the Upanishads would have it The beloved we feel to be our very own not because of his or her sake but because of the Infinite that is implicit in the finite

I would not have the love of lips and eyes,
The ancient ways of love
But in my heart I built a paradise
A nest there for the dove'—

and then we hear what we shall feel when Love disperses the thinnest of veils, when it truthfully dawns on the human heart

I could not even bear the thought I felt
Of Thee and Me thereon,
And with white heat I strove the veil to melt
That love to love might win

The Earlier Phase of Modernist Verse

Dr Amiya Chakravarty discusses the earlier phase of modernist verse in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*.

The problem for the young poet today, it must be admitted, is complicated The Modern Age presses upon our lives a multitude of unharmonised elements, a daily paper is a bedlam of unrelated pictures, the interactions of events in all fields of modern activity, in finance, economics, politics defy our powers of unravelling The modern mind is haunted by the interdependence of things, emotions evoked by the fragmentary experiences of city life move in a whirl, and the creative imagination excepting in a finely balanced personality, soon gets tired, the criterion of inward truth is obscured by the crowded complexity of facts.

The Metaphysicals could take shelter in a few fundamental assumptions, when the experiences of life seemed chaotic they tried to find a logical reason, but essentially they were at peace with themselves and could erect in reserved areas of belief into which the dissecting mind was not admitted The modern poet has hardly any reserved areas, though he is trying to create some with the barbed wire of psychological jargon, or of economic doctrine Life is being psycho-analysed in verse, and consciousness tortured to yield new materials Modernist poetry, however, proves that as yet no safe anchorages have been found, and both the struggle for new forms of expression, and the character of the literary materials assembled show that the effort to introduce the novel associations and links which lie below consciousness has yet to find its justification The foundation of belief can not be established by method and law, or by the analysis

of interconnections In short, something more than a pursuit of the *process* is called for

Like the Metaphysicals, the moderns sacrifice clarity for the sake of chromatic effect

The sonnet form, which demands a unity of mood and a corresponding structural sense has therefore fallen into disuse just as it did in the period of the Metaphysicals Excepting a few poems of Eliot like the *Journey of the Magi* where due to his *self-discipline poetic form and consistency have been* preserved and poems like Spender's *The Express* in which the limitations of the subject matter have not been *ignored few post war poems of the modernist group can* be remembered as individual works of art Most of the poems of Day Lewis Spender and Auden seem to run *into each other and form a chain of verses revealing* hardly any sense of form even though much is made these days of the objective reality of expression Even when the subject of the poem can be expected to impose a certain logical structure as in the poem *Time to Dance* by Day Lewis—his two brave pilot friends had a definite ground (or rather air area) to cover—beginning and continuing for a time on a fairly high level of poetic journalism essential to narrative poetry Day Lewis allows his poetic idea to dissolve into thin air leaving a feeble smoke trail in the mind Often again his poem says is choked by assortments of thought as with weeds and in trying to offer opinions on various problems of the day it reaches nowhere His *Feather to Iron* written in immaturity shows greater incoherence because of its mix up of machine terminus childbirth revolution and what not, though the meandering semi narrative nature of the long poem permitted a cycle of paragraphic structurers *The Magnetic Mountain* shares this quality it is a more fully developed poem passages can be isolated from it and remembered But both Auden and Day Lewis would rather swim about than walk on the land their poems offer the kind of aquatic continuity for which one has to go back to the worst excesses of the Metaphysicals

Free Verse, in these days, has been widely exploited for lyrical as well as dramatic poetry But only a conscientious craftsman can justify its use The Imagists far too often employed it to match the diffuseness of subject-matter

Mr Eliot learning from their experience has achieved fine effects in this medium Mr Yeat claimed by moderns to be a Modernist edition of himself has never set one foot forward in its forbidden area. *There has been much discussion about the heredity of Free Verse*, that it is neither the spontaneous creation of this Age nor the invention of Whitman, is acknowledged *Samson Agonistes and The Strayed Reveller occur to the* mind The Imagists betrayed their usual confusion of mind when after referring to Arnold's *Philomela* and Henley's *London Voluntaries* they *went on to say that Free Verse* derives also from Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis* and Chaucer's *House of Fame* Browning's and Gerard Hopkins' *speech rhythms have added to its* vigour the effect of Owen's internal rhymes is discernible. *Free Verse* has indeed come to stay, within strict limits. It is interesting to watch its *transformation into Choruses* in some parts of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and Auden's *Dog Beneath the Skin* The pressure of the "multiple-correspondence" mind has often tortured it out of shape, and it has ended in being used for *unending perorations, and since it is clearly unsuited* for many kinds of poetry, and can never replace blank verse the rhymed lyric, or sonnet, it remains today mainly as an evidence of the daring explorations of the modern craftsman rather than of major creative achievement

P. E. N. Annual Meeting

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the P E N India Centre was held in Bombay, on the 14th of March The following extract from the report published in *The Indian P E N* is given below

In welcoming the guests and stressing the desir *ability of more frequent contacts between members*, Sophia Wadia referred also to the threatening conditions in the world and read a statement on the stand of the international *P E N on the exchange of literary works* independent of political accidents on respect even in warfare for works of art which are the common heritage of humanity and on the obligation of every member to use his influence personal as well as literary, in favour of mutual understanding and respect of peoples

Prof N K Bhagwat, our Honorary Secretary, read the list of twenty three new members from all parts of India admitted to membership during the past year and the names of four members deceased since the 1st of January 1937

Dr Sarat Chandra Chatterjee
Sjt B M Dattatrya
Sjt V Suryanarayana Rao
Sjt Kanaiyalal Vakil

The Zenda Avesta

Pritam Singh gives the following brief description of the Zoroastrian scriptures in *The Twentieth Century*

The scriptures of the Zoroastrians (the Parsis of India) of whom there are about a hundred thousand living in and near Bombay are known as Zenda Avesta or commentaries on the Avesta (Vesta Knowledge) The Avesta represents a long period of diverse development spread over about one thousand years The original Avesta is said to have consisted of 21 volumes, but the ravages of Alexander the Great seem to have destroyed a large number of the old manuscripts. The various scattered manuscripts were later on collected by the Sassanian Kings (third and fourth centuries A D) The language of these scriptures is old and extinct and very few oriental scholars can understand them. The modern translations are in Pahlavi of course and the original has undergone many changes in course of time The Gathas or the words attributed to the Prophet Zoroaster *form part of the Zenda Avesta*

The Zenda Avesta, like the Bible, consists of many books and extends over a period of one thousand years as *stated above* The *process of compilation was roughly* as follows. The sayings of the Prophet Zoroaster and those who immediately followed him were the first to *be recorded These records were then edited and* elaborated by successive generations The language originally was Gathic Avestan. In course of time, new explanations were added in a dialect known as the "Younger Avestan" or Zenda. The modern Zenda Avesta

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Each exile of the heart will know
Kindle the magic flame

As a *marked* contrast to the Victorians we notice that in such poetry as AE's the claims of the Infinite in thought, the Infinite in feeling, the Infinite in willing have been triumphantly asserted It is not true that this is entirely a new note in English literature We have had something of this in Blake and Wordsworth in their loftier moments and before them in even the so called "metaphysicals," however closely connected some of them are with a narrower creed, and in a more *pronounced manner still* in the poetry of Shelley Shelley has been so systematically misunderstood, with notable exceptions here and there, that one almost hesitates to take his name, but without doubt if there is a new vision in poetry at all today, we must have to hail Shelley as its protagonist Shelley at least prepared the path for those who could sing and talk in graver and more assured tones regarding such high sentiments as make the mortal nature in us tremble like guilty things surprised

Granted the ideal, we can very easily understand AE's treatment of Love in his poetry.

The poet does not practise the rigorism of self-denial, but he has his own beautiful manner of teaching self abnegation The poet is in it but not of it, when he sings

We liken Love to this and that, our thought
The echo of a deeper being seems
And we kiss because God once for beauty sought
Within a world of dreams

We have not only the value that we consider to be *important but at the same time we are made to recognize* the Highest in our traffic with the beloved objects of this world

I sometimes think a mighty lover
Takes every burning kiss we give
His lights are those which round us hover
For him alone our lives we live

It is the meeting together of the Eternal Lover and the soul of man that we are constantly witnessing through our finite loves As the Upanishads would have it The beloved we feel to be our very own not because of his or her sake but because of the Infinite that is implicit in the finite

"*I would not have the love of lips and eyes,*
The ancient ways of love
But in my heart I built a paradise
A nest there for the dove"—

and then we hear what we shall feel when Love disperses the thinnest of veils, when it truthfully dawns on the human heart

I could not even bear the thought I felt
Of Thee and Me therein,
And with white heat *I* strove *the veil to melt*
That love to love might win

The Earlier Phase of Modernist Verse

Dr Amiya Chakravarty discusses the earlier phase of modernist verse in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

The problem for the young poet today, it must be admitted, is complicated The Modern Age presses upon our lives a multitude of unharmonised elements, a daily paper is a bedlam of unrelated pictures, the interactions of events in all fields of modern activity, in finance, economics, politics defy our powers of unravelling The modern mind is haunted by the interdependence of *things, emotions evoked by the fragmentary experiences* of city life move in a whirl and the creative imagination excepting in a finely balanced personality, soon gets tired, the criterion of inward truth is obscured by the crowded complexity of facts

The Metaphysicals could take shelter in a few fundamental assumptions, when the experiences of life seemed chaotic they tried to find a logical reason, but essentially they were at peace with themselves and could rest in *reserved areas of belief into which the dissecting mind* was not admitted The modern poet has hardly any reserved areas, though he is trying to create some with the barbed wire of psychological jargon, or of economic doctrine Life is being psycho-analysed in verse, and consciousness tortured to yield new materials Modernist poetry, however, proves that as yet no safe anchorages have been found, and both the struggle for new forms of expression, and the character of the literary materials *assembled show that the effort to introduce the novel* associations and links which lie below consciousness has yet to find its justification The foundation of belief cannot be established by method and law, or by the analysis

of interconnections. In short something more than a pur uit of the *process* is called for

Like the Metaphysicals, the moderns sacrifice clarity for the sake of chromatic effect

The sonnet form which demands a unity of mood and a corresponding structural sense has therefore fallen into disuse just as it did in the period of the Metaphysicals. Excepting a few poems of Eliot like the *Journey of the Magi* where due to h self-discipline poetic form and consistency have been preserved and poems like Spender's *The Express* i which the limitations of the subject matter have not been ignored few post war poems of the modernist group can be remembered as individual works of art Most of the poems of Day Lewis Spender and Auden seem to run into each other and form a chain of verses revealing hardly any sense of form even though much is made these days of *the objective reality of "expression"* Even when the subject of the poem can be expected to impo a certain logical structure as in the poem *Time to Dance* by Day Lewis—his two brave pilot friends had a definite ground (or rather air area) to cover—beginning and continuing for a time on a fairly high level of poet journalism essential to narrative poetry Day Lewis allows his poetic idea to dissolve into thin air leaving a fleeple smoke-trail in the mind Often again his poem says is choked by assortments of thought as with weeds and in trying to offer opinions on various problems of the day it reaches nowhere His *Feather to Iron* written in immaturity shows greater incoherence because of its mix up of machine terminus, child birth revolution and what not though the meandering semi narrative nature of the long poem permitted a cycle of paragraphic structurers *The Magnetic Mountain* shares this quality it is a more fully developed poem. passages can be isolated from it and remembered But both Auden and Day Lewis would rather swim about than walk on the land their poems offer the kind of aquatic continuity for which one has to go back to the worst excesses of the Metaphysicals

Free Verse in these days has been widely exploited for lyrical as well as dramatic poetry But only a conscientious craftsman can justify its use The Imagists far too often employed it to match the diffuseness of subject-matter

Mr Eliot learning from their experience has *achieved fine effects in this medium.* Mr Yeats, *claimed by moderns to be a Modernist custom of himself* has never set one foot forward in its forbidden area. There has been much discussion about the heredity of *Free Verse that it is neither the spontaneous creation of* this Age nor the invention of Whitman is acknowledged *Samson Agonistes* and *The Strayed Reveller* occur to the mind The Imagists betrayed their usual confusion of *mind when after referring to Arnold's Philomela and* Henley's *London Voluntaries* they went on to say that *Free Verse* derives also from Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis* and Chaucer's *House of Fame.* Browning's and *Gerard Hopkins' speech rhythms have added to its* vigour the effect of Owen's internal rhymes is discernible *Free Verse* has indeed come to stay within strict limits. It is interesting to watch its transformation into *Choruses in some parts of Eliot's Murder in the Cathedral* and Auden's *Dog Beneath the Skin* The pressure of the "multiple-correspondence" mind has often tortured it out of shape, and it has ended in being used for unending perorations, and since it is clearly unsuited for many kinds of poetry, and can never replace blank verse the rhymed lyric or sonnet it remains today mainly as an evidence of the daring explorations of the modern craftsman rather than of major creative achievement

P. E. N. Annual Meeting

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the P E N India Centre was held in Bombay on the 14th of March The following extract from the report published in *The Indian P E N* is given below

In welcoming the guests and stressing the desirability of more frequent contact between members, Sophia Wadia referred also to the threatening conditions *in the world and read a statement on the stand of the* international P E N on the exchange of literary works independent of political accidents, on respect even in warfare for works of art which are the common heritage of humanity and on the obligation of every member to use his influence personal as well as literary in favour of mutual understanding and respect of peoples

Prof N K Bhagwat our Honorary Secretary read the list of twenty three new members from all parts of India admitted to membership during the past year and the names of four members deceased since the 1st of January 1937

Dr Sarat Chandra Chatterjee
Sjt B M Dattatrya
Sjt V Suryanarayana Rao
Sjt Kanaiyalal Vakil

The Zenda Avesta

Pritam Singh gives the following brief description of the Zoroastrian scriptures in *The Twentieth Century*

The scriptures of the Zoroastrians (the Parsis of India) of whom there are about a hundred thousand living in and near Bombay are known as Zenda Veda *or commentaries on the Avesta* (Vesta knowledge) The Avesta represents a long period of diverse development spread over about one thousand years The original Avesta is said to have consisted of 21 volumes, but the *ravages of Alexander the Great seem to have destroyed a large number of the old manuscripts. The various* scattered manuscripts were later on collected by the Sassanian Kings (third and fourth centuries A.D.) The *language of these scriptures is old and extinct and very* few oriental scholars can understand them. The modern translations are in Pahlavi of course and the original has undergone many changes in course of time The *Gathas or the words attributed to the Prophet Zoroaster* form part of the Zenda Avesta.

The Zenda Avesta, like the Bible consists of many books and extends over a period of one thousand years as *stated above* The process of compilation was roughly as follows. The sayings of the Prophet Zoroaster and those who immediately followed him were the first to be recorded These records were then edited and *elaborated* by successive generations. The language originally was Gathic Avestan. In course of time, new explanations were added in a dialect known as the "Younger Avestan" or Zenda. The modern Zenda Avesta

is in the Pahlvi language which was the spoken language in the Sassanian times and is nearer to modern Iranian The languages and dialects of the Zenda Avesta are, however, all inter related

Gathas form the most important part of the Avesta and are 'metrical sermons' attributed to Zoroaster himself and are regarded as revelations These were recorded more than three thousand years ago Consider ing the age it is really remarkable that such fine literature should find birth in the primitive civilization of ancient Iran The art of verse seems to have been very highly developed in that age One Gatha however, is in pros which is a collection of prayers The *Yasna* of which the Gathas form a part, is a book of liturgy meant to be used in connection with the various ceremonies current among the Parsis. Besides the *Yasna* there is the *Vendidad* which means *law against the demons* —all these constitute the Zenda Avesta

The Zoroastrian faith based on these scriptures is monotheistic in the main Ahura Mazdah or Ormuzd as the Parsis call Him signifies the 'wise lord' Before Zoroaster's coming people worshipped many kinds of spirits He showed them that there was one Ahura *(spirit) and he was Mazdah (the wise one) Justice* and Truth must be rendered as his service by men of good speech, good thoughts and good deeds It sounds paradoxical that we should find two spirits postulated the good and the evil, thus giving a colour of dualism to the teachings of Zoroaster This dualism is not of co-eternal spirits however, because it maintains that he *evil spirit* will ultimately succumb to the good

Elephant Lore in Pallava History

Dr C Minakshi writes about the elephant lore in Pallava history in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* In the course of the article the writer observes

Gaja Sastra or Elephantology dealing on the different aspects of elephants, their capture taming training etc has been specially patronised by kings in ancient India Its inclusion among other sciences *of study* is well justified by the great use to which the elephant has been put not only in the State paraphernalia but also in the military equipment of ancient Indian Royalty

It is interesting to observe that learned treatises on this subject have been written by eminent scholars of which to enumerate a few —(1) *Hastyayurveda*, a most ancient standard *work ascribed to one Palakapya*, (2) *Matanga-lila* of Nilakanta, which treats extensively on the elephant sport, and for which a valuable translation into English from the original Sanskrit by Professor Egerton of the Yale University has recently been published, and (3) *Uriga Paksi Sastra* by a Jain author named Hamsadeva, another informative work extant on *this subject which* gives a classificatory account of the thirteen kinds of elephants

Besides the above-mentioned works, references and allusions to elephant hunting and elephant breeding are found in Sanskrit *Kavyas* frequently

On the basis of epigraphical evidences we find that a few of the Pallava Rulers evinced a very great interest *in* the study of elephantology One of these kings Rajasimha is described as *Sri Ibhavidyadarah* (he who possesses the knowledge of elephants), *Sri Ibhavatsarajah* (he who resembles the king of the Vatsa Country in the knowledge of the elephants), and *Sri Varana Bhagadattah* (he who resembles Bhagadatta in the knowledge of elephants)

Explorations in the Gobi Desert

The Gobi Desert offered a special challenge to the scientific explorer It tempted him, for in all the world it was the largest land area about which so little was known It defied him, because its distances are so vast, and travel is so difficult that the short summer passes before the explorer can penetrate far or finish his studies Observes Frederick K Morris in his article in *Science and Culture* on the explorations in the Gobi Desert

Roy Chapman Andrews conceived the answer to this challenge He sent out a caravan of camels in early March, carrying food for men and for motor-cars. A *month later we scientists with a small fleet of cars* travelled into the desert, studying the land and collecting specimens

Dr Granger the Palaeontologist, with four assistants, collected the vertebrate fossils which were buried in the sedimentary rocks. Many people believe that we found creatures of great antiquity—even to the earliest *of vertebrates but this is not true Our vertebrate* fossil record began with the lowest Cretaceous. Dinosaurs and other vertebrates are found abundantly in other regions from much older formations than these Popular belief also held that we had discovered the source from which many races of dinosaurs and mammals evolved and migrated radially to all the world This would have *been very interesting*, but what we actually found was even more interesting

The Age of Mammals is richly represented in the Gobi Desert, and we took thousands of mammal bones from many Tertiary beds Here, too, our discoveries were surprising, even to ourselves One of the most interesting experiences was finding the highest Cretaceous in direct contact *with the Paleocene This meant that in a single* locality we could study the latest dinosaur beds and the earliest mammal beds together, one resting upon the other Here we hoped that the great gap between the Mesozoic and Cenozoic eras would be bridged, and that we could find a transition from the Age of Reptiles to the Age of Mammals, there might have been a mingling *of the two faunae, there might have been primitive* mammals in the one whose descendants appeared more highly advanced in the other. We hoped to shed some light upon the unknown cause of the extinction of all dinosaurs—an unsolved problem of biology and geology.

But here, as everywhere else on this planet, we found the fossil records wholly separate and distinct In the Cretaceous rocks the dinosaurs were abundant to the very top, but not one survived into the Paleocene The Cretaceous did indeed yield primitive mammals—but they were wholly different from the strange aberrant mammals of the Paleocene

The mammal record held many surprises. We had expected to discover the five-toed ancestors of the horse, for in America the earliest of the horse tribe had already lost one toe. And since Asia was the home of the domestic horse, we hoped that we would find horses or their ancestors in all the formations of the Age of Mammals. But exactly the reverse was true, for we

found no horses older than the *Hipparion* of Pliocene time. *The horse must have emigrated to Asia after evolving* in America. He must have travelled to meet his Asiatic comrade Man almost at the time when Man had evolved so highly that he could begin to use the horse. I grant that the word "almost" is a bit figurative for there is no evidence that Man domesticated *Hipparion* which was almost as good a horse as *Equus*. But the proof of the separate evolution and dramatic meeting of these two comrades Man and Horse was one of the unexpected results of our studies.

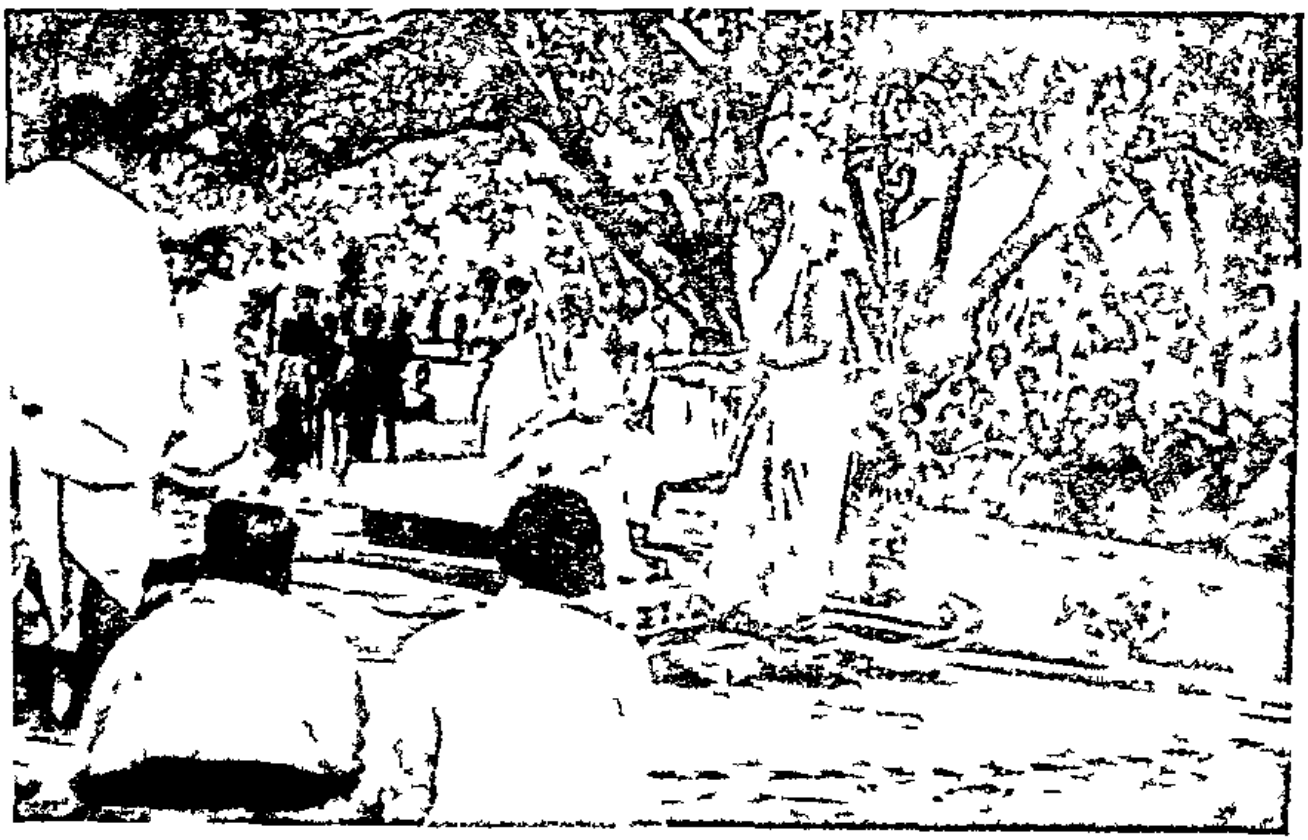
Another surprise was the discovery of titanotheres in Asia. Our Museum's President Henry Fairfield Osborn had just finished his great monograph on the elaborned beasts of the Western Hemisphere when Dr. Granger found titanotheres in the Gobi Desert the only part of Asia I think where they are known.

India and China

India! O India!!
Remember thy ancient friend thy brother nation across the Himalayas
claiming same age same spirit same life of piety
Never yet was seen or heard on this globe
such incomparable bond of fellowship
unbroken through the millenniums.
Ye met not as rivals on the battlefield
each claiming the monopoly of tyranny in this earth
but as noble friends, rejoicing in the exchange of valued gifts.
To thee my love, my greetings!

India O India!!
Full of chaos still is the world where men grope blindly in dark terror
Thine be the right and of thy suffering friend across the Himalayas
to show them light and lead them along the way of righteousness
Thine the difficult duty and of thy friend
to pilot them through the sea of storm and horror
to the shores of peace and piety
Awake then thou arise and be prepared
to march alongside by side hand in hand
hearkening to the stern voice of truth,
and shoulder the burden of a mad rotous world
My love to thee to thee my gratitude

Tan Yun-Shan in *Visva-Bharati News*



Rabindranath is receiving offerings of love and affection from the inmates of Santiniketan on his birthday
[Photographs by Satyendranath Bose



Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan — Mahatmaji is seen taking orange juice



Mahatma Gandhi at Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan

[Photographs by Satyendranath Bisi

Notes

How Federation Can Be Made Acceptable

The public guess that the Governor Generals and several Governors going home on leave has something to do with the British Cabinets desire to consult them on the queston how Federation can be best started in India is perhaps right Perhaps it is also right that the Gandhi Linlithgow interview had something to do with the question of federation

From ex President Jawaharlal Nehru and President Subhas Chandra Bose downwards Congressmen have repeatedly said that they will have nothing to do with the federal scheme contained in the Government of India Act Their intention has been to wreck it But the resolution relating to Federation passed in the Madras Assembly and a speech of Mr Bhulabhai Desai leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly seem to show that the Congress may agree to work the federal part of the constitution if some alterations are made in it No one has yet outlined or pointed out these alterations

The original Congress position was that the constitution given to India by the British made Government of India Act was to be rejected lock stock and barrel and that only a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly would be acceptable Nevertheless Congress agreed to work the provincial part of the British made constitution for its own purpose Similarly Congress may agree to work the federal part also for its own purposes If so Lord Zetlands assertion that though Indian politicians (meaning Congressmen) had said that they would not accept the constitution they would do so in the long run would prove correct

Those Congressmen who would agree to work the federal part of the constitution if certain alteration were made in it have not yet said what alterations they want It may in the circumstances be permissible for others to speculate what alterations may make the British made constitution acceptable to Indian nationalists

The Government of India Act should contain a provision by virtue of which the Indian federal legislature itself may amend that Act in any way it likes India political goal hould be definitely made clear as self rule which may be either Dominion Status as interpreted according to the Statute of Westminster or Independence

In both houses of the federal legislature the number of seats to be given to the Provinces and the States should be strictly according to population The seats allotted to the States should be filled by representatives elected by the people of the States as the seats allotted to the Provinces are to be filled by representatives elected by the people of the provinces In both case the elections ought to be made directly by the voters not through the provincial or through the State legislatures (where they exist)

The voters qualifications may differ from province to province and state to state if so demanded by them But in the same province and the same state the qualifications should be exactly the same for persons of all communities and classes

Electorates and elections should be joint not separate for different communities No seats should be reserved for any community or class If any community by a majority of the votes of its voters wants a separate electorate and separate election and a number of seats to be reserved for it it may have separate electorate and election and a number of seats reserved for it in proportion to its population but no weightage This ought to be the rule for both the provincial legislatures and the federal legislature

All departments of the State and their budget hould be under the control of the legislature, as they are in self ruling countries

like Great Britain This means that Defence, Finance, Foreign Relations, Currency Exchange Customs, Transport etc, are to be entirely under the control of the legislature

The Governor-General's and Governors' powers and ordinary or special responsibilities if any are not to be more than those of the President of the U S A and the Governors of the States of the U S A.

The Governor Generals or Governors' power of vetoing any Bill by a legislature should *not be final* As in *the United States of* America, if the legislature concerned pa ses the Bill again by a prescribed majority the veto will have no effect and the Bill is to become an Act

The chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act 1935 should be entirely omitted The Indian Legislature should have full power as legislatures in other free countries have to impose whatever restrictions it thinks necessary upon persons goods means of transport etc of foreign origin in the interest of India

The fundamental rights of all Indians of all communities should be the same and equal and should be mentioned in detail and described as clearly as *possible in the Constitution* Act

The Question of A National Language For India

We have never been anxious or eager to discuss the question of a national language for India, and that for various reasons some of *which* we shall indicate in this note

We have never felt the extreme urgency of it On the contrary, we have had a vague feeling that *it can wait till we have won* Swaraj, and that Swaraj can be won without our or anybody elses making the possession of a national language the condition precedent to our obtaining Swaraj *In reality, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding* our agitation for self-rule has all along been carried on and is still being carried on mainly through the medium, not of a national language, but of English If we are not mistaken, the Presidents of the Indian National Congress write out their speeches *in English and then* translations into Hindi or Urdu or both are made Presidential speeches at Provincial Conferences are also perhaps for the most part, with exceptions, written out in English Years *ago* Rabindranath Tagore set the example of writing it out in his mother tongue Congress resolutions are drafted in English and then translated Most of our most influential and widely circulated new papers are conducted in English, Tilak's *Kesari* in Maharashtra and the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in Bengal being exceptions No newspaper in Hindi and Urdu, which are or is the national language in the opinion of Congressmen occupies this prominent position There must be contact with the masses no doubt But this is being established through the medium of speeches in the provincial languages and the newspapers in the *provincial languages in different* provinces Even if and when we have an Indian language as our national language, in all areas except where it is the mother tongue, the provincial languages will continue to play the same useful part For instance, if Tamil be the national language the mass contact language will be Tamil only in Tamil Nadu, but not in Andhra, Maharashtra Gujarat Panjab, Bihar, Bengal Assam Orissa Sindh etc

For these reasons, we have not felt the immediate need and urgency of settling the question of a national language

Another reason why we have not been eager to discuss it is that we do not possess sufficient knowledge of any vernacular except Bengali to be able to pronounce *any opinion* on the subject The reason why we say so will appear later

We beg to be excused for holding and saying that the claim of *any* particular language to be the national language is not indisputable like an axiom There may be more than one claimant And those whose vernacular is a *claimant may be prepossessed in its favour* Speaking for ourselves we have never pressed the claim of Bengali, though high foreign and impartial authority may be cited in favour of both the language and the literature of Bengal * because we feel we are not impartial judges so far as Bengali is concerned We do not assert that the advocates of Hindustani are not impartial—they may or should be

Another reason why we have not been

*For example more than a century ago the Rev William Carey who was teacher of some of the principal modern Indian languages in Fort William College Bengal pronounced the following opinion on the Bengali language when there was a proposal to give it an inferior position in the scheme of studies of that College

"Its structure is such that it abundantly uses words requiring much care for their right formation, and which yet yield it its peculiar perspicuity and elegance Convinced as I am that Bengali is intrinsically superior to all other spoken *Indian languages, and second in* utility to none I cannot consent to what degrades it in the College"

enthusiastic in discussing the question and supporting the claim of any language is that we have felt all along that there being no lack of causes of quarrel among us between communities, classes and provinces, why add another? Assuming that Hindustani is to be *the national language Hindus and Moslems* differ as to the script—Nagari or Arabic—to be used and the particular variety of the language—Hindi or Urdu—to be used The controversy has taken a communal turn It cost the Congress authorities nothing to enjoin that both scripts and varieties of the language are to be used. But if schoolboys and school girls are to learn both how much time will they have to spend and how much money in buying both Hindi and Urdu books? And how much money will have to be spent in employing teachers of both Hindi and Urdu in addition to teachers of the mother-language in non Hindustani speaking areas? In addition to these English has to be learnt and a classical language and teachers have to be employed for teaching the same

Provincial jealousy and provincial bickerings existed before the introduction of the so called provincial autonomy Since its introduction these have increased The controversy over the national language question is *one of the causes of inter-provincial strained* relations

To determine which should be the national language of India—if of course one must be fixed upon—it will not be enough to find out from the census report which is spoken or understood by the largest number of Indians Even that is no easy task For official linguists are not unanimous At one census dialects which were held to be varieties of Bengali were held at the next census to be varieties of Hindi Official linguists do not recognize Maithili as an independent tongue having an existence separate from Hindi But Maithili-speakers 10 millions strong hold it to be an independent tongue having a valuable literature of its own But we need not multiply examples Let us take it for granted that it is easy to ascertain the exact number of speakers or users of each language. If ordinary day-to day talk or marketing were all the uses to which a national language was to be put, the language which is spoken or understood by the largest number of persons would be clearly entitled to be the national language But the national language of India should be sufficient, too, for all our All-India cultural, political social and economic thinking and expression of such thought. We do not assert that Hindustani is not sufficient for both the purposes indicated, for our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Hindi-Urdu language or languages and literature or literatures—particularly of the literature or literatures—would not warrant us in making any such assertion Any *other modern Indian language* and literature too than Bengali we do not know These are some of our reasons for not discussing the question of a national language for India And we are habitually disinclined to accept the opinions of others on trust It may be that Hindustani is the best Indian linguistic medium for ordinary everyday requirements as well as for cultural and political purposes It may also be that some other Indian language is better fitted for the latter purposes and *on the whole* for all purposes We are not dogmatic because we do not know Those who know the principal modern Indian languages which have a rich and progressive modern literature may be in a position to dogmatize

Perhaps no modern Indian language and literature is so well developed that we can feel proud to be represented by it alone in the world outside India

In the circumstances all that we can do is to publish the views of contributors This we *have been doing*

Chinese Use of Pidgin English and Literary English

Pidgin English' or Pigeon English' is a Chinese corruption of Business English' It is the jargon mainly of English words (often corrupted) arranged after Chinese syntax, used as a lingua franca between foreigners and the Chinese This jargon is used for purposes of ordinary talk and business between the Chinese and foreigners But when the Chinese wish to write anything on literary, scientific philosophical and other cultural subjects or on political and economic topics they use excellent literary English This we know from their newspapers, bulletins and books, received by us

Incidentally we are reminded that it has been suggested that what is called 'Bazaar Hindi' or 'Chalu (current) Hindi' may be adopted as the lingua franca of India If that be sufficient for the purpose indicated by its name it will have to be considered whether it will suffice for higher purposes as well If not, the suitability of the excellent models of literary Hindi to be found in modern Hindi books and periodicals for these purposes may be considered

Perhaps except for poetry and fiction, no modern Indian language has as rich a vocabulary as some of the leading languages of Europe

Domicile Certificates

It has been officially stated in defence of requiring Bengali candidates for jobs in the public services admission to educational institutions, etc in the provinces of Bihar that that practice is meant for preventing Bengali from going there from Bengal with those objects

As we have pointed out in our last issue the *province* of Bihar includes Bihar proper and some areas of which the principal inhabitants are Bengalis these areas being therefore parts of Bengal proper as they were before 1912 Hence it is not Bihari speaking persons alone who are the permanent inhabitants of the province of Bihar but hundreds of thousands of Bengali speaking persons also are In Bihar proper also there are Bengali who settled in Bihar before the commencement of British rule—many even four centuries ago as pointed out in *The Behar Herald* by a Bengali correspondent from Bhagalpur There are other Bengali settlers in Bihar proper who or whose ancestors migrated to Bihar proper later and became its permanent inhabitants The Bhagalpur correspondent of *The Behar Herald* referred to above has also shown by quoting a passage from a judgment of the late Sir Jwala Prasad Judge of the Patna High Court that Bihari Kayasthas of whom he was one, immigrated to Bihar proper from the United Provinces some 150 years ago No domicile certificate is required from them But it is required from Bengalis whose ancestors settled in Bihar equally early or even very much earlier

It is also to be noted that in the province of Bihar it is only Bengali speaking persons who are required to produce domicile certificates Men speaking any other tongue are not required to prove their domicile

Madras Does Not Require Domicile Certificate

The principal languages spoken in the province of Madras are Telugu Tamil Malayalam and Kanarese There are Marathi speaking persons also, and speakers of other languages

According to the Census of 1931 the number of persons in the province of Madras who speak Tamil is 18,560,069 In the States and Agencies there are 1 613 822 Tamil peaking persons

In the province of Madras 3 726 727 speak Malayalam and 5,358 413 in the States and Agencies

In that province Kanarese is spoken by 1 715 191 persons In the province of Bombay it is spoken by 2,598,349, and by 6 817 697 in the States and Agencies.

Telugu is spoken by 17 783 024 in Madras, and by 8 106 467 in the States and Agencies

These figures show that the British province of Madras does not include the whole of the Tamil speaking Malayalam speaking Kanarese speaking and Telugu speaking areas Some parts of these areas lie outside the Madras province But *we are not aware that the Madras Government requires any domicile certificate from anybody to prove that he is not coming from those areas*

Bombay Does Not Want Domicile Certificate

The principal languages spoken in the province of Bombay as at present constituted are Marathi Gujarati and Kanarese But the province does not include all the Marathi-speaking Gujarati speaking and Kanarese-speaking tracts as the statistics given below will show

Marathi is spoken by 9,336 405 persons in the province of Bombay by 5 432 265 in the Central Provinces and Berar by 5 972 323 in the States and Agencies, and by 129 398 in Madras

Gujarati is spoken in the province of Bombay by 3,426 127 and by 7,214 326 in the States and Agencies

In the foregoing note we have stated how many Kanarese speaking persons live in the province of Bombay and how many outside it

These statistics show that the British province of Bombay does not include the whole of the Marathi speaking Gujarati speaking and Kanarese speaking regions, some parts of them lie outside it But *so far as we are aware Bombay does not demand any domicile certificate from persons coming from these parts*

No Domicile Certificate in C P and Berar

The principal languages spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar are Marathi and Western Hindi The number of those who speak Marathi here is 5,432,265 Those who

speak Western Hindi here number 4 825,293 But as the total number of Marathi speakers in India is 20 889 698 and of speakers of Western Hindi 71,547 071 it is clear that the vast bulk of the speakers of Marathi and Western Hindi reside outside the Central Provinces and Berar But *so far as we know the C P and Berar Government do not try to shut them out by requiring them to produce domicile certificates*

No Domicile Certificate in the Panjab

The principal language spoken in the Panjab are Panjabi Lahnda or Western Panjabi and Western Hindi

Out of a total number of 15 839,254 person speaking Panjabi 12 154 001 reside in the Panjab 3 401 615 in the States and Agencies and the rest elsewhere

Out of a total of 8,966 051 speakers of Lahnda or Western Panjabi 6,928,325 dwell in the Panjab 1 034 907 in the N W F Province and 904 937 in the States and Agencies

Out of a total of 71 547 071 speakers of Western Hindi 3 431,393 reside in the Panjab

These figures indicate that numerous speakers of Western Hindi Panjabi and Western Panjabi dwell outside the Panjab *We are not aware that they are sought to be excluded from the Panjab public service by a demand for domicile certificates*

Most Provinces Do Not Require Domicile Certificates

So far as we are aware no provinces in India except Bihar Orissa and Assam require anybody to produce a domicile certificate If they do they do so only in the case of Bengalis

As regards the province of Bihar the facts are by now known to the Indian public As regards Assam perhaps some statistics may be found useful

Domicile Certificate in Assam

A good many languages are spoken in the province of Assam But the principal languages are two Bengali and Assamese The total population of the province is 92 47,807 Of these 39 60 712 are Bengali speaking and 19,92 846 speak Assamese The main reason why Bengalis preponderate in the province of Assam is that some parts of Bengal *e g* the district of Sylhet have been tacked on to Assam proper

Whatever the reason may be the fact is the Bengalis are by far the most numerous single community in the province named Assam.

And it is this singly most numerous community in the province called Assam whose members are required to take out domicile certificate And the eligibility for government jobs etc of even those among them who obtain such certificates is often considered inferior to that of the Assamese speaking people

It is difficult for Bengalis in Assam not only to get appointments in government offices, but also *to acquire land for building houses for* themselves in towns and for agricultural purposes in rural areas In the matter of admission to educational institutions and scholarships Bengali students are said to be discriminated against in part of Assam as in Bihar proper

Biharis in Bengal and Bengalis in Bihar

As no part of Bihar proper is included in Bengal but some Bengali speaking tracts form part of the province of Bihar the Biharis in Bengal are for the most part sojourners whereas the Bengalis in Bihar are for the most part not sojourners

Separate figure for Bihari speaking persons for the whole of Bengal are not available in the census reports of 1931 * Most of the Bihari speaking persons in Bengal live in Calcutta and its suburbs

Their number there according to the census report of 1931 is mentioned in the Calcutta census report as 266 488 Of these 201 812 are mentioned as males and only 64 676 as females That shows that most Biharis are sojourners in Bengal earning their living here sending part of their earnings to Bihar and returning home in due course

As regards Bengali peaking persons in the province of Bihar separate figure for Bihar are not available in the Census of India Vol I Part II The figures given are for Bihar and Orissa combined but they will serve our purpose In 1931 there were in Bihar and Orissa 1 851 797 *Bengali speaking persons* Of these 937 090 were males and 914 707 females This practical equality in the number of males and females shows that most Bengalis in Bihar and Orissa were permanent inhabitants thereof

In Bihar some recent circulars have almost stopped the recruitment of Bengalis in govern

* In Bengal according to the Census of 1931 there were 1,891,337 speakers of Hindustani—1,263 610 being males and 627 727 being females. In the Calcutta report 60 per cent of the Hindustani speakers are taken to speak Bihari So according to that assumption the number of Bihari peaking persons in Bengal would exceed eleven lakhs And as the vast majority of them are males they are mostly sojourners

The China Weekly Review writes

An American mission hospital located in a large city now under Japanese military control reported that venereal disease contracted by Chinese women who had been raped by Japanese soldiers constituted a most serious problem, necessitating an expansion of clinical services to take care of it and provide free treatment. The hospital report stated that in addition to the venereal problem the hospital was faced with an entirely new predicament by Chinese mothers chiefly from rural and village areas who were bringing their unmarried daughters to the hospital to have abortions performed. Upon the hospital's refusal to perform such operations the mothers in desperation resorted to primitive methods of abortion which seriously endangered the health of the young women.

This is followed by a paragraph in which the last word cannot but make Indians ashamed.

Aside from these reports the annual health statistics of the International Settlement disclosed that the Japanese ranked third in numbers of applications for free clinical treatment for venereal infections at the venereal disease clinics maintained by the Settlement, the Japanese being exceeded only by Russians and Indians.

The Chinese are wreaking vengeance on the aggressors.

While the foreign newspaper reading public is more or less familiar with the authenticated reports of rapings of Chinese women by Japanese soldiers in all sections of the country which the Japanese have occupied, the Chinese newspapers have begun to publish accounts of retaliatory measures whereby the helpless Chinese populace has wreaked terrible vengeance on the aggressors. The *United Press* told one such instance at the village of Hsuanchang in southern Anhwei where a Chinese woman, while pretending to kiss a Japanese soldier, bit his nose and cheek so severely that he was reported to have bled to death. Another report published by a Chinese translation service, stated that while the Japanese are accustomed, in their homeland, to take liberties with their womenfolk, without fear of retaliation, their activities in this regard in China had in some cases resulted in the Japanese receiving a costly lesson. There then followed an account of an alleged happening in Hopei province where a detachment of Japanese soldiers, "as they had done in hundreds of other towns, demanded 100 Chinese women." The village elders, following consultation, complied with the Japanese request by rounding up the most notorious prostitutes, who were attired in fancy dresses and introduced to the Japanese soldiers at a social function where much wine was served. The Japanese soldiers, unaccustomed to the strong Chinese wine brewed from millet and kaoliang, quickly became drunk and the expected happened—also the unexpected—for the Chinese women, or at least some of them, took the heavy lead wine-pots and beat out the brains of the intoxicated Japanese soldiers.

Hitler's Designs on Czechoslovakia

Hitlerite Germany has annexed Austria, which is inhabited by German speaking people. If the Germans in Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia could be similarly brought within the fold of the German Reich, the German-speaking state in Europe would undoubtedly become most powerful in Central Europe. So it is easy to understand that Hitler has eyes on Czechoslovakia. The Czechs, who are the majority community in that republic, know this and want to conciliate their German fellow-citizens. According to the issue of *Foreign Policy Reports*, March 15, 1938, dealing with "Strife in Czechoslovakia: The German Minority Question":

Mutual distrust is one of the chief obstacles in the way of German-Czech rapprochement. Czechs fear that if they make too many concessions to the Germans, they will merely be strengthening their potential adversaries. It is understandable that the Czechs are anxious to safeguard the independence for which they fought so long. They realize that an armed conflict with Germany would mean a struggle for their very existence.

It would not be possible for Czechoslovakia to preserve its independence if the Sudetic areas inhabited by its German citizens were sliced off from it. So, strategic reasons require the inclusion of the Sudetic areas if Czechoslovakia's independence is to be assured." But,

If the Germans are to remain permanently within the Czechoslovak Republic and to become co-operating citizens, the basic attitude between the two races must change. Permanent internal peace can come to Czechoslovakia only when the German, Hungarian, and other minorities are satisfied through receiving a greater degree of cultural and political autonomy and a greater participation in the affairs of the Republic.

Although the economic distress in the Sudetic areas is not Czechoslovakia's fault, it is its misfortune. A moderate statesmanlike policy will be necessary to convince the dissatisfied minorities that they have more to gain by loyalty to the Czechoslovak state than by irredentism. The first twenty years of the Republic's existence have not effaced century-old hatreds, but this does not mean that rapprochement is impossible. Viewed in the long run, if the Germans' economic condition is improved, and if they see continued evidence of the state's desire to secure their co-operation, they will become better citizens of Czechoslovakia. As such they will not look so much to the Reich for support and will refuse to be an instrument for the realization of possible Reich aims. A policy of repression at present would involve the danger of straining to the breaking point the relations between the Czech state and the German minority as well as between Czechoslovakia and the Third Reich. Further Sudetic incidents might easily become the "provocation" leading Germany to take a step that would prove disastrous for all.

In the relations between the Germans and the Czechs, somewhere the circle of mutual distrust must be broken. Instead of being a wedge separating the two countries, the Sudetic minority, if it is given its proper place and accepts its responsibility, could form a cultural bridge between Germany and Czechoslovakia.

The annexation of Austria by Germany has increased the difficulties of Czechoslovakia.

The abrupt consummation of Austro-German union has put Czechoslovakia in an unenviable position. Surrounded on three sides by a powerful and aggressive nation of 72,000,000 people, the country seems to be caught in a vise. The Sudetic minority was included in the 10,000,000 Germans beyond the Reich's frontiers over

whom Hitler claimed a protectorate in his speech before the Reichstag on February 20 Now that the Fuehrer has incorporated 6 500 000 Austrians in Germany, will *he put pressure on Czechoslovakia to obtain "freedom"* for the Sudetic Germans? Austria he took without a shot Unable to mobilize foreign assistance and not even assured the support of a majority of Austrians the Schuschnigg regime capitulated before a show of force

But to seize Czechoslovakia would be a tough job Its man power resources and determination *to remain free are greater than those* of Austria

If faced with a similar threat Czechoslovakia would undoubtedly fight The Czechs and Slovaks are devoted to maintenance of their hard won independence at all cost They are resentful of foreign intervention in their internal affairs They have a modern well-equipped army capable of offering staunch resistance Yet their ability to withstand attack will depend on the help given by *France and Britain Both these powers did nothing to* prevent or undo the *fait accompli* in Austria Today both are alarmed over Germany's advance into Central and South-eastern Europe France is ready to come to Czechoslovakia's assistance provided Britain lends its *support Speaking in the House of Commons on March* 14, Prime Minister Chamberlain gave no indication that Britain would be prepared to join France in an unequivocal warning to Hitler that they would tolerate no attack or even overt pressure on Czechoslovakia *Only when freed of the menace of attack will the* Czechoslovak government feel safe in making those concessions which would put the Sudetic Germans on a plane of genuine equality with the other nationalities in the country

Sikh Pronouncement on Shahidganj Issue

According to an *Associated Press* message Master Tara Singh president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, says in a statement to the press regarding the Muslim League decision on Shahidganj

"*Not a single* Sikh of any position or influence has said that he is in favour of some settlement of the Shahidganj affair with the Muslims. *Even after the* statement of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan in the Punjab Assembly, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Com*mittee unanimously* adopted a resolution declaring that no settlement of Shahidganj was possible and forbidding Sikhs from taking part in *negotiations*.

"I repeat, on behalf of the Sikh community, that the Sikhs are not prepared for even negotiating on the *matter* There is no need to recount the reasons for this, for the community has decided upon this course once for all"

Not being able to imagine what settlement is possible which would be just to the Sikhs and which they could accept honourably, we are unable to blame them for their decision

The Muslims tried to take possession of Shahidganj by force Then they tried to have it by litigation Litigation failing, they attempted initiating legislation to upset the judgment of the *highest appellate court in the* land That attempt was frustrated by their own premier Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan Civil Disobedience has not been unthought of And now Sir Sikandar is to bring about a peaceful settlement

Strange methods these of making up a *quarrel peacefully If the Muslims had a* genuine spirit of compromise, its indications would have been different all along

About "India in Bondage"

The following questions and answers are taken *from an Associated Press* summary of the proceedings of the U P Assembly on the 20th April last —

Thakur Sadho Singh asked if the Government had *under consideration the cancellation of the order banning* the publication of Dr Sunderland's book India in Bondage ?

Hon'ble the *Premier informed* that the Government of India had banned the foreign edition of the book under the Sea Customs Act and the Government of Bengal had banned its vernacular edition and that the U. P Government could not cancel the Bengal Government's order

Pandit Harish Chandra Bajpai enquired if under provincial autonomy the orders of one provincial Government were applicable to another province, to which the Premier replied that an order banning a book in one province cannot be cancelled by another

There are two inaccuracies in the U P Premier's replies *No "vernacular" edition of* the book was ever published Two editions of it appeared in India and one in America The Indian and American editions were both banned by *the Government of India*

Almost the whole of the Indian edition had appeared before in *The Modern Review* in the form of separate articles Its editor was not *even warned, not to speak of being prosecuted,* for publishing any of them The eight chapters which were added in the American edition also appeared in India, in the now defunct newspaper, *The People, of Lahore* Its *editor, too,* was not prosecuted for publishing these chapters The first Indian edition, published by R Chatterjee, was sold to the last copy, without his being either *warned or prosecuted* It was when about half the number of copies of the second edition had been sold that he was arrested, prosecuted and convicted When all these circumstances are *considered,* it may be believed that there is some truth in the rumour heard at the time of the prosecution that there was *some difference* of opinion between the Calcutta and the New Delhi *authorities as to whether* the publisher of the book ought to be prosecuted, and therefore the matter was referred to the authorities in London, who ordered his pro-e-

cution That was why there was so much delay in starting the prosecution

Professor Karve's Eighty first Birthday

The celebration in different parts of India of Professor D K Karve's eighty-first birthday brings back to my mind pleasant memories of my visit to Poona in June, 1932, in the company of the venerable reformer's son Mr Bhaskar D Karve I had the honour to take the midday meal on that occasion with the professor It was prepared and served by Mrs Kamalabai Deshpande, principal of the Poona College of the Indian Women's University Daughter of Mr N C Kelkar, the Poona nationalist leader, she had taken the highest degree of the Indian Women's University and, proceeding to Europe, had won the *Ph D degree of the* University of Prague, Czechoslovakia She seemed to typify the ideal of the Indian Women's University—expert practical knowledge of domestic duties combined with the highest modern liberal education

Our interest in Prof Karve's work is of long standing The very first issue of *The Modern Review* contained an illustrated article on his Hindu Widows' Home That was in January, 1907

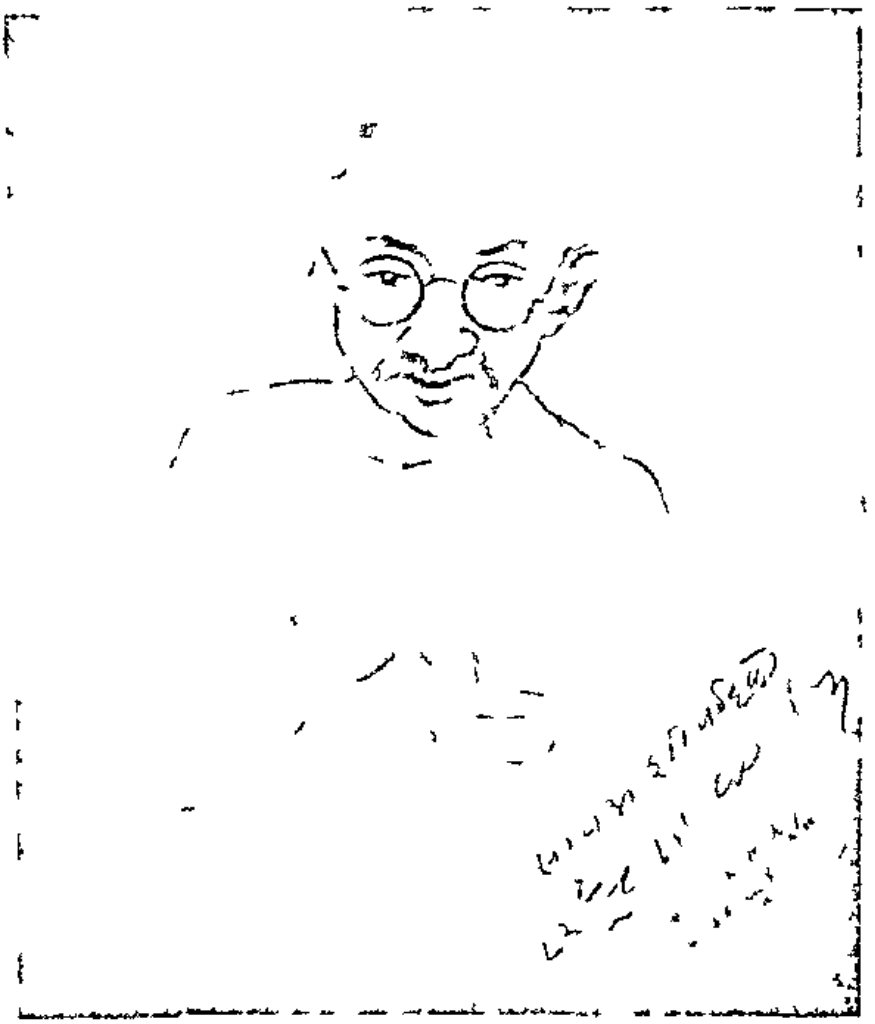
I found Professor Karve hale and hearty in 1932 From Dr R. P Paranjpye's recent character sketch of him I am glad to find that, though now 80, he is physically and intellectually quite fit That is no doubt due partly to heredity, but perhaps mostly to the pure and simple life he has lived May he be spared *to India for many a year to come*

Mahatma Gandhi on Interview with Mr Jinnah

Shri Mahadev Desai issued the following to the "Associated Press" from Wardha on the 23rd April last —

Gandhiji asks the press to kindly publish the following statement —

"I observe that the forthcoming interview between Shri Jinnah and me is not only attracting very wide attention but it is also inducing high hope amongst some Then there are friends who gravely warn me against this visit and against building any hope on the interview. It is better, therefore, for me to take the public into my confidence and tell them why and how I am waiting upon Shri Jinnah on the 28th instant.



Mahatma Gandhi at 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta
From a pencil sketch by Bhunath Mukherji

"He has himself published my first letter to him showing my attitude on the question of communal unity which is dear to me as life itself In that letter I clearly stated that all before me was darkness and that I was praying for light. If anything the darkness has deepened, and the prayer become intenser

"Add to this the fact that for causes some of which I know and some I do not for the first time in my public and private life I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and *Ahimsa*. I am going through a process of self introspection the results of which I cannot foresee. I find myself for the first time during the past fifty years in a slough of despond. I do not consider myself fit for negotiations or any such thing for the moment

"There is no need for any speculation as to the cause of my despondency It is purely internal It comes from

within It must be now clear that if I regarded the forthcoming interview as between two politicians, I should not entertain it in my present depression But I approach it in no political spirit I approach it 'in a *prayerful and religious spirit using the adjective in* its broadest sense' Hinduism is not sectarian It includes *all that I know to be best in Islam Christianity, Judaism,* Zoroastrianism I approach politics as everything else in a religious spirit Truth is my religion and *Ahimsa* is the only way of its realization I have rejected once for all the doctrine of the sword The secret stabbings of innocent persons, the speeches I read in the papers are hardly the things leading to peace or an honourable *settlement*

"Again I am not approaching the forthcoming interview in any representative capacity *I* have purposely divested myself of any such If there is to be any formal negotiation it will be between the President of the Congress and the President of the Muslim League Nor do I approach it as a Hindu Orthodox Hinduism *will most assuredly repudiate me* I therefore, go as a lifelong worker in the cause of Hindu Muslim unity It has been a passion *with me from early youth*

"I count some of the noblest of Muslims as my friends I have a devout daughter of Islam as more than daughter to me She lives for that unity and would cheerfully die for it I had the son of the late Muazzin of the Jama Masjid of Bombay as a staunch inmate of the Ashram I have not met a nobler man *His morning azan* in the Ashram rings in my ears as I write these lines during midnight It is for such that *I wait on Shri Jinnah I may not leave a single stone* unturned to achieve Hindu Muslim unity God fulfils himself in strange ways *He* may in a manner least known to us both, fulfil himself through the interview and open a way to an honourable understanding between the two communities It is in that hope that I am looking forward to the forthcoming talk We are friends, *not strangers.* It does not matter to me that we see things from different angles of vision I ask the public *not to attach any exaggerated* importance to the interview But I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that God of truth *and love may give us both the right* spirit and the right word and use us for the good of the dumb millions of *India*'—*(A P)*

It is to be noted that Gandhiji has stated very politely that he will *wait upon* the President of the Moslem League, and that that personage is *Shri Jinnah*

Viceroy's Recognition of Person, Not of Institution

Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, has had interviews with Mahatma Gandhi, but neither with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he was president of the Congress, nor with Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose when he is president Therefore, it is a person who is recognised, not *the Congress as an organization*

So the interview with Mr Jinnah will be with Gandhiji, not with the Congress president.

Similarly, Lord Irwin as Viceroy had interviews with Gandhiji, not with the Congress president

We do not in the least suggest that Gandhiji is not the fittest man to represent the Congress or carry on negotiations on its behalf What we wish to be noted is that British autocracy recognizes the autocratic element in the Congress, not its democratic element or character Congress-minded people also seem to have that kind of mentality

Shri J. B. Kripalani on Some Modern Indian Movements

Navavidhan quotes two passages from Shri J B Kripalani's book, *The Gandhian Way (which we have not seen) and criticises them.*

In the first piece he points out that we are to adjust ourselves to a double revolution "The first began with the advent and establishment of the British Raj * * * Fired with zeal we with hard cruel strokes *produced a bastard which could be distinguished from* the west by its inferiority, by the colour of its skin and the blood in its veins Like the mule it looked strong and serviceable but uncreative."

We are not inclined to comment on this coarse, if not vulgar, passage The writer of the article in *Navavidhan* in which it has been quoted says that the reference in this passage is to the *Brahmo movement, and that* Mahatma Gandhi has done the author the honour to write a foreword to his book

The second passage quoted is

"I *shall take some example from Bengal to make* my point clear * * * The first western impact in a *religious people produced a religious ferment resulting* in the establishment of a new sect, the Brahmo Samaj. But it could not create a movement India-wide or permeate the masses or draw the busy world's attention to itself This was done by a purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Sri Ramkrishna unfolded by the genius of Swami Vivekananda"

We will not comment on this passage also Perhaps if the author studies the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, which goes by the name of Ramakrishna *Mission* even in the Bengali language, he will discover that it is not a narrow and parochial nationalist movement, which a "purely Indian movement" would be

For his information, we quote the following passage from Sister Nivedita's *Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda, edited by the Swami Saradananda,* authorized edition, 1913, page 19

"It was here too, that we heard a long talk on *Ram Mohun Roy, in which he* [Swami Vivekananda] pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's [Ram Mohun Roy's] message his acceptance of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism, and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu In all these things, he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out "

Perhaps Shri J B Kripalani does not know that the Congress took up anti-untouchability work at the suggestion of Mr V R. Shinde, a Brahmo missionary of Maharashtra, who is the founder of the Depressed Classes Mission in Bombay Presidency, and that a Brahmo organization conducts 400 schools among the masses in Assam and Bengal

Women in Soviet Russia

We read in *The Month* for April, 1938 (Longmans)

Miss Helen Iswolsky, whose work on *L'Homme 1936 en Russie Sovietique* was recently rendered into English, has now turned her attention to the problem of man's partner under the same regime In FEMMES SOVIETIQUES (Desclee de Brouwer 9 00 fr) she studies the position of women under the Soviets. More women are employed in industrial concerns, this is true but *it is a shallow basis for the boast* that the Russian woman is now emancipated This supposed emancipation was accompanied in the first years of the Revolution by an attempt to "liquidate" family life and by open encouragement given to immorality and abortion that the despised "bourgeois" sanctions and feelings of restraint might be forgotten But the appalling consequences of this "integral communism" have forced even the Soviet *rulers to re-establish anew the idea of marriage and the* family The Soviet woman has in a sense won through and recovered something of the position and respect which is her womanly due. Miss Iswolsky's book is well documented with references to legal enactments and the *Russian Press.*

Philippine Independence and Japan

The Living Age for April, 1938, notes that

"For good or ill, the Philippines are to be completely independent of the United States in 1945 For some time following the adoption of the Tydings McDuffie Act, which established a transitional period of ten years during which the Islands were to be prepared for independence some Filipinos agitated for a shortening of the period and others for immediate independence. Since the summer of 1937 however, these voices have subsided, for the Philippines lie very much in the shadow of Japan, and what happened to China might happen to them"

"The Filipinos are watching the struggle in China from a box seat, and they are not enjoying the spectacle."

The same periodical asks

"Would the United States go to the defense of the Philippine Republic if it were to be attacked by Japan? Many Americans believe that we should not do so, but a far from negligible factor in determining the attitude of the United States is the extent of American interests in the Islands In 1934, American investments totalled $257 000 000, or nearly twice the stake in China Even after the United States 'withdraw' from the Philippines, these economic interests—among the most binding of ties—will remain, and must never be neglected in formulating American policy"

In other words, the call of world freedom and humanity need not or may not be responded to, but "economic interests" "must never be neglected in formulating American policy"

This observation applies to the formulation of British and other great powers' policy also

What Is Ethics Among Nations?

Another American periodical, *The Catholic Herald*, discusses the question, What is Ethics Among Nations? *in its editorial comment in* the April issue The editor writes

I think it was the late Stuart P Sherman who said "No government ever had an ethical ideal" When the *statement first appeared in print I was young enough* and naif enough to be shocked at its apparent cynicism

But if the Professor had explained that he was dealing with fact rather than theory, and if he had *modified his statement to read "No government follows* an ethical ideal" we might have to confess, now after a lapse of some twenty or twenty five years that his contention seems unanswerable Dr Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in an address delivered two weeks ago, speaks of "an unparalleled public immorality in regard to practically everything which relates to national and international life and relations"; an echo, as it were, of Anthony Eden's complaint, "we are in the presence of a progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations." The man-in-the-street would say it more simply "The nations don't give a continental for solemn oaths, pledges, treaties International morality is hopelessly on the rocks."

The editor continues

The *Manchester Guardian* warns Mr Chamberlain that the Dominions and the United States are gravely shocked by the revelation that England has no more moral principle than the Fascist or the Communist nations. It is true even the most fervent Anglophiles on this side of the ocean have been grieved and—let it be said though it will sound pharisaical—scandalized at the discovery that "democratic" England which in 1935 cried aloud to heaven against the "rape of Ethiopia" could in 1938 come to terms with *Il Duce* whom she had a thousand times denounced as a brigand a robber a murderer, and whom she had held even beyond Hitler a threat to European peace and civilization

Close on the heels of the Chamberlain Mussolini *rapprochement* came the debacle in Austria and once *again the confirmation of the fear in Europe and* America that, as Mr Eden had said, "We are in the presence of a progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations."

The maintenance of the independence of Austria was an international obligation of Britain, France and other signatories to the Versailles peace treaty, which has been treated in this respect as a scrap of paper

Whitewashing Premier Chamberlain

A defence—is it quite serious?—of Premier Chamberlain of Britain has appeared in the editorial columns of *Unity* of Chicago, edited

by Dr John Haynes Holmes, to whom the world is indebted for the dictum that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest man in the world Says he.

Nothing so completely explains the policy of the English Premier, Chamberlain, as the desire at almost any price to gain time Time is a solvent of many problems, as it is a cure of all woes Why should it not be trusted to solve this European problem of war and peace? Few problems have to be solved upon the instant—why not leave them to solve themselves in course of time? In the case of Britain it is assumed that the government is playing for time in order to allow for the building of armaments of such size and power as will once again enable the Empire to dominate the world But such assumption is superficial, since the time has passed when any nation can hope to rule sea or land again Furthermore, there remains the stern realistic fact that all the great states are today arming themselves as rapidly and terribly as possible and thus making time a negligible element except as all are affected together No, Chamberlain is basing his policy on other and surer considerations What he sees is that time is working against Italy and Germany in the sense that they are inwardly weak These countries have no resources upon which they can indefinitely feed Their very exertion to arm themselves is itself exhausting Their intense aggression is a measure of their instability Sooner or later, something has got to happen! It may be war, in which case it must be met, and can be met as effectively to morrow as today But it may be—collapse! The Fascist powers, if given time, may simply overplay their hands, strain themselves to the breaking point, blow up Also, if given time, all sorts of things may happen A dictator may drop dead, an assassin may run wild, an army corps may revolt—who knows? So—play for time! Anything to keep things going anything to avoid a war in the possibility that what is not fought today may not have to be fought tomorrow! This may not be the most heroic attitude in the world but it is wise The British lion may yet save us all not by his claws and fangs but by his cool head At any rate there is a pacifist maxim about "peace at any price," and this present price, as named by Chamberlain, seems not too heavy

The Problem of India's Safety

Mr. Richard Freund writes in the *Spectator* of London.

Very few Indians have grasped the need of India to think of her safety Even at Congress headquarters I found an incredible indifference to questions of defence The British Army, they say, must go because it is too expensive [and a symbol of India's bondage?—Ed., *M R*] and quite unnecessary A national militia can do the job just as well Now it is just conceivable that a national militia, if the whole Punjab joined it might check the frontier tribes, but who is to check Italy or Japan? 'Airplanes can be bought' they say glibly Who is to fly them? And can battleships be bought as well? If so, from whom?

It would be unfair to blame Indians for inexperience but there can be no excuse for indifference, on the part of people who hope to rule a free, sovereign India within five years or so . As long as the problem of Indian defence, which is serious and complex is not even tackled by the Nationalist leaders, it is hard to be sanguine about their struggle for freedom.

No pleasure and consolation can be derived from the fact that we are unable to defend ourselves owing to the facts that Britain has demilitarized the bulk of the people of India by recruiting the sepoy army from only a few limited areas, that the Royal Indian Navy (not manned by Indians) is a standing joke even to fifth-rate South American States, that for a vast country like India the number of military airplanes is quite insignificant and even they are not manned by Indians, and that the British Government is very reluctant to teach Indians even civil aviation, not to speak of military aviation

Are we to believe that, if a foreign enemy invades India after Britain's withdrawal from it, and if the above-mentioned facts and the fact that we are friendly harmless ahimsaists are displayed before that enemy printed in very big type on large posters, the enemy will quietly withdraw, being frightened by our formidable facts?

Before the days of non-violent non-co-operation, Congress leaders used to agitate for recruiting soldiers from all parts of India, for admitting Indians to Volunteer Corps, and the like But Congress does not do these things now It is perhaps possible to guess some of the reasons

The creed of *ahimsa* or non-violence is perhaps one Personally and individually this writer is a ahimsa-ist But we do not think that at the present stage of human civilization any nation can do without a police force and a defensive army, navy and airforce. Hence the people of all provinces of India ought to learn all about all means of defending the country Even as individuals men must be prepared to use force even to the death on some occasions For instance, if a man sees a brute trying to ravish a woman, he must attempt prevention even by killing the scoundrel if necessary, or himself being killed

Just as in the case of individuals, so in that of nations, non-violence can be considered genuine only when the parties practising it are strong and brave, not when they are helplessly weak and cowardly

Perhaps another reason why Congress does not press for a really efficient and sufficiently large native army, navy, and airforce, is that these will under present circumstances strengthen British imperialism, and the British Government will use them for imperialistic purposes But may they not be used for our national purposes as well—at any rate when India is free or practically free? In any case,

it is the bounden duty of our nationalist leaders to point out in what other way India can have a sufficiently strong defensive army, navy and airforce, or, in the alternative, to demonstrate how mass *ahimsa* can prevent armed invasion

We can imagine that for the promotion and realization of the ideal of non-violence by nations in their collective capacity, some nation may have to risk its independence and even lose it But such supreme sacrifice to be genuine and effective, must be made by a powerful and brave nation

It may also be that Congress does not pass any resolution urging Government to make adequate provision and preparations for India's defence by India's sons *for fear of* being guilty of following a "mendicant" policy But cannot the resolutions moved by members of the Congress party in our legislatures be construed as begging? For Congress has not been and is not able to *force* the Government to give effect to any resolution carried by the most overwhelming majority It is a humiliating fact, but a fact none the less, that we have to depend on the good sense of the foreign rulers for the carrying out of our resolutions in the legislatures

Governors and Ministers' Responsibility re Release of Politicals

Bengal continues to be exercised over the question of the release of her politicals The Bengal Civil Liberties Union has been assiduously rendering the only service which it can render in the matter—it has been giving detailed accounts of the woes of the politicals and detenus—still in detention or released—and of the relatives of some of them Public anxiety can end when all of them are released and when the released persons can feel that they are like other members of the public who have never been deprived of their personal liberty

Owing to the number of the politicals in Bengal being larger than elsewhere, the question of their release is more serious here than in other provinces It is also a serious matter that a considerable number of them still remains to be released Who is responsible for their non release? The Governor, or the Ministry? A passage in Lord Lothian's lecture on "Impressions of the Working of the Constitution in India" given at a meeting of the East India Association of London held in March last, as published in the *Asiatic Review* for April, seems to afford a clue to the answer Said he

> "The only other point is about the political prisoners One of the oldest controversies in the British Commonwealth is the degree to which in the early stages of self government full responsibility should be transferred to Ministries and the degree to which the Governor should exercise over them a veto or controlling force If you look at the history of Cape Colony or Australia you will find equivalent disputes of this kind going very far back, and I think the "crisis" [over the resignation of the Bihar and U P Ministries] which has just arisen has cleared the air and been of benefit to everybody It has made it clear that the primary responsibility for law and order must rest with the responsible Ministers, that is the key to the whole business. But it has also made it clear that the responsible Ministry must discuss with the Governor each individual case My own view is that the right course is that in doubtful cases the Governor should leave the responsibility with his Ministers, but warn them of what he believes to be the consequences of their action If he then finds that he is right and they are wrong he then is in a position to invoke his special responsibility with a reasonable chance of getting the support of public opinion I think that it is the lesser evil to run the risks involved in that course than to do anything which will undermine the responsibility of Ministers themselves. Further I believe that in the future more and more the question of whether a Governor can use his special responsibilities will depend on whether his exercise of them commends itself to dispassionate and independent public opinion in the community itself"

Lord Lothian is not a radical or a labourite in politics He defends the Government of India Act of 1935 and advocates federation as laid down in it His view of the respective share of the responsibility of the Governor and his Ministers is, therefore, most probably, the official view That being the case, it would not be unfair to conclude that the reason why Bengal politicals have not yet been all released is not that the Governor is opposed to their release, but that the Ministers have not shown any strong determination to release them and to take the responsibility of their release on their own shoulders

Mr Jinnah at the Muslim League

In the course of his presidential speech at the special session of the Muslim League held in Calcutta last month to consider the Shahidganj affair, Mr Jinnah advised the Sikhs to rise above prestige and *amour propre* and the Muslims to realize that the way to settlement is not achieved by dictation from one community to the other To those who do not know the history of the Shahidganj affair, this piece of advice and its giver may appear very reasonable and considerate But considering that the Muslims have tried every means, non-legal and legal, to obtain possession of Shahidganj

and failed the appropriateness and acceptability of the advice to the Sikhs would appear very doubtful And as regards the advice to the Muslims it would have been timely if it had been given before they had begun to take non legal and legal steps to gain their object

But assuming that his advice was quite appropriate and timely we wonder why he did not and does not follow it himself in a matter far more important and involving far wider interests—we mean bringing about a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress If a settlement cannot be achieved by dictation from one community to the other neither can it be achieved by fulminations against the Hindus and the Congress with which his speech was mainly taken up

We wonder when the leaders or rather the misleaders of the Muslim community will allow it to wake up to its internal weakness and to realise that its backwardness is due to a great extent to the absence in its midst of progressive religious and social reform movements started and conducted by Muslim reformers themselves regardless of their personal interests comfort and safety If the Hindus have made a little progress it is due not a little to the efforts of reformers who risked their all, including their lives for the good of society

Mr A K Fazlul Huq at the Muslim League

If Mr Jinnah did not acquit himself well at the Muslim League session Mr A K Fazlul Huq perhaps did worse As fellow-Indians and fellow Bengalis we are ashamed of his speech In his own characteristic way he indulged in worse than childish braggadocio What sense was there in saying that the Muslim League was worth a thousand Congresses? Does he expect anybody to take such assertions seriously? And how can one characterize the jealous complaint that the Viceroy has recognised the Congress by asking Gandhiji to see him but had not extended the same recognition to the Muslim League?

Mr A K Fazlul Huq declared that the members of the Muslim League were all lions and tigers ready to shed the last drop of their blood! The speaker need not be reminded that these royal animals are more famous for shedding the blood of others than for shedding their own blood The strength of organizations—particularly of those whose *modus operandi* is unsanguinary—lies, not in tigerly qualities, but in gregariousness and the team-spirit

The Bengal Premier contrasted the happy lot of the Hindus in Bengal with the oppression of the Muslim inhabitants of Hindu majority provinces under Congress ministries Mr Huq seems to be incorrigible

Let us take the allegation that Muslims are oppressed in Hindu majority provinces

Some months ago he mentioned what he considered a specific instance of oppression on Muslims in Bihar He was corrected by Dr Syed Mahmud a Bihar minister Mr Huq was unable to substantiate his charge

Again some time later, he publicly declared that he could give numerous instances of Muslims being oppressed in Congress-governed provinces Maulana Abul Kalam Azad asked him to publish these instances, and the Maulana's challenge was published in the press The Bengal Premier was silenced for the nonce He could not mention a single instance

But he has again repeated his charge!

As regards the happy lot of Hindus in Bengal since the days of Sir John Anderson there have been specific public complaints of the oppression and persecution of Hindus Recently 19 such cases have been publicly described in Pabna district alone If there have not been many riots it is because the Hindus—particularly the Bengal Hindus—are not a dynamic people The recent sanguinary riots in some places in the United Provinces were authoritatively ascribed in the U P legislature to the writings in the Urdu press and the Muslim League was stigmatized in that connection There were people in the U P who wanted to discredit the Congress government. As in Bengal there is no Congress government to discredit, they or their confreres here had no reason to engage in a similar game

Madras Muslim Women's Conference

The Guardian of Madras writes

The proceedings of the Madras Muslim Women's Conference offer a pleasant contrast to the effusions at the Special Session of the Muslim League at Calcutta. In declaring that their interests were the same as those of other Indian women Madras Muslim women have made a statement which the leaders and gatherings of Muslim men have not had the courage to declare though true. Recommending this many fine they offered an apology for holding a communal conference and as proof of their good spirit invited Hindu ladies to participate in their proceedings. The position is understood well by the public who will therefore extend their full sympathy to

such efforts. The Muslim League on the other hand find suppression of the fact of identity of interests as necessary to sustain their indignation against Hindus. *It does not* suit the temper of the League to admit that it can have only limited aims of the type mentioned at their Women's Conference.

The Madras weekly continues

The Women's Conference protested against the exemption of Muslim girls from the scheme of compulsory primary education For this favour done to the community, they must thank their men Councillors, who in all corners of India talk as though compulsion of girl pupils would be an outrage It is interesting to note that *disapproval was expressed of the dowry system* and expensive marriage customs. Other resolutions speak of several measures of Social Reform necessary for the community whether they affect women in particular or apply to the men as well On another page we have referred to the lack of reform movements in the community It seems that the defect will be remedied through the efforts of Muslim women without the help of or even against the wishes of their men We doubt if in a League Conference, the Madras resolutions would all of them be passed or if any of them would secure unanimous approval An impartial public will conclude that Muslim women are building on better foundations than their men

Lord Lothian On The New India Act

In the course of an article in the *Observer* on "The New India" Lord Lothian expresses the opinion that the Government of India Act of 1935, "with all its defects and anomalies, corresponds far more closely to the present-day realities in India than its Indian critics are willing to admit"

If by "realities" Lord Lothian means the actualities brought about and sought to be brought about after the "command performance" given by the Aga Khan in the form of the Muslim deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Minto *in the first decade of* the present blessed century, we fully and quite readily admit that Lord Lothian is right

Unemployment Among Lawyers

Increasing unemployment among lawyers has been noticeable in many—perhaps in most or all—provinces Part of this unemployment may be due to overcrowding in the profession But it is due in part also to measures like those aiming at debt conciliation and debt cancellation, which have brought in their train the evils of bribery and the loss of credit of farmers and peasants Lawyers have done and are still doing their bit in the national struggle While it would be undesirable for lawyers to flourish at the expense of the general public—particularly of the masses—by increased litigation, their legitimate grievances should be enquired into and remedied

Premature Release of a Ravisher in C. P.

We shall await the publication of Sir M N Mukherjee's decision on the point referred to him by the Congress Working Committee, namely, whether Mr Shareef, minister of justice in C P and Berar, "committed a grave error of judgment amounting to a miscarriage of justice" in releasing prematurely Khan Bahadur Jaffar Hussain who had been convicted for committing rape upon a girl

In the meantime we feel bound to say that the reference was entirely unnecessary, as the Working Committee have several members *who have sufficient intelligence* and knowledge of law to decide the point themselves Did they want not to incur the responsibility and the odium of a decision themselves?

It is necessary also to give wide publicity to some facts mentioned in *The Servant of India*, April 14, 1938, which are printed below

The facts of the case are well known to the public by now But it seems to us that the gravity of the offence in all its heinousness is not sufficiently known Jaffar Hussain was a highly placed officer in charge of education of a whole division in the C. P viz., Berar He was promoted to that office over the heads of many seniors, probably to satisfy the so-called Muslim claims. It was revealed during the trial that the offence committed was the culmination of a carefully arranged "party" *So much so that Jaffar Hussain, who was* stationed at Amraoti was summoned by telegram to Wardha for the purpose after the lapless girl was enticed to the police inspectors house Jaffar Hussain's offence was not the lustful outburst of a suddenly inflamed mind but a deliberate planned and cruel enterprise of sexual perverts. Pleas for mercy in such cases ought to be rejected ruthlessly There can be no excuse for indulgence or prevarication nor can there be any question, not only of a grave error of judgment, which the Minister has admitted, but of a miscarriage of justice in its ultimate effect

The fact of the matter is that both the C. P ministry and the Working Committee find themselves in a *difficult* position on account of their desire to truckle to the Muslim element in the provinces.

The facts of the case, as already known to us previously had led us to conclude that a man of Jaffar Hussain's character was entirely unworthy of clemency, and that the minister of justice who had shown clemency to him being incapable of forming a correct idea of the heinousness of that man's crime, was unfit to hold the office he held That conviction of ours is strengthened and confirmed by the facts narrated by the Poona weekly

Working Committee's Resolution On Ravisher's Release Case

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the release of Jaffar Hussain concludes with the following sentence

"The Working Committee appeal to the public and the press not to give the case communal character and assure women who are rightly agitated over the case that the Committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they"

As regards giving 'communal character" to the case, the members of the Working Committee must have read with great interest the following sentence in the statement of Sir Mohamed Yakub on the coming Gandhi-Jinnah unity talks, issued by the Associated Press from Bombay on April 25 last

The impeachment of the Congress Muslim Minister of C P by the Congress High Command, may be considered as the limit of aggressive communalism

The Working Committee have assured *'women* who are rightly agitated over the case" that the committee hold dear the honour of womanhood Perhaps the Committee, too may be assured that *men* also are agitated over the case, provided of course they are men not beasts

"Congress Working Committee Hold The Honour of Womanhood Dear"

The Congress Working Committee have assured women that the committee hold the honour of *womanhood no* less dear than they Whether the comparison here indicated is correct or not we will not say Nor do we challenge the sincerity of the committee's declaration What we are here concerned with is to enquire what practical proof members of the Working Committee of the Congress and other Congressmen have given of their anxiety to safeguard the honour of womanhood

We do not know the details of all the activities of Congressmen even in Bengal, and certainly not of Congress members in other provinces But *so far* as Bengal is concerned, we have an impression that, from Deshbandhu C R. Das downwards, no leading Congressman has taken any part in the efforts made to prevent crimes against Muslim and Hindu women in the province and to bring to justice those guilty of such crimes Bengal has become notorious for such crimes They still go on So there are several organizations here to combat the evil We shall be very glad to know that Bengal members of the present or past Congress Working Committee or of the present or past All-India Congress Committee, or some of them, or any other Congressmen, are or have been members of any of these organizations for the protection of women and their honour, no matter to what community or caste they may belong It is possible for Congressmen to help in the good work *without joining any such organization* If they have done so, the facts require publicity

How A Congres Woman Held Woman's Honour Dear

The following paragraph is taken from *The Servant of India*

Incidentally the same situation is responsible for the grotesque ruling which Mrs Kale, the Deputy Speaker of the C P Assembly gave when she presided over the Thana Women's Conference last week. When a resolution condemning the release of Jaffar Hussain was sought to be moved, Mrs Kale ruled it out of order This is the same Mrs Kale who led the agitation against the action of Mr Shareef Probably the alarmed High Command had rapped her on the knuckles with the rod of discipline for creating an embarrassing situation for her party in the province But not only did Mrs Kale cease to take part in the agitation which she had led but gave a ruling *which muzzled others. And thus the honour of women* is sacrificed for political exigencies!

Some Congressites Exhibit Lack of Soul Force in C P.

It appears that some meetings were held in Nagpur by Hindu Sabha people to condemn the premature release of criminals guilty of crimes against women in C P and N-W F P, and that these were broken up by some Congressmen—of course by the opposite of soul force The Hindu Sabha people, too, could not have *recourse to soul-force* Some of them used offensive, defensive, or retaliatory violence

Some meeting or meetings convened by the Congress party had the same luck

So, the two parties are quits, in a way

"What State Is This?"

The Servant of India writes under the above caption

Newspapers give the news that, immediately after his release from jail Jaffar Hussain crossed into an adjoining Indian State and is now employed in the Education Department of that State If the story has any truth in it, it is the duty of the men and women in the State concerned to rise in protest against the employment of this criminal in a responsible post. The Indian States have been the asylums of *many persons* from British India pensioners superannuated politicians and pampered civil servants from British India. But if the Princes are going to assume the role of protectors *and friends of known sexual perverts, the limit* of the endurance of even the States' people might be reached sooner than the Princes think possible

We have no desire to pursue Jaffar Hussain with a vendetta and do not wish that the man should be starved. What we object to is his employment in a department where he is bound to come into daily touch with young boys and girls There are other ways of providing employment for a released convict than placing him in a position of responsibility

An Offender Against Womanhood Patronized

The following news appeared in *The Tribune* of the 29th March last and continues to agitate at least a section of the public

Bannu March 28

Master Mir Abdullah Shah a teacher of the Government High School who was convicted under Section 368, I P C. for wrongfully concealing an abducted Hindu girl has been re-instated in his old post of schoolmaster

The kidnapping of this minor Hindu girl was the cause of Hindu-Muslim tension and tribal operations. Both the Sessions Court and the High Court rejected the appeals of Master Abdullah.

The Frontier Government has now accepted his application re-employed him in his old post and paid him for the period of one month spent in jail—*A P I*

The Hindu Outlook of Delhi has recapitulated the facts of the case The girl in question was Ram Kumari, whose abduction caused great excitement at the time and obliged even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to issue a statement on the subject For keeping the girl concealed Abdullah Shah got two years' imprisonment and a further term of two years for getting the mother of the girl to sign a false declaration that she had got back her daughter His appeal against the conviction was rejected He petitioned the Judicial Commissioner to reconsider his case This too was rejected So the man was held guilty of serious offences by three successive judicial authorities. The release and the re-instatement *in the post of teacher* of such a criminal and the payment to him of his salary for the period he was in jail, is a scandal of the first magnitude and a defiant outrage on public decency Why has not the Congress Working Committee taken any notice of this case or referred it to Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee for his opinion?

The Indian Social Reformer writes

When the matter came to our notice a fortnight ago, we referred to the Frontier Province Prime Minister for light He has not cared to reply!

Bengal Hindu Sabha's Request to Gandhiji

The Bengal Hindu Sabha has asked Gandhiji not to accept any terms of settlement with the Muslim League as formulated by Mr Jinnah without previous consultation with representative Hindu organizations We consider this request reasonable In the past we have more than once made similar suggestions

Sir Mohammad Iqbal

In Sir Mohammad Iqbal India has lost one of her greatest poet-philosophers A poet's tribute to a brother poet is worthy of the greatest note. Rabindranath Tagore speaks of him as a man whose death has created a void in our literature that like a mortal wound would take a very long time to heal and as a poet whose poetry had such universal value that India, whose place today in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss him It has been said that he infused masculinity into Urdu poetry and brought into the literature of India the strength and vigour and the freedom of the desert air of Arabia

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who is unsurpassed in his devotion to Urdu literature, has spoken of him as one of the greatest poets of the world at the present time and a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry whom he has admired for the last thirty years as a poet and thinker of the first magnitude

Hindu and Musalman leaders of political organizations and parties like Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr Jinnah and Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Raja Narendranath and Sir Gokal Chand Narang have also bestowed unstinted praise on the departed great litterateur The official world, too, has paid its tribute of homage through the Governor of the Panjab Sir James Addison the acting Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court has said The Panjab to-day mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live through the ages, and a great man '

These encomiums prove the universality of the appeal of his poetry and encourage the hope that he will go down to posterity as a brother man whose real features participation in communal politics in the closing years of his life could not effectively and permanently conceal

Some of his Urdu nationalistic songs are very popular for their genuine ring of patriotism

K. Nageswara Rao

With the passing away of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao on the 11th of April last, Indian nationalism has lost one of its fervent devotees and Indian journalism one of its worthy workers and champions

He was a successful man of business, who placed "Amritanjan" in the market He spent his wealth for the promotion of journalism, national literature and art and for advancing the cause of the country's freedom He suffered and sacrificed much for the Congress cause. He started the *Andhra Patrika* (first a weekly and afterwards a daily) To it were added a pictorial weekly, the cultural Telugu monthly *Bharati*, and a sumptuous Annual published on every Telugu New Year's Day He was the editor and publisher of the Telugu Encyclopaedia His Durga Kalamandiram is a beautiful theatre He was a friend and patron of scholars and of learning in different branches The Andhra University bestowed on him the honorary degree of "Kalaprapurna" The Andhra Mahasabha conferred on him the title of "Viswadata" for his generosity and that of "Deshoddharaka" for his patriotic services to the country We have been told that, if Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the Brahmo religious and social reformer and litterateur, was the maker of modern Andhra social life, K Nageswara Rao may be rightly described as the maker of modern Andhra political and public life

Swami Vijnanananda

With the passing of Swami Vijnanananda, President of the Ramakrishna Mission, the Mission loses another direct disciple of Paramahansa Ramakrishna Dev He started life as an engineer in Government employ but, after a few years, renounced the world and became a sannyasin He lived for the most part in Allahabad, where he had founded a *Matha*, a charitable dispensary and a hospital He translated the Sanskrit astronomical work, *Suryasiddhanta*, into English, and was the author of two Bengali books, *Engineering-Siksha* (or Elements of Engineering) and *Jal Sarbaraher Karkhana* (or Water Works) The last book, profusely illustrated, and the translation of *Suryasiddhanta* were published from the Panini Office, Allahabad, by his friend, the late Major B D Basu, I M S The Swami had much to do with designing and constructing the Belur Matha and its superb temple dedicated to Ramakrishna

His demise brings sad thoughts to the mind of this writer We were classmates together in St Xavier's College, Calcutta It is a melancholy satisfaction to recall that our relations were cordial and genial to the last So long as Major Basu was alive not a year passed without our meeting Swamiji at least once a year in Allahabad Latterly also whenever we went to Allahabad we tried to see him if he happened to be there Of us two he was the younger in age So many of our classmates, younger in years, have gone beyond mortal ken, leaving a few older friends behind stranded on the shores of this world!

A Memorial of the Bengalis of Orissa

We have received a copy of a memorial addressed by the Bengali inhabitants of Orissa to the minister of education of that province Substantially, what the memorialists ask for is that Bengali school-boys and school-girls in Orissa may continue to enjoy the facilities they have hitherto enjoyed of receiving education and being examined through the medium of their mother tongue in all those subjects and up to those standard in and up to which their Oriya brothers and sisters will be educated and examined through Oriya This is a legitimate minority right.

We hope in this matter the Orissa ministry will exhibit that wise statesmanship which they have been displaying in so many other matters

Hardwar Calamities

The terribly destructive conflagration at the Hardwar Kumbha Mela which has been the cause of the loss of so much property and so many lives, has cast a gloom over many a home in all parts of India The railway disaster at the same place of pilgrimage has been an additional cause of sorrow We deeply sympathise with the sufferers.

The Bihta Railway Disaster

The enquiry into the Bihta Railway disaster has been carried out by the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court with a thoroughness and impartiality which is deserving of all praise The type of locomotives

which has been condemned should be scrapped without delay and Government should lose no time in compensating the sufferers and the relatives of those who lost their lives owing to the disaster

Communal Riots in Bombay and Lucknow

It is very depressing to record that there were communal riots again in Bombay (between Hindus and Moslems) and in Lucknow (between the Sunni and Shia sects of the Muslim community) When will there be an end of the foolishness and fanaticism leading to these disgraceful doings?

It is some consolation that both in Bombay and Lucknow the police got the situation under control with commendable promptitude and efficiency

Centenaries of Great Authors in Bengal

Bengal has been celebrating the centenaries of two of her great authors Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the great novelist, and Hem Chandra Bandyopadhyaya the poet In addition to being a novelist, Bankim Chandra was an essayist, a humorist, a poet and a theologian He wrote on political subjects, too

Hem Chandra is not much known to non Bengalis, as none of his works has been translated into any Indian language Though he wrote an epic, *Britra samhar*, he is best known as the author of the stirring, patriotic poem *Bharat Sangit*, which in our boyhood we used to recite with zest His satirical and humorous poems are free from venom and quite enjoyable He was in his day the Grand Napoleon in the realms of rhyme

A poet of the name of Krishna Chandra Majumdar was born 103 years ago in a village called Senhati in the district of Khulna The people of that village celebrated his centenary last month They have erected a memorial pillar in his honour on the banks of the river Bhairab which flows by Though he was not a great poet, there was genuine poetic fire in him. He is best known as the author of *Sadbhab-Shatak*, a collection of poems many of which are adaptations in Bengali of some poems of the Persian poet Hafiz He composed many fine religious songs He was an erudite Persian and Sanskrit scholar By profession he was a teacher He was very truthful and dutiful and was possessed of an unbending spirit of independence Entirely free from the lust of gold, he had the unique distinction of having petitioned the education department to cancel an increment to his pay, as he said he was already getting good value for his work! He retired on a pension of only Rs 8-6 3, and continued to teach many boys privately without any remuneration

Bratachari Dances For Girls

Last month the Bratachari Training Class for girls in Calcutta was closed for the summer vacation The girls gave a demonstration on the occasion of what they had learned Though we were not able to attend the meeting, we can form some idea of what the girls showed, from a picture of the demonstration, from the words of appreciation spoken by some orthodox Hindu and Moslem ladies and from what we have seen of Boys' Bratachari dances

On account of the tendentious dances of professional danceuses in India and their imitators, voluptuousness and sensuousness—if not occasionally lasciviousness—have come to be associated with dancing Bratachari dances are entirely free from such objectionable features They are characterised by vigorous rhythmical movements, are health giving, and promote a team spirit

Some Muslim girls also have joined the Bratachari class

The Germans in Czechoslovakia

The German inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are restive When we were in Prague in October, 1926 we came to know that they had some reasons to be discontented That discontent has come to a head

Carlsbad, April 24

Declaring that the policy of the Sudeten Deutsch Party was inspired by principles and ideas of National Socialism, the leader Herr Henlein, in an aggressive speech at the party Congress here, said

"If Czech statesmen want to reach a permanent understanding with us, Germans and the German Reich, they will have to fulfil our demand for a complete revision of the Czech foreign policy, which has hitherto ranked Czechoslovakia among the enemies of the German people."

Herr Henlein made the following demands on behalf of his two and a half million followers —

"Firstly full equality of status between the Czechs and the Germans secondly, guarantee thereof by the

recognition of the Sudeten Deutsch Party as a legal entity; thirdly, determination and legal recognition of German regions within Czechoslovakia, fourthly, full autonomy to these regions, fifthly, legal protection for every citizen living outside the region of his own nationality, sixthly, removal of injustices inflicted on the Sudeten Deutsch Party since 1918 and reparation for them, seventhly, recognition of the principle of German officials for German region, eighthly full liberty to profess German nationality and political philosophy

These practically amount to a demand that the Germans in Czechoslovakia should be allowed to form a State within a State

Herr Henlein's announcement has come as a profound shock, his demands being far beyond anything expected.

President Benes, in an interview at Prague yesterday, asked the Chairman of the National Council, hitherto an entirely Czech organisation, to collaborate with him for the pacification of nationalities in Czechoslovakia.—*Reuter.*

Another Menace to Czechoslovakia

Budapest April 24.

The Hungarian Revisionist League, previously banned, held its first meeting for five years and unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of breaking up Czechoslovakia.

A large crowd of ex servicemen and delegations from all over the country demonstrated in sympathy outside the hall.—*Reuter*

Anglo French Talks "Re" Czechoslovakia

London, April 24

The Czechoslovak question is likely to be one of the principal subjects of discussion during the forthcoming Anglo French talks, says Reuter's Diplomatic Correspondent

It is understood that Dr Benes is doing his utmost to reach an amicable settlement with the Sudeten Germans and Britain and France are ready to give their advice or assistance in smoothing the approach to the problem

At the same time a possibility of trouble in Czechoslovakia cannot be excluded and the British Government are anxious to know exactly how France will react towards it It is expected that M Deladier will explain the measures which the French Government will take to implement the Franco-Czech Pact if necessary.

There is reason to believe that and he will probably be informed of the policy which the British Government intend to follow at present

Herr Henlein will not be called on by Germany to press his claims to extremes at present and thus a breathing space for a few months at least may ensue in that part of Europe.—*Reuter*

Does Germany Want Hegemony Over Central Europe?

Paris, April 25

Herr Henlein's demands have caused anxiety in the Paris Press. Dormesson writing in the 'Figaro" says. "Germany is willing to allow nominal independence for Czechoslovakia as a State but conditionally she becomes its guardian In other words, Germany is beginning to organise a German hegemony over Central Europe. The truth is that Europe is already embarking on the greatest diplomatic trial of strength for twenty years.—*Reuter.*

Anglo-Irish Agreement

Though the Anglo-Irish agreement recently signed does not bring about the ending of partition and the restoration of the unity of Ireland which, according to Mr de Valera, was "the essential foundation for the establishment of real understanding and friendship between the two peoples," it settles the question of land annuities completely and of defence to a great extent, and will end the economic war between Britain and Eire and establish more profitable commercial relations between the two countries The goodwill and amity now established between the two peoples will make it possible later to think of measures to end partition in a calm atmosphere

Firing on Mysore Villagers with Fatal Results

According to the Associated Press.

Bangalore, April 26

Thirty two persons were killed and 48 seriously injured in a police firing last night at Vidurasvatam village in Kolar district (about fifty miles from Bangalore), when villagers, who were assembled at a public meeting in a garden moderately estimated at ten thousand, defied the ban on hoisting the National Flag and making public speeches

The gathering was declared an unlawful assembly by the District Magistrate, who gave five minutes for the meeting to disperse On the expiration of the five minutes the meeting did not disperse and the police opened fire, with the above result.

The official account of casualties varies, the estimate being between six and ten killed and some injured.

Enquiries made in official circles show that a crowd exceeding five thousand in Vidurasvatam village last night was very violent and refused to disperse despite orders of the District Magistrate, who along with the police and revenue sub-divisional officers were hemmed in by the mob The police thereupon opened fire in self-defence, as the result of which seven persons were killed and some injured

Whatever the technical justification for the steps taken by the District Magistrate, the result cannot but be deplored

The Mysore authorities will be held responsible for it by the public There is no ban on the hoisting of the "national flag" or "Congress flag" in British India In fact, it flies even on government buildings in Bihar.

The Mysore Government's banning of it is an example of being more royal or loyal than royalty itself

Annexation of Ethiopia and The League

Britain is not contented with merely herself *recognizing* Italy's *conquest of* Ethiopia but will try to get the League of Nations to recognize this act of international brigandage Among the great powers perhaps Soviet Russia will raise a voice of protest Some small nations may also do so And if the United States of America had been a member of the League, there would have been another protester Of course, if protest were likely to affect the political or economic interests of the potential protesters adversely, their attitude would be different

The Emperor of Ethiopia would have his say, either in person or through a representative But he would be crying in a wilderness where the law of the jungle prevails

Major Yeats Brown's Caricature of India

Major Yeats Brown's caricature of India, printed in this issue on another page, will be *read with amusement mixed with some* resentment A caricature must bear some resemblance to the reality To that extent the Major is truthful

The reader will be able to spot the exaggerations and the falsehoods in his lectures without much difficulty So we will content ourselves with only some words of comment on a few points

India and Britain "Continuously Ruled by Foreigners"

Major Yeats-Brown has said that "India has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries," and the first conquerors were the Aryans the next the Moslems, and the last the English So India has never been independent!

The prevalent theory of European origin, is that the Aryans came from outside India as invaders and conquerors and settled in the country But there is another theory which makes the Aryans autochthons But assuming the correctness of the first theory, the Major's contention is that, in spite of the Aryans and their descendants living in India for centuries and getting mixed with non Aryans, they continued to be foreigners He also holds that the Arabs, Pathans and Turks (known as Mughals) who conquered parts of India, settled there and converted numerous non-Moslems to Islam and got mixed with them, their descendants continued to be foreigners though living in the country for centuries

Taking it for granted that his theories and contentions are correct, it would be quite easy to prove that "Britain has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries" and has never yet been free and independent!

According to the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,

> "Geologists are not yet agreed when and by whom Britain was first peopled Real knowledge begins with two Celtic invasions, that of the Goidels in the later part of the Bronze age, and that of the Brythons and Belgae in the Iron Age By the age of Julius Caesar all the inhabitants of Britain except perhaps some *tribes of the far north were Celts in speech* and custom."—Vol 4, pp 158-159

So the inhabitants of Britain whom the Romans conquered were themselves foreigners, and their descendants, pure or mixed, are still foreigners today (May 1, 1938)

When the Romans withdrew from Britain, it was conquered by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, who settled in the country and ruled it for centuries *of course as foreigners*

This conquest was followed by the Danish, Norwegian and, again, Danish conquests These foreigners also settled in the country and ruled the parts they had conquered for a good many years *and certainly as foreigners*

Then came the Norman conquest of England. With the conquerors came numerous Normans who settled in the country Some of the descendants of the Norman Kings were known as Anjevin and Plantagenet. These are foreign names William of Orange, who came over from Holland to reign over Britain, was a Dutchman. The first four Georges, the Hanoverians, were Germans, as the name of the dynasty shows The descendants of Queen Victoria whether ruling kings or mere princes and princesses of the blood royal were and are Germans by descent as her husband, Prince Albert, came from Saxe Coburg Gotha

However, even if there had not been any admixture of foreign blood in the veins of the kings and Queens of Britain after the Norman conquest, its rulers must be considered foreigners according to the theory applied in the case of India by Major Yeats-Brown

"Tyranny" of the Provincial Governments

According to Major Yeats-Brown the provincial governments, particularly the Congress governments, are tyrannous If so why do not the Governors intervene? They have ample powers and 'special responsibilities

"Hundreds of agitators trained in Moscow are working among the people" If so why are they not rounded up?

In the opinion of this major "the advocates and the money-lenders are being given opportunities to oppress the farmers But the landlords bring forward proofs to show that they are being expropriated in order to favour the Kisans, the farmers As for the advocates, there is increasing unemployment among them The money-lenders consider themselves fortunate if they can get back what they have lent—such is the operation of the debt settlement, conciliation and cancellation laws passed within the last year or so Even if all the alleged grievances of the advocates and money-lenders be unfounded, it is a travesty of the truth to say that the Government of India Act of 1935 has given them opportunities to oppress the farmers.

Growth of Population in India

Major Yeats-Brown said in Germany that the population of India was increasing "at a surprising rate" As India is a large country its increase of population is also large But the rate of increase is not surprising There are many other civilized countries of which the population has increased faster and at a more surprising rate than that of India If Government educated the people and taught them scientific agriculture, and made adequate arrangements for irrigation and short-term loans, India would be able to fully feed a larger population than now

Form of Application for a Certificate of Domicile in Bihar

Most of our readers have not seen the form of application for a certificate of domicile in Bihar and the documents and various particulars an applicant has to submit So, those are given below, as per typed copies sent by a correspondent It is to be noted that it is only Bengalis who are required to obtain domicile certificates

FORM NO D

(Referred to in Rule 7)

Application for a Certificate of Domicile.

1 Name of applicant and father's name
2 Place in which domicile is claimed.
3. The number of generations for which the family has been domiciled in Bihar
4. Whether he or any member of his family has made an application previously for a domicile certificate. If so, whether the certificate was granted
5. *The purpose for which the applicant requires* certificate
6. Whether the applicant or his parents possess a residence in the Province. If so, the situation and date of acquisition must be stated.
7 State all the educational institutions at which the applicant has been educated
8. Grounds upon which a certificate is claimed

Note —Applicants are warned that all particulars stated in this application must be given in full and that if any incorrect statement is made in the application any privilege or appointment given in consequence to the applicant will be liable to be cancelled summarily.

Documents and particulars an Applicant is required to submit,

He is required to file the municipal rent receipts as also the title deed of his house. He should also file the original domicile certificates granted to his father and brother as also furnish the following data. In this connection his attention is drawn to the foot note of the prescribed form of application for domicile certificate.

1. The full particulars, Post Office, Pargannah, Police Station, Sub-Division, etc., of his ancestral native place after consulting his elders and relations.

2. The name with full particulars of the place if any where his ancestors possessed any real property at the *time of living* at or leaving

3. The name and numbers of brothers, paternal cousins and the number of sisters with their occupation and full address. If married, the name and full details of the place where *they* have been married and the names of relatives living there.

4. The full particulars of the place where the applicant himself is married and the name of his relatives living there

5 *The full particulars* of the *place* where he usually spends and used to spend his vacation with nature and degree of relationship and the name of relative living there

6. The name and number of paternal uncles with their occupation and full address.

7 The name and full address of the relatives who have obtained domicile certificate of Bihar with nature and degree of relationship

8. *The immediate purpose for which he requires the* domicile certificate.

9 Whether he has received his education wholly or partly outside Bihar? If so the reason why, and the name of relations, if any, with nature and degree of relationship, with whom he stayed during the course of study

10. Whether he, his father, mother or any member

of his famil own any real estate at his ancestral native place or anywhere within or without this Province in the r own names or in the names of their relations jo ntly or solely

Birthday of Rabindranath Tagore

According to the European Christian month and day the birthday of Rabindranath Tagore falls on the 8th May But as this year he had to go up to the hills earlier for reasons of health his 78th birthday was celebrated at Santiniketan on the 14th April He delivered an inspiring address on the occasion of which the authorized version will be published in the next number of *Prabasi*



Celebrat on of Rabindranath Tagore s b r hday at Santin ketan

'Calcutta Municipal Ga ette" Health Number

The health number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is ued last month is as attractive and instructive as its predecessors. It contains a good many articles on public health hygiene and the prevention and eradication of the diseases which are sapping the vitality of the Indian people The articles on tuberculosis in Bengal the treatment of diabetes filarial infection and high blood pressure are of special interest at the present time Physical culture has received due attention These are only a few of the notable feature of the number The coloured and other plates and the general get up are excellent.

Appointment of Officiating Orissa Governor

The announcement that when the present Governor of Orissa goes on leave Mr Dain ICS who is employed in that province and takes his orders from the Ministry will officiate as governor there and will occupy an official position superior to that of the ministers has met with public criticism and been condemned by the Congress Working Committee It may precipitate a ministerial crisis What the ministers will do has not yet (April 28) been announced

A solution would be to give the officiating job to some senior Civilian from some other province. Or why not appoint some leading Indian nationalist public man to the office?

That would be very popular and would not be contrary, we believe, to any law.

The Press in Indian States

Indian States, not even the most advanced, do not possess a strong press And its growth is being hampered, checked, prevented by various restrictive and repressive devices in many states It does not possess even the degree of freedom which newspapers have in British India Autocracy and a free press cannot co exist

Jaipur and Sikar

Sikar, in Rajputana, is tributary to Jaipur in the same region There is a dispute between the Maharaja of Jaipur and Rao-raja of Sikar, in relation to the latter's son's marriage and education, in consequence of which the Rao-raja has shut himself up in his walled town Actual fighting between the two parties was apprehended for some days, but the latest news in the morning papers of the 28th April are reassuring

We do not understand this affair at all

Campaign Against Illiteracy

So long as Congress had nothing to do with governing the country, it had a non-"reformist" mentality and education of the people had either no place or a very subordinate place in its programme But now Congress has become "reformist"—at any rate in this matter, and we read in the papers news of campaigns against illiteracy in C P and Berar, Bihar, U P and Orissa We wish victory to these campaigns

In Bengal, the non Congress ministry has been gradually announcing the inclusion of more and more districts in the "free" primary education scheme and declaring that these districts will have to pay the prescribed educat on cess or rate So 'free' is to be understood in Bengal in a Pickwickian sense

That the need for adult ed cation is be ng increasingly felt in Bengal is evident from the n merous enquiries received at the Students Hall, College Squar, office of the Bengal Adult Education Associa ion The Association, of which the Poet Rabind anath Tagore s the President is conducted by a representative Council of officials and non officials including Sj Satish Das Gupta, Prof Nripen Banerji Dr D N Maitra, Sj Jnananjan Niyogi, Sj Nepal Roy, S Sudhir Lahiri, Dr H C Mo kerjee Miss S B Gupta Rev A Cameron, Sj Kamini Dutt, Syed Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan The Association is non political and non sectarian and Professors A N Basu, H Kabir, B N Banerji and B C. Mukerji are the Secretaries.

Recently two training classes have been held for students who will use their vacation for the furtherance of the campaign and several centres have been opened.

Congress Claim to Represent Indian Nation

At the second annual session of the Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, held in London on the 12th April, Mr Palme Datt said:

Now it is alleged by British politicians that the *Congress cannot claim to be representative of the Indian* people as a whole, but we have before us certain controversial facts. At the last elections, with a restricted franchise, the Congress polled 20 million out of a total of 30 million votes cast But the "National" Government of Mr Neville Chamberlain claims to speak for the people of Britain and yet it polled but 11½ million out of 20 million votes at the last general election.

Chinese Patriotism

There are some 10,000 Chinese in India. They have contributed more than Rs 1 50 000 to the war funds of their country up to date. Collections are still going on Men, women children—all are either contributing or rendering some service to their country

Lepers in the British Empire

London April 26

There were at least 2 000 000 lepers in the British Empire declared Sir William Peel Chairman of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association speaking at the annual meeting at the India Office He said that it was believed in some colonies that the disease was tending to increase. The Association had obtained the services of a number of young lay workers who were ready to go abroad to devote their lives on a bare subsistence allowance to the lepers of the Empire The Association could not at present afford to send out more workers, though many places needed such workers.

Sir Cuthbert Sprawson attributed the disappearance of leprosy from England to a country wide campaign and said that "we should now try to arouse a similar interest throughout the Empire"—*Reuter*

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PILGRIMS
By Sulas Dey

Palas Pr Calcutta

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

WITHIN the compass of a magazine article it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the genius personality and achievements of Rabindranath Tagore —they are so great and varied But as owing to his serious illness last year, this year's celebrations of his birthday on the 8th May acquired special importance, an attempt is made in the following pages to give some idea, however inadequate of his varied achievements as a humble token of the participation of *The Modern Review* in the festive functions of the occasion

The poet writes in one of his poems —

'Do not in this way see from the outside—
Do not look for me in externals!
You will *not find me in my sorrow* and my happines
Do not seek in my bosom for my anguish
You will *not find me in my joy*,
The poet is not where you seek him!
* * * * *
You will not find the poet in his life story"

(Free translation)

If he cannot be found in his biography, perhaps then he may be discovered in his works? True, but 'the self concealment of genius in literature" may baffle the seeker sometimes The poet's autobiographical *Reminiscences* are of some help But as they cover only the first twenty seven years of his life, they do not help one to understand the growth of his personality during the next fifty years And few, if any of his intimate friends are alive today from whom personal information could be obtained

All this explains why the reader is not to expect here a vivid intimate pen picture of Rabindranath Tagore the man

He is our greatest poet and prose writer There is hardly any department of Bengali literature that he has not touched and adorned elevated and filled with inspiration and lighted up by the lustre of his genius He has not written any epic poem The age for epics is dead and gone Difficult as it undoubtedly would be to give an exhaustive list of his multifarious achievements from early youth upwards, even the departments of literature and knowledge which he has touched and adorned would make a pretty long list The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri M.A, D Litt CIE, said of the poet in the course of his presidential address at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations

He has tried all phases of literature—couplets, stanzas, short poems, longer pieces, *short stories*, *longer stories*, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, opera, *kirtans palas*, and, last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded

in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us.

Tennyson, in his poem addressed to Victor Hugo, calllled that great French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears' "Lord of human tears," "Child-lover," and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken " All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore

By way of supplementing and elaborating what Pandit Haraprasad Sastri has written of Rabindranath's literary productions, it may be observed that he has written much on religious, educational, social, political, historical, economic, and philological subjects, and on music He is an authority on metre He is perhaps the greatest literary critic in Bengali As a writer of letters he is unrivalled in Bengal in the number, volume and excellence of his epistles In the production of charades in Bengali he perhaps stands alone Then there is that unclassifiable work *Pancha Bhuter Diary* ("Diary of the Five Elements"), imaginary conversations which are like a transcript of his own talks in Bengali He is the creator of some Dance-Plays, too The aggregate of what he has done for the Bengali language and literature exceeds what any other author has done

This he has been able to do, not merely because he is a man of genius but also because he is a scholar whose range of reading is very extensive and varied In addition to what he has read in Bengali and Sanskrit, and of English literature proper and of the literature of other countries in English translations, he has read English books on the following and other subjects

Farming philology, history medicine, astro-physics geology, bio-chemistry entomology co operative banking, sericulture indoor decorations production of birds manures, sugar cane and oil pottery looms lacquer work, tractors, village economics recipes for cooking lighting drainage, calligraphy, plant grafting meteorology, synthetic dyes, parlour games Egyptology road making incubators, wood blocks, elocution, stall feeding, jiu jitsu printing

Milton wrote in his day, when knowledge was neither so vast nor so varied and specialized as today, that the poet should take all knowledge as his province Rabindranath Tagore seems to have followed that ideal

An impression seems still to prevail in some quarters that Rabindranath Tagore's genius was not recognized even in Bengal before he won the Nobel Prize It is quite wrong. On his completing the fiftieth year of his life, all classes, all professions and ranks, the representatives of the spirituality, character, culture and public spirit of Bengal, combined to do him honour in the Calcutta Town Hall in a way in which no other author in Bengal had been honoured before, or has been since There were also other magnificent celebrations of the occasion And all this took place before the Nobel Prize in literature had been awarded to him The fact is, he became famous outside Bengal after winning the Nobel Prize, but was already famous here before that event

Many works and some kinds of works of Rabindranath in Bengali, *e g*, those which are full of humour and wit, have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages In the translations, moreover, much, if not all, of the music the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the original has been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and dramas—particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations as well as his original works in English like *Personality, Sadhana, The Religion of Man*, etc

His hymns and sermons and some of his other writings on spiritual subjects let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him His hymns and other writings in a spiritual vein have, therefore, brought healing to many a soul in anguish

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers, too, thither In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature Currents of universal thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings

In philosophy he is not a system builder He is of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole His position as a philosophical thinker was recognized by his selection to preside and deliver the presidential address at the First Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925 and also when he was asked to deliver the Hibbert Lectures, which appeared subsequently as *The Religion of Man* Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy

But he is not simply a literary man though his eminence as an author is such that for a foreigner the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he is not an *ustad* or "expert' in music as that term is usually understood, though he was trained in Indian classical music He has such a sensitive ear that he appears to live in two worlds —one the world of visible forms and colours and another which one may call the world of sound forms and sound colours His musical genius and instinct are such that his achievement in that art has extorted the admiration of many experts" This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and the tunes to which he has himself set them, or to his thrilling sweet soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music He is not only the author of the words of his songs possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but is also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes

It is said that among European musicians Franz Peter Schubert holds the record for the number of songs composed by him

> "his special and peculiar eminence lies in the department of song writing, in which he reached the highest limit of excellence, although his years were fewer than those of any other masters of the first rank, he composed more than 500 songs, ten symphonies (including two left unfinished) six masses a host of sonatas and other works for the pianoforte a number of string quartets, as well as several operas, cantatas, and overtures."—*Chambers's Encyclopaedia.*

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Eleventh Edition) says of Schubert that "He was the greatest songwriter who ever lived" His songs 'number over 600, excluding scenas and operatic pieces'

According to a rough estimate Rabindranath Tagore has composed more than 2,000 songs, all of which he has set to music I do not know how many songs have been composed by each one of the other famous musicians of India of modern times or of ages past

About twelve years ago, I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and Czechoslovakia where he recited some of his poems His recitations were such that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the audience, he had to repeat them several times at their earnest request Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters No wonder, he shines also as a conversationalist.

He is a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art Those who have seen him appear in leading roles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be From the prime of his manhood upwards he has been in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses short stories, plays and novels to select circles On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents come into play

If it is true that the credit of reviving the performance of music in public by respectable women goes to the Brahmo Samaj that credit belongs in great part to the Tagore family and Rabindranath Tagore They have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act in public The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self expression and innocent amusement and play The new dances he has created, in which he has personally trained many girl students of Santiniketan, are entirely free from the voluptuousness and worse features of many prevalent dances

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic They are refined and restrained and free from bluff, bravado bluster and boasting Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adored in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one, but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal more than three

in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting his satires piercing His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us

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Farming philology history medicine astro-physics geology bio chemistry entomology co-operative banking, sericulture indoor decorations, production of hides manures sugar cane and oil pottery looms lacquer work, tractors, village economics, recipes for cooking lighting drainage call graphy, plant grafting meteorology, synthetic dyes, parlour games, Egyptology road making incubators, wood blocks elocution, stall feeding, jiu jitsu printing

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An impression seems still to prevail in some quarters that Rabindranath Tagore's genius was not recognized even in Bengal before he won the Nobel Prize It is quite wrong On his completing the fiftieth year of his life, all classes, all professions and ranks, the representatives of the spirituality, character, culture and public spirit of Bengal combined to do him honour in the Calcutta Town Hall in a way in which no other author in Bengal had been honoured before or, has been since There were also other magnificent celebrations of the occasion And all this took place before the Nobel Prize in literature had been awarded to him The fact is he became famous outside Bengal after winning the Nobel Prize, but was already famous here before that event

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The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Eleventh Edition) says of Schubert that "He was the greatest songwriter who ever lived" His songs "number over 600, excluding scenas and operatic pieces"

According to a rough estimate Rabindranath Tagore has composed more than 2,000 songs, all of which he has set to music I do not know how many songs have been composed by each one of the other famous musicians of India of modern times or of ages past

About twelve years ago, I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and Czechoslovakia where he recited some of his poems His recitations were such that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the audience, he had to repeat them several times at their earnest request Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore *speeches and sermons in Bengali* know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters No wonder, he shines also as a *conversationalist*.

He is a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art Those who have seen him appear in leading roles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be From the prime of his manhood upwards he has been in the habit of reading out his new poems discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents come into play

If it is true that the credit of reviving the performance of music in public by respectable women goes to the Brahmo Samaj, that credit belongs in great part to the Tagore family and Rabindranath Tagore They have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act in public The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play The new dances he has created, in which he has personally trained many girl students of Santiniketan, are entirely free from the voluptuousness and worse features of many prevalent dances

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adored in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one, but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races or the echoes of old, unhappy, far off historic strifes and conflicts In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal more than three

decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the *Katha O-Kahini* ballads which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation" He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations Rabindranath's songs and ballads—the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of her people, literate and illiterate, town dwellers and village-folk and their culture and civilization

But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he has taken part in the Swadeshi movement His socio political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organized by him, are part of the same national service He has worked earnestly for the revival of weaving and other arts and crafts of the country—particularly village arts and crafts, and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate

His scheme of constructive "non co operation," or, properly speaking of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, village reconstruction, etc, as outlined in some of his writings and addresses more than thirty years ago, was part of his Swadeshi movement politics It is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, delivered on 22nd July 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal provincial conference at Pabna 1908 The "no-tax" movement adumbrated in his plays *Prayaschitta* ("Expiation") and *Paritran* ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by its hero, Dhananjaya Bairagi, embody his idea of what the attitude of leaders and the rank and file should be on such occasions Both plays are dramatic renderings of his earlier work a historical romance named *Bou-Thakuranir Hat* ("The Bride-Queen's Market"), published in 1884 Of these plays *Prayaschitta* is the earlier one, published in May, 1909 Free translations of some portions of its dialogues and of some of its songs are given below

Dhananjaya Bairagi, a Sannyasi, and a number of the villagers of Madhabpur, going to the King

Third villager—What shall we say, Father, to the King?

Dhananjaya.—We shall say, we won't pay tax.

Third villager—If he asks, why won't you?

Dhananjaya—We will say, if we pay you money starving our children and making them cry, our Lord will feel pain The food which sustains life is the sacred offering dedicated to the Lord, for he is the Lord of life When more than that food—a surplus, remains in our houses, we pay that to you (the King) as tax, but we can't pay you tax deceiving and depriving the Lord

Fourth villager—Father, the King will not listen.

Dhananjaya—Still, he must be made to hear Is he so unfortunate because he has become King that the Lord will not allow him to hear the truth? We will force him to hear

Fifth villager—Worshipful Father, he (the King) will win, for he has more power than we

Dhananjaya.—Away with you you monkeys! Is this a sample of your intelligence? Do you think, the defeated have no power? Their power stretches up to heaven do you know?

Sixth villager—But, Father, we were far from the King we could have saved ourselves by concealment,—we shall now be at the very door of the King There will be no way of escape left if there be trouble

Dhananjaya.—Look here Panchkari, leaving things unsettled in this way by shelving them never bears good fruit Let whatever may happen happen, otherwise the finale is never reached There is peace when the extremity is reached

Let us take next what passes between Dhananjaya, the Sannyasi, leader of the people, and King Pratapaditya

Pratapaditya.—Look here *Bairagi*, you can't deceive me by this sort of (feigned) madness of yours Let us come to business. The people of Madhabpur have not paid their taxes for two years Say, will you pay?

Dhananjaya.—No, Maharaj, we will not.

Pratapaditya—Will not? Such insolence!

Dhananjaya—We can't pay you what is not yours.

Pratapaditya.—Not mine!

Dhananjaya.—The food that appeases our hunger is not yours This food is His Who has given us life, how can we give it to you?

Pratapaditya.—So it is you who have told my subjects not to pay taxes?

Dhananjaya.—Yes, Maharaj, it is I who have done it They are fools, they have no sense They want to part with all they have for fear of the tax gatherer It is I who tell them, "Stop stop, don't you do such a thing Give up your life only to Him Who has given you life (that is, die only at the Lord's bidding, but not by depriving yourselves of the food which He has given you) — don't make your King guilty of killing you (by allowing him to take from you the food which is necessary for keeping your bodies and souls together)"

I do not wish to add to the length of this article by quoting similar passages from the play *Paritran*, based on the same story Let me take some other passages from *Prayaschitta*.

Pratapaditya.—Look here Bairagi you have neither hearth nor home, but these villagers are all householders — why do you want to lead them into trouble? (To the villagers) I say, you fellows all go back to Madhabpur (To Dhananjaya) You Bairagi have to remain here (that is, he will be arrested and jailed)

Villagers.—No, that can't be so long as we are alive

Dhananjaya.—Why can't that be? You are still lacking in sense. The King says, Bairagi you remain You say, no that can't be But has the luckless Bairagi come floating like flotsam (that is is he not master of himself with a will of his own)? Is his remaining here or not to be settled by the King and yourselves?

(*Sings*)

Whom have you kept by saying he remains?
When will your order take effect?
Your force will not endure brother
That will endure which is fit to endure
Do what you please —
Keep or kill by bodily force —
But only that will be borne which *He* will bear
Whom all blows strike
Plenty of coins you have
No end of ropes and cords,
Many horses and elephants, —
Much you have in this world
You think, what you want will happen, that
You make the world dance to your tune,
But you will see on opening your eyes,
That also happens which doesn't usually happen.

(*Enter Minister*)

Pratapaditya.—You have come at the nick of time. Keep this Bairagi captive here He must not be allowed to go back to Madhabpur

Minister.—Maharaj —

Pratapaditya.—What! The order is not to your liking —is it?

Udayaditya (Pratapaditya's son and heir) —Maharaj the Bairagi is a saintly man

Villagers.—Maharaj, this cannot be borne by us! Maharaj, evil will follow from it

Dhananjaya.—I say you all go back. The order has been given I must stay with the King for a few days the fellows can't bear this (good luck of mine)!

Villagers.—Did we come to petition his majesty for this? We are not to have the Yuvaraj (heir apparent) and are to lose you, too to boot?

Dhananjaya.—My body burns to hear what you say! What do you mean by saying you will lose me? Did you keep me tied up in a corner of your loin-cloths? Your business is done. Away with you now!

Owing to an accidental conflagration, the jail where Dhananjaya was imprisoned is reduced to ashes He has come out.

Dhananjaya.—Jai, Maharaj Jai! You did not want to part with me, but from where nobody knows, Fire has come with a warrant for my release! But how can I go without telling you? So I have come to take your order

Pratapaditya.—Had a good time?

Dhananjaya.—Oh I was so happy There was no anxiety All this is His hide-and-seek. He thought I could no catch Him concealed in the prison. But I caught him, tight in my embrace, and then no end of laughter and songs unending I have spent the days in great joy—I shall remember my Brother Prison.

(*Sings*)

O my chains, embracing you I enjoyed
The music of your clanking
You kept me delighted, breaking my pride
Playing games with you,
The days passed in joy and sorrow
You encircled my limbs

With priceless jewellery
I am not angry with you —
If anybody is to blame it is I,
If there be fear in my mind,
I regard you as terrible
All night long in the darkness
You were my comrade.
Remembering that kindness of yours
I salute you

Pratapaditya.—What do you say, Bairagi! What for were you so happy in prison?

Dhananjaya.—Maharaj, like your happiness in your kingdom was my joy in prison. What was lacking (there)? (The Lord) can give *you* happiness, but can't he give *me* any joy?

Pratapaditya.—Where will you go now?

Dhananjaya.—The road

Pratapaditya.—Bairagi, it strikes me at times that your way is preferable, my kingdom is no good

Dhananjaya.—Maharaj the kingdom, too, is a path. Only, one has to be able to walk aright. He who knows it to be a path (to the goal), *he* is a real wayfarer, we sannyasis are nothing in comparison with him. Now then, if you permit out I go for the nonce.

Pratapaditya.—All right but don't go to Madhabpur.

Dhananjaya.—How can I promise that? When (the Lord) will take me anywhere who is there to say nay?

All the passages quoted above are free translations from the original It is to be noted that the poet has named the leader of the people in these two plays "Dhananjaya", which means, "He who has conquered (the desire for) riches" One may take that to indicate the poet's idea of the essential qualification of a leader of the people

As the poet has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement at the expense of other peoples, by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of what is, not quite appropriately, called Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland, both as expressed in words and as manifested in action has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created, know that he loves his land

"with love far brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought."

His penetrating study of and insight into the history of India and Greater India have

strengthened this love Especially noteworthy is his essay on the course of India's history

The origin of what is called his Internationalism has sometimes been traced to his revealing and disappointing experiences during the Anti partition and Swadeshi movement of Bengal of the first decade of this century Such experiences are not denied But his love of the whole of humanity and interest in their affairs are traceable even in the writings of his boyhood when he was in his teens And in maturer life this feature of his character found distinct expression in a poem named *Prabasi*, written thirty eight years ago, which begins with the declaration that his home is in all lands his country in all countries his close kindred in all homes there and that he is resolved to win this country this home and these kindred

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism no hatred or contempt of the foreigner He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence

He writes in ' Our Swadeshi Samaj —

"The realization of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety—that is the inherent, the *sanatana*, Dharma of India India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger So she repels none, destroys none she abjures no methods, recognizes the greatness of ideals and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony

Again

"In the evolving History of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity nothing less than this is its end and aim And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right.

Tagore's ideal is the same as that of Rammohun Roy, who, he says, "did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and the West"

This statement of India's ideal is supported by Mr C E M Joad in the following passage in his book, *The Story of Indian Civilization*, published, much later recently

"Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and of peoples to create in fact, unity out of diversity"

The poet has never denied that other countries, too, may have their own special messages and missions He does not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but respects it for its spirit of enquiry, its science, its strength and will to face martyrdom in the cause of truth, freedom and justice (now alas! gone to sleep), its acknowledgement and acceptance of the manness of the common man (now also alas! not manifest), and its activities for human welfare, and wishes the East to take what it should and can from the West, not like a beggar without patrimony or as an adopted child but as a strong and healthy man may take wholesome food from all quarters and assimilate it This taking on the part of the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than or rather than learning, borrowing or imitation. The West too can derive advantage from contact with the East, different from the material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self knowing, self possessed and self respecting no longer requires any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens

His hands reach out to the West and the East, to all humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salute He is, by his literary works and travels among the foremost reconcilers and uniters of races and continents He has renewed India's cultural connection with Japan, China, Siam, Islands India Iran and Iraq by his visits to those lands

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted on India by the British nation and whilst condemning such wrong doing unsparingly, he has never refrained from being just and even generous in his estimate of the British people

It will be recalled that he was the first to publicly condemn the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre, and that he gave up his knighthood in protest

His politics are concerned more with the moulding of society and character building than with the more vocal manifestations of that crowded department of national activity Freedom he prizes as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is full and fundamental To him the chains of inertness cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure seeking, of

superstition and lifeless cu tom of th authority of priestcraft and letter of scriptur constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger, which is largely a consequence and a symptom He prizes and in sts upon the absence of external restraints But this does not constitute the whole of his idea o freedom There should be inner freedom also born of self sacrifice, enlightenment self pur fication and self control This point of view has largely moulded his conception of the In dian political problem and the be t method of tackling it He wishes to set the spirit free to give it wings to soar, so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere o activity He desires that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merge in each other

Age and bodily infirmities have not made him a reactionary and obscurantist His spirit is ever open to new light He continues to be a progressive social reformer His intellectual powers are still at their height His latest poetic creations of the month—perhaps one may sometimes say, of the week or the day—do no betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility, nor are there in any of them signs of repetition He continues to be among our most active writers This is for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loves his kind and human intercourse is dear to his soul His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of the-way sciences and crafts and his travels in many continents enable him to e tablish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the conscious master in the realms of the unknown—himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual pro pectors and explorers

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protests of her people, he threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self expression of the people in all possible ways But when popular resentment and despair led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to violence, though, as I understand him abstention from the use of force under all circumstances is not with him a religious principle He has been equally unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety He has never believed that war can ever be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men Hence the poet seer has repeatedly given in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the *Isopanishad*

> **All this whatsoever that moves in Nature is indwelt by the Lord. Enjoy thou what hath been allotted to thee by Him Do not covet anybody s wealth.**

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet has expre sed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he holds that private property has its legitimate uses for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he sees and states clearly the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his following cabled reply to a query of Professor Petrov, of V O K S, Moscow,

"Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity"

How the poet feels for the humblest of human beings may be understood from many of his poems and utterances, *e g*, the following from *Gitanjali*,

> "Pride can never approach to where thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the poorest, and lowliest and lost."
>
> "My heart can never find its way to where Thou keepest company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost"
>
> "He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower and His garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil"

Twenty-eight years ago he wrote a poem, included in the Bengali *Gitanjali*, addressed to the Motherland, referring to the treatment accorded to the "untouchables" Its first stanza runs as follows (in translation)

> "O my hapless country those whom thou hast insulted—
> To them shalt thou have to be equal in thy humiliation.
> Those whom thou hast deprived of the rights of man.
> Kept them standing before thee, not taking them in thy lap,
> All of them shalt thou have to equal in humiliation."

As regards the poet's ideal of womanhood, the passage in *Chitra*, beginning,

"I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self

is well known But to get a complete idea of what he thinks of Woman, many other poems and prose writings of his have to be read For instance, among poems, "Sabala" ("The Strong Woman") in *Mahua*, not yet translated, written with reference to the word Abala' (The Weak), a Sanskrit word denoting woman

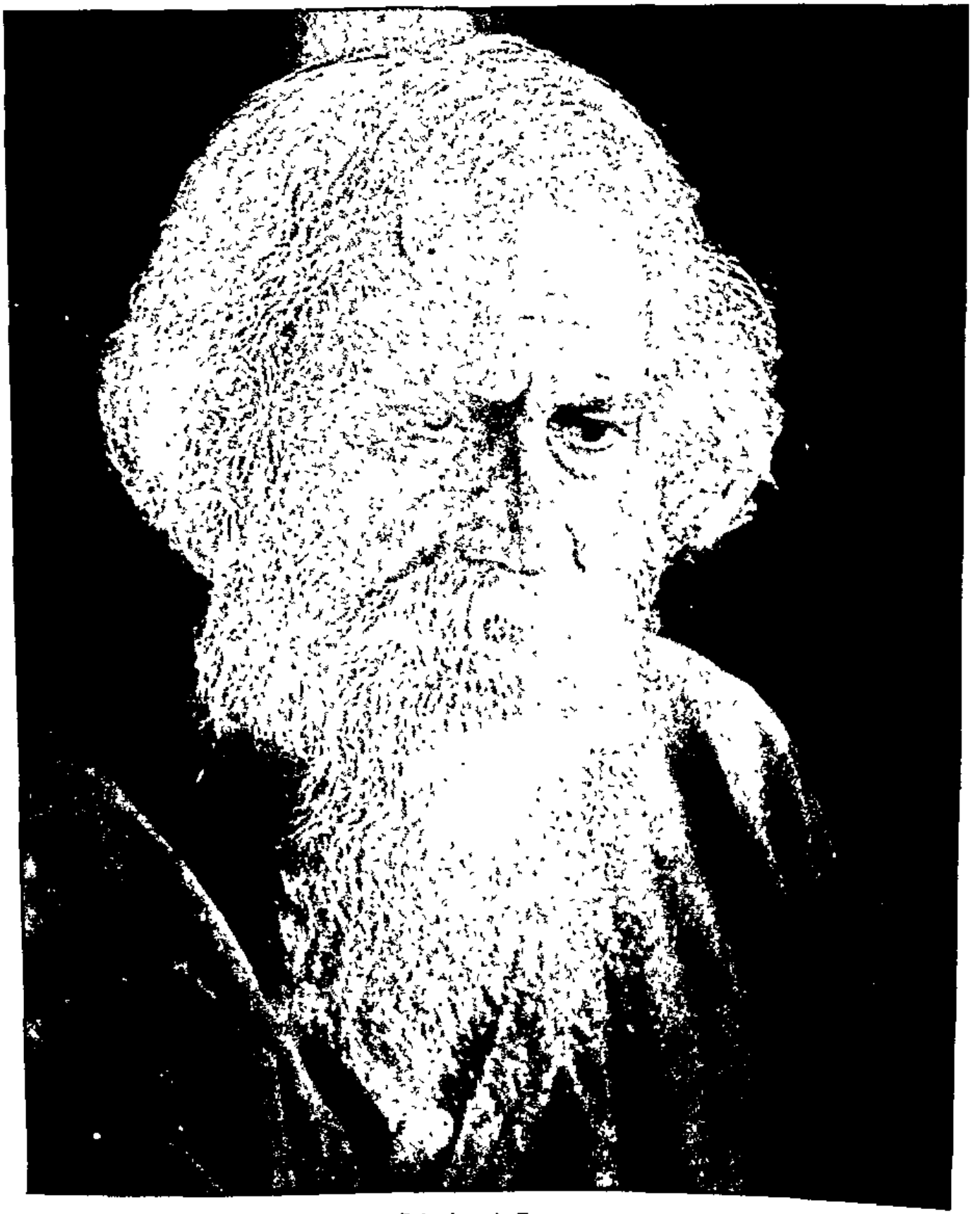
Regarding our unfortunate sisters stigmatized as fallen women, though their betrayers, ravishers and exploiters are *not* fallen men, read the poet's "Patita' ("The Fallen Woman") in *Kahini* and 'Karuna' ('Compassion") and "Sati" (The Chaste Woman') in *Chaitali*. These, too have not yet been translated into English

As an educationist, he has preserved in his ideal of Visva-bharati, the international university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the *tapovanas* or forest retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity The poet's mental outlook is universal He claims for his people all knowledge and culture, whatever their origin, as their province Hence, while he wants the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance therefrom, while he has been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permits, he has also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well China's response has taken the concrete shape of the Cheena-Bhavana for the study of Chinese culture Chinese, Tibetan and Islamic studies —and, of course, the study of Hindu and Buddhist culture and of the teachings of the medieval saints of India, have long been special features of Visva bharati All this has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan He wants that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution

Visva-bharati stands neither for merely literary, nor for merely vocational education but *for both and more* Tagore wants both man the knower and man the maker He wants an intellectual as well as an artistic and aesthetic education He wants the growth of a personality equal to meeting the demands of society and solitude alike Visva-bharati now comprises a primary and a high school, a college, a school of graduate research, a school of painting and modelling and of some crafts, a music school, a school of agriculture and village welfare work a co operative bank with branches and a public health institute Here students of both sexes have their games and physical exercises The poet's idea of a village is that it should combine all its beautiful and healthy rural characteristics with the amenities of town life necessary for fullness of life and efficiency Some such amenities have already been provided in his schools There is co education in all stages It is one of the cherished desires of the poet to give girl students complete education in a woman's University based on scientific methods, some of which are the fruits of his own insight and mature experience

When he is spoken of as the founder of Visva bharati, it is not to be understood that he has merely given it a local habitation and a name and buildings and funds and ideals That he has, no doubt, done To provide funds, he had, in the earlier years of the school, sometimes to sell the copyright of some of his books and even temporarily to part with some of Mrs Tagore's jewellery His subsequent efforts to collect funds are well known In the earlier years of the institution, he took classes in many subjects, lived with the boys in their rooms, entertained them in the evenings by story-telling, recitations of his poems, games of his own invention, methods of sense training of his own devising etc Many a day at that time would Mrs Tagore regale the boys and their teachers with dishes prepared by herself In those days when the number of teachers and students was small, the institution was like a home for them all Even more recently the poet has been known to take some classes And he continues to keep himself in touch with the institution in various ways

Tagore is an independent thinker in education This has been recognised But one of the group of institutions constituting Visva-bharati, namely, Siksha-Satra, has not received due public attention, and is perhaps practically unknown even to Indian educationists It was



Rabindranath Tagore

Photograph By S Saha

Awarded First Prize in an International Photograph Competition April, 1926, London.

founded in 1924 Its origin and principles were stated when it was founded, and re-stated by Mr L K Elmhirst in Visva-bharati Bulletin No 9, December, 1928, from which I make a few extracts below

"To dig our own cave in the earth, where we could creep out of sight, much to the disgust of the matter of fact gardener, to chop sticks with a real axe, to be given a pair of boots to polish a fire to light or some dough to knead and bake—these were our keenest joys yet only too often had we to be content with toy bricks, toy houses, toy tools or toy kitchens or, if serious work was provided, it was in the nature of sweated labour, which fatigued without giving play to our creative instincts

"The aim, then of the Siksha-Satra, is through experience in dealing with this overflowing abundance of child life its charm and its simplicity, to provide the utmost liberty within surroundings that are filled with creative possibilities, with opportunities for the joy of play that is work,—the work of exploration, and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences, to give the child that freedom of growth which the young tree demands for its tender shoot, that field for self-expansion in which all young life finds both training and happiness"

As regards the age at which the child's education at the Siksha Satra should begin, it is stated

It is between the ages of six and twelve that the growing child is most absorbed in gathering impressions through sight, smell hearing and taste but more especially through touch and the use of the hands. From the start, therefore, the child enters the Siksha-Satra as an apprentice in handicraft as well as housecraft. In the workshop, as a trained producer and as a potential creator, it will acquire skill and win freedom for its hands, whilst as an inmate of the house, which it helps to construct and furnish and maintain, it will gain expanse of spirit and win freedom as a citizen of the small community"

Some of the crafts which the pupils can learn are mentioned in the Bulletin It is stated that, "from the earliest years it is well to introduce to the children some special craft, easily grasped by small hands, which is of definite economic value The product should be of real use in the home, or have a ready sale outside, " "In the carrying out of every one of these crafts, again, some art, some science, some element of business enters in"

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens He has often written with terrible directness. In years past the poet successfully edited several monthlies and contributed, and still contributes, to numerous more He has written for many weeklies, too He is the only man in Bengal I know who was capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required

I have been privileged to publish perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc, from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor It has been a privilege without any penalty attached to it, as he is regular, punctual and methodical, and as it is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting As an editor, he was the making of many authors, who subsequently became well-known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work

His beautiful handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that I, who have had occasion to see it so often, cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from its imitation

There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems That is a mistake As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of *The Modern Review* in 1912 This is how he came to write in English for publication Some time in 1911 I sugge ted that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr Lokendranath Palit, I C S Of these *Fruitless Cry* appeared in May and *The Death of the Star* in September, 1911, in *The Modern Review* When I a ked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and unwillingness and tried to put me off by playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, 'On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears?', the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a school-boy, take kindly to school education and its concomitant exercises But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his tran lations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam school-master I considered them up to standard These appeared in my *Review* The e are to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions Their manuscripts have been preserved

I have referred to his beautiful hand All calligraphi ts cannot and do not become painters, though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as a painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings They are neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern European

paintings They are unclassed One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonalty understanding and appreciating them is that they seldom tell a story They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home Nor did he want to imitate anybody So, he is literally an original artist If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools of painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact In the Bengali *Santiniketan Patra* (Santiniketan Magazine") of the month of Jyaistha, 1333 B E, published twelve years ago Dr Abanindranath Tagore, the famous artist described (pp 100 101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art Summing up Abanindranath writes

'Bengal's poet suggested the lines of Art Bengal's artist (*i e* Abanindranath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day—"(Translation)

It was my happy privilege some twenty years back to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch During one such period my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two storied cottage in which he then lived—only a field intervened between During that period I could never at night catch the poet going to sleep earlier than myself And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was very early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the East, but usually I found that his devotions were already over and he was busily engaged in some of his usual work At mid day, far from enjoying a siesta, he did not even recline During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer And the sultry summer days of Santiniketan are unforgettable!

His late serious illness and the infirmities of age have necessitated changes in his habits But even now he works longer than many young men

I have all along looked upon him as an earnest *Sadhak* He is not however, an ascetic —nor of course, a lover of luxury His ideal of life is different

'Deliverance is not for me in renunciation," he has said in one of his poems

> Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.
>
> Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine of various colours and fragrance filling this earthen vessel to the brim.
>
> "My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flame and place them before the altar of thy temple
>
> "No I will never shut the doors of my senses The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.
>
> Yes all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love."

BUILD ME A TREE

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

I

Build me a tree! My eyes are tired
Blurred with cement and needled spired
Towers and warrens Hutch and den,
Tier upon tier, all filled with men
Coppered with sweat, unkempt and soiled
Covered with grime, where they have toiled
Grooved in the mesh of cogs and gears
Harnessed to lathes and drills and shears—
Bound to the wheels! The vast machine
Grinds down their souls Let them be clean,

Healed from the scald of labour's yoke—
Cleansed from the stench and belch of smoke

Spewed from a foundry, fouling skies
Barring the sun from weary eyes

II

Build me a tree! Resilient
Mystical symbol, heaven spent
Arches of beauty Sprung delight,
Ichored with sap to give it might
Then let it flourish, bud and swell
Wrought to great music! Plant it well
Anchored to earth and rooted deep—
Cabled and clawed, to sway and sweep
Plenteous branches bend and form,
Tempered to thunder, gale and storm
Forked and crotched for birds in spring,
Bless it with sunlight—let it swing
Cadenced to hope! Give the command—
Call on the gods to guide your hand,
Build with a vision Build inspired—
Build me a tree! My soul is tired—

A LETTER TO AN INDIAN FRIEND IN JAPAN

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Dear Anandmohan,

You will know from the following extract from a paper I read to my fellow countrymen who were living in Japan how deeply my mind was attracted to the Japanese people when I came into personal touch with them during a short visit to Tokyo on my way to U S A

'I have come to discover something very great in the character of Japan I am not blind to their faults You may remember that when I first came to this part of the world I wrote a number of lectures upon Nationalism which I read in the United States of America The reason why these thoughts came to me in Japan was because it was here that I first saw the Nation in all its naked ugliness, whose spirit we Orientals have borrowed from the West

It came vividly before my eyes, because on the one hand there were the real people of Japan, producing wonderful works of art, and in the details of their life giving expression to inherited codes of social behaviour and honour, the spirit of Bushido On the other hand in contrast to the living side of the people was the spirit of the Nation arrogantly proud, suffering from the one obsession that it was different from all other Asiatic peoples

Japan was faced with the most difficult trial of suddenly being startled into power and prosperity and had begun to show all the teeth and claws of the Nation, which have been demoralising the civilised world spreading far and wide an appalling amount of cruelty and deception I could not specially blame Japan for this but I heartily deplored the fact that she, with her code of honour, her ideal of perfection and her belief in the need for grace in everyday life could yet become infected with this epidemic of selfishness and with the boastfulness of egotism

I frankly confess that I was then deeply mortified For though the people of Japan on this first occasion, accepted me with enthusiastic welcome in the beginning, yet directly they came to know the ideas that I had they felt nervous They thought that idealism would weaken their morale, that ideals were not for those nations who must be unscrupulously strong, that the Nation must never have any feelings of disgust from the handling of diplomatic filth or of shrinking from the use of weapons of brutal power Human victims had to be sought and the nation had to be enriched with plunder

Nevertheless, I did not blame Japan for considering me to be dangerous Though I felt the hurt of this evil, yet at the same time I knew that beneath the iron mailcoat of the Nation the living spirit of the People had been working in secret Today I feel sure that these people have the promise of a great future though that may not be evident in the facts of the present Truth is often hidden behind the obstacle of facts

I deem myself fortunate in having noted certain characteristic truths in the Japanese race, which I believe will work through their subconscious mind and one day produce great results in a luminous revelation of their soul. It fills me almost with envy at their profound feeling for beauty their calm sense of perfection that is expressed in various ways in their daily conduct The constant exercise of patience in their daily life is the patience of a strength which revels in the fashioning of exquisite behaviour with a self control that is almost spiritual in its outward expression It has required strenuous discipline and centuries of civilisation I shall have to confess that the Japanese possess a monopoly of certain elements of heroism,—a heroism which is one with their artistic genius In its essence it has a strong energy of movement, in its form it has that perfect proportion which comes of self mastery It is a creation of two opposing forces that of expression and that of repression

These people have come to believe in a heroism which is not in self exaggeration but in a resigned spirit that can quietly accept either action or inaction as honour or duty might dictate Therein lies the beauty of their strength, it is in that detachment of mind, which does not forget the ideal of excellence in its greed and hurry for result. Their perfect heroism finds its inspiration in the music of truth which is in beauty

Japan must prove to the world that the present utilitarian spirit may be wedded to beauty If Science and Art necessity and joy,

the machine and life, are once united, that will be a great day At present, Science is shamelessly disassociated from Art She is a barbarian, boastful of her immense muscle and superficial nature But has she not come at last to the gate of the truth which gives us the mystery of the beautiful? Has she not proved that it is in Rhythm itself which is in the heart of Reality? She has suddenly stumbled upon the dance music of creation It has been revealed to her that every atom is a ring dance of light round a luminous centre Only a difference in their dance measure is responsible for the difference in elements It is through the chain of these varied dances, which are the cadence of beauty that this universe of reality has its play in the courtyard of time and space Any torture of the chain of beauty any break in it is evil because it hurts the very spirit of reality which is one in its physical appearance and in its moral and spiritual meaning By killing the best expression of reality which is beauty we enfeeble its soul which is moral and spiritual

Though we often find in Japan of today a hysteria of violence in her politics an unscrupulous greed in her commerce and an undignified lack of reticence in her public life which makes us anxious for the moment, yet let us feel certain that all these have been borrowed from the outside, that they have no deep root in her mind Let us hope that the truth which they have in their inner being will work through all contradictions and express itself through unaccountable ways in some sudden outbreak of revelation

Great periods of history are periods of eruption unlooked for and seemingly against the times, but they have all along been cradled in the dark chamber of the people's inner nature The ugly spirit of the market has come from across the sea into the beautiful land of Japan It may, for the time, find its lodging in the guest house of the people, but their home will ultimately banish it For it is a menace to the genius of her race, a sacrilege to the best that she has attained and must keep safe, not only for her own salvation, but for the glory of all humanity'

This was in 1916 when some of the great nations in Europe went mad in their mutual destruction and I fondly hoped that such a defamation of humanity could never happen in that beautiful country inhabited by a people who had inherited their ancient tradition of heroism that is chivalrous a perfect combination of beauty and manliness Though I had my glimmer of doubt yet I felt sure that the whole mind of this people would indignantly reject the hideousness that shamelessly unmasked itself in Europe at that murderous moment, the ruthless display of barbarity indulging in indiscriminate manslaughter, using torturous weapons finished in laboratory, cowardly in their mechanical efficiency and soulless ravage, revealing a diabolical callousness in their deliberate destruction of centres of culture with scientific abominations rained from the sky I could never dream in those not very distant days that I should ever have woefully to revise my estimate of the greatness of this people whose co-operation we had eagerly expected in building up of a noble future in Asia by their sympathy and true love of freedom at this period of changing scenes in world's history when the lamp of Europe in its last flicker seems to produce more poisonous fume than flame

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd) RABINDRANATH TAGORE



SYMPOSIUM ON RIVER PHYSICS

[Held under the joint auspices of the Indian Science Congress, the National Institute of Sciences and the Indian Physical Society at the Senate Hall Calcutta University on January 10, 1938]

In his opening address, Professor M N Saha, President of the National Institute of Sciences for India, pointed out that from the dawn of civilisation and probably even earlier, rivers have formed, in India as well as elsewhere, the main centres of civilised life and in India particularly, most of the cities famous in history and civilisation arose on river banks

This was due to the fact that rivers supplied all the main needs of early communities whose existence depended upon agriculture, and whose civilisation depended to a large extent, upon maintenance of lines of communications Since time immemorial, rivers have been used in India as well as elsewhere, for irrigation and navigation, but here, owing to the vast extent of the country, all types of irrigation have been practised, *e g*, flood time canal irrigation in the precarious areas of the Punjab, and Sind, tank storage irrigation in the Deccan Plateau and perennial irrigation in the plentiful areas of the lower Ganges and other river basins, with other minor forms of irrigation in particular areas The ancient and medieval rulers of India took particular care for the construction and proper maintenance of irrigation works.

The classical use of rivers has been for irrigation and navigation, but since the advent of the railway (1857) navigation has been very much neglected Most of the rivers have within the last hundred years been spanned by a large number of railways at different crossings, and embankments have been constructed to protect these railways This has led in certain regions, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, to a total dislocation of the natural system of drainage, resulting in the deterioration of rivers, formation of swamps, frequent outbreaks of malaria in epidemic form, and great damage to rural prosperity A critical analysis of the past happenings showed that much of these evil effects could have been avoided by proper planning, but in most cases, interest of the rural population were sacrificed to the needs of railroad expansion

Defective Planning

The effects of defective planning have been most apparent in the delta of the Ganges and he Brahmaputra (Bengal) and in the delta of the Mahanadi river (Orissa) After the opening of the East Indian Railway in 1859, the Burdwan division of Bengal was practically ruined by the dislocation of the drainage system a fact which is now admitted officially Another glaring illustration of defective planning is the Hardinge Bridge over the Lower Ganges at Sarah, which, at the risk estimate, was to have cost Rupees one crore and a half (1.2 million pounds) It cost actually about four and half crores of rupees (3.6 million pounds), when it was completed nearly 25 years ago but even with such huge expenditure the bridge is not considered safe. The Ganges river had several times shown a tendency to cut through the flanks, open a new channel, and leave the bridge on dry grounds To combat the destructive action of the river, the Government of India had to spend over several crores of rupees on several occasions and it cannot be said that the danger is over Sir F Spring, the engineer, who was entrusted nearly forty years ago with the task of making preliminary survey of the river and drawing up plans for the construction of this bridge openly expressed the opinion that the time alloted to him, and to other engineers was too short to arrive at a working knowledge of the life of the great Indian rivers without which no proper planning can be done. These problems are unique, as in spite of their rather comparative shortness, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra carry, next to the Amazon, the largest volume of water The maximum discharge of the lower Ganges is, according to Spring several hundred times that of the Thames, seven times that of the Nile, and exceed that of the Mississipi near South Pass The maximum discharge of the Brahmaputra is estimated to be one and half times as much. Spring strongly recommended in 1903, the establishment of a river physics laboratory where all data regarding Indian rivers would be collected and analysed, and on the basis of such knowledge, model experiments should be carried out before any engineering project which may interfere with the existing rivers (such as spanning a river by bridges, cutting a canal from a river, putting an embankment to keep out floods), is actually put into execution

But in spite of strong representation by Sir F Spring, Mr Reakes and other persons who have studied the problems of river changes in the lower Ganges delta first hand, neither the Central nor the provincial Governments of India have shown any inclination to establish properly equipped River Physics Laboratories excepting the Punjab Government, which has the largest length of irrigation canals to maintain There also, the official mind was first directed to the necessity of having research laboratories from the fact that a large part of the irrigated land was turning alkaline and when engineers found themselves baffled by this problem, they referred it in 1927 to some pure scientists, including Dr Wilsdon, then Professor of Physical Chemistry at the Government College, Lahore In course of his investigation, Dr Wilsdon and his successor Mr Mackenzie-Taylor gradually found that the problems were multifarious and complicated enough to require services of physicists, mathematicians, statisticians, and physical chemists. In course of the years, the Irrigation Research Laboratories of the Punjab have grown up into a very useful organisation. The Central Board of Irrigation has established a hydraulic research laboratory at Poona, where small scale model experiments on rivers are being carried out under the guidance of Mr Inglis But India is a vast country not only is her area and population equal to that of Europe minus Russia, but the length of her watercourses is almost the same, and the problems of one region are quite distinct from those of another It is therefore obvious that one or two research laboratories cannot serve the interests of the whole country More laboratories are required in different regions. Nowhere is the need of a river physics laboratory more actually felt than in the lower Ganges and Brahmaputra

Delta (Bihar, Bengal and Assam) which is intersected by a labyrinth of watercourses, which are constantly changing their channels, eroding cities and villages, causing destructive floods, and by their frequent change of course, forming swamps which turn into beds of malaria Even the existence of the great city of Calcutta is threatened As a port, the Hugli river on which stands Calcutta is receiving, for the major part of the year, no fresh supply of water from the Ganges while tidal water from the Bay of Bengal rushes up the Hugli estuary, twice a month, and forces back the silt and cause it to be deposited along the river bed If this process goes on, sea going vessels would not be able to reach Calcutta at no distant future and her fate as a seaport would be sealed like those of other old cities in the deltaic regions (Pataliputra 500 B C—500 A.D) Gaur (500 A D—1575 A D) and Tamralipti As a city, the level of Calcutta has relatively gone down, within the last hundred years of its existence by two to four feet, the sewerage does not flow freely by gravity, but has to be pumped out artificially and the once tidal river (Bidyadhari) which once used to carry the Sewerage, is checked up by silt, and is for all purposes dead If the situation is not remedied Calcutta may be buried in its own sewerage at no distant epoch It has often been urged, said the lecturer that the problems of any particular region can be tackled in a Central Irrigation Research Laboratory situated thousands of miles away say at Delhi or Poona. According to Professor Saha, such proposals were rather unwise for if a particular problem, concerning a region is ever to be successfully tackled, there should be constant and frequent contact between workers in the field and the research workers in the laboratory The research workers must in addition possess a background of knowledge of local conditions which are widely different in different regions of India How can all these conditions which are necessary for a successful solution of the problem be secured when the laboratory is situated thousands of miles away from the region whose problem is to be attacked? The speaker therefore strongly opposed the idea of a Central Irrigation Research Laboratory and advocated the establishment of regional laboratories, one for the Punjab, one for the United Provinces and Bihar, one for Bengal, Assam and Orissa, and two for Southern India

In the further part of the address, the problems of poverty and unemployment of the Indian masses were analysed and it was pointed out that the only solution was large scale industrialisation of the country It was also pointed out that by virtue of her natural resources India was eminently fit for industrialization One of the greatest impediments to successful industrialization was the high price of power, and total neglect of the problems of development of the power resources of the country by the state The speaker pointed out that the average price of power in India was nearly four times that of European countries, and the consumption of electricity per capita was only seven units in the year The average Indian is poor because the average production of work per capita in India from all sources (manual, animal, steam oil, electricity) is only 90 to 100 units, while in the modern world, it ought to be nearly 2,000 units. These figures show lack of organisation planning, and need of beneficent legislation The speaker pleaded strongly as a first step towards successful industrialization for the establishment of a power survey and research laboratory on the lines of the Krizhanovski Power Survey And Research Institute at Moscow established by the Soviet Government The concluding parts of the speech shows the impatience of the modern Indian mind with the existing state of affairs. The speaker quotes a passage from Dr Vera Anstey who in her *Economic Development of India* remarks

> 'Here is a country of ancient civilization, with rich and varied resources, that has been in intimate contact with the most materially advanced countries of the West, but which is still essentially mediæval in outlook and organization and which is a byword throughout the world for the poverty of its people.'

Then she quotes Mr M. L Darling

> 'The most interesting thing about India is that her soil is rich and her people are poor' and asks herself

> Can India be called 'Mediæval" when it is organised under a modern form of constitutional Government, possesses a great system of mechanical transportation a unique system of irrigation, no less than seventeen modern Universities, and has several large scale industries producing with the most up to-date machines that have yet been invented?'

The answer, however galling to our pride, must be that in point of poverty, ignorance and disease, India of today can only be classed with China and Abyssinia, countries which are still steeped in mediævalism, and have paid the price for continuing mediævalism

If we desire to fight successfully the scourge of poverty and want from which 90% of our countrymen are suffering if we wish to remodel our society and renew the springs of our civilization and culture, and lay the foundations of a strong and progressive national life we must make the fullest use of the power which a knowledge of Nature has given us We must rebuild our economic system by utilising the resources of our land harnessing the energy of our rivers, prospecting for the riches hidden under the bowels of the earth, reclaiming deserts and swamps, conquering the barriers of distance and, above all, we must mould anew the nature of man in both its individual and social aspects, so that a richer, more harmonious and happier race may people this great and ancient land of ours. Towards the realization of this ideal, we must adopt ourselves to the new philosophy of life and train the coming generations for the service of the community in scientific studies and research

D N Wadia—On the recent Geological changes in the course of Indian Rivers

Mr D N Wadia of the Geological Survey of India spoke on changes in course of Indian Rivers during the latest geological epochs. According to Mr. Wadia, whose opinion reflects that of the Geological Survey, the continent of India, particularly of the Gangetic plains, has been subject to great tectonic movements in the past geological epochs, and even now the movements appear to be operative

In the early Pleistocene times, there appear to have existed in India north of the Vindhya range a great river called Indobrahm by Pascoe, and Siwalik river by Pilgrim, which comprised the waters of the present Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra This river appears to have taken its rise in Eastern Assam, and flowed north west through the Punjab and Sind into the Arabic sea Later the Indus separated owing to rise of the eastern Punjab watershed, and the Ganges and the Brahmaputra through other upheavals. The Soan, a small river in Rawalpindi district, is the sole remnant of the Indobrahm In historic times too, the rivers have changed greatly The Saraswati river, famous in the Vedas, was

once a large stream and flowed through the Eastern Punjab to the sea it is now represented by a small stream which rises near Simla, and gets lost in the desert sands. Probably the Jumna used to flow into it and the degeneration of the Saraswati is due to several courses notably the deflection of the Jumna river to join the Ganges in the east Throughout historical time the Hakra river (or the Great Mihran) which was probably a continuation of the old Saraswati used to carr the waters of the Sutlej and flow in a channel parallel to the Indus to the Run of Cutch there an inland Area. This river according to C F Oldham dried up between the 12th and the 13th centuries The Beas and other Punjab rivers have wandered widely within the plains of the Punjab, most probably due to surface deposition of heavy silt during floods

On the east the Himalayan rivers have a tendency to work backwards and capture other river systems It is surmised that the Brahmaputra was originally a comparatively small stream, unconnected with the Tsangpo of Tibet This river presumably discharged itself eastwards either into the Salween or at some lake in western China. But the Dihang a tributary cut its way backwards, captured the Tsangpo thus rendering the Brahmaputra the mighty stream it is now These tendencies are still at work It is stated by Sven Hedin, that the Kali Gandak, a tributary of the Gandak a river which after traversing the Himalayas flow through north Bihar and discharge itself into the Ganges above Patna, is near its source perilously near the Tsangpo and if left to itself may capture in course of a few thousand years, the Tsangpo This process, according to Sven Hedin may be achieved even by ordinary engineering process, at no prohibitive cost. The consequences of the Brahmaputra flowing through the Gandak into Bihar may be easily imagined In Bengal, the river changes are more rapid, probably owing to the soft nature of the soil, (on this point Mr S C Majumdar had a separate paper), and the Geography of the country changes so rapidly that the map prepared by Major Rennell in 1786 is entirely different from the present map of Bengal

Dr. S L. Hora Zoological Survey of India—On evidence of river changes from examination of fauna of different rivers

Dr S L Hora, of the Geological Survey of India spoke on changes in the drainage of India as evidenced by the distribution of fish fauna and the light they throw on the paleshydrographical problems He said

The position of the main river during the mesozoic period can be inferred to some extent from the occurrence of ancient fish fossils (*e.g.*, of the Dipnoan and Ganoid fishes) in the Upper Gondwana beds of Kota Maleri The Sea was then probably not far removed from the trappean beds of the Central Provinces and covering the whole of northern India. This state continued till the Eocene times when the lava overflow covered Southern India, forming the Deccan trap and obliterating the channels forming the existing drainage of India of those times. But from fish remains at several intertrappean beds in the Central Provinces it is inferred that the main drainage channels in the Eocene Age was the same as during the Mesozoic epoch, but the predominantly Ganoid fauna was replaced more or less during the intertrappean periods by modern bony fishes.

As practically all the principal genera of bony fishes had already appeared during the Tertiary further changes in the drainage of India are adduced from the Geographical distribution of the modern fishes. The orogenic movements that gave birth to the Himalayan chain of mountains produced a succession of changes in the drainage pattern of India. The distribution of fishes shows that for a considerable time, the longitudinal basin formed as a foredeep at the base of the Himalayas served as the main drainage channel This channel was discovered by Pascoe and Pilgrim simultaneously and designated as Indobrahm or Siwalik River' respectively This river is believed to have flowed from east to west and carried the combined waters of the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Indus. In the author's opinion its headwaters were probably in Southern China, and in support of this contention several instances are cited from the distribution of allied general of fishes

Certain localized orogenic movements resulted in the dismemberment of the Indobrahm into at least three drainage systems the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Indus. In this process the once continuous fish fauna became segregated into definite regions A detailed study of some of the elements of this fauna show that the Brahmaputra portion was the first to be separated and that the Ganges and the Indus flowed together as a combined river for a considerable time afterwards The fish fauna of the Ganges and the Indus are almost indentical and this would indicate that the two rivers probably became separated, geologically speaking not very long ago Attention is here directed to the fact that the Jumna river, a tributary of the Ganges, was a tributary of the Sutlej within historic times

One remarkable fact of distribution of Indian fresh water fishes is the close similarity between the fauna of the Eastern Himalayas and that of the hills of the Peninsula in the extreme south. This is explained in terms of the geological changes that may have occurred at the time of separation of the Brahmaputra from the Indobrahm of the Tertiary period

The probable mode of evolution of the present day drainage pattern of the Himalayas is discussed and evidence is adduced to show that it has developed from a consequent drainage, *e.g.*, rivers draining north and south of the crest.

The fish fauna of India is probably derived from that of Southern China and Indo-China and its transference towards the west and south appears to have been facilitated by longitudinal valleys, river-captures etc. In South Eastern Asia, the southern and western portions appear to have been sinking and this has made the northern fauna migrate towards the south and west The present-day distribution of fishes strongly supports such a hypothesis. The eastward flowing rivers of the Peninsula probably assumed their present direction after the rise of the Western Ghats their antiquity is apparent from their broad valleys.

NATIONALISM AND MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome)

Never has the Czechoslovak Republic passed such anxious moments over its national sovereignty and territorial integrity since its foundation (29th February 1920) as during the few weeks following the *anschluss*. The new political order which emerged in Europe from the devastations of the Great War has received a rude shock at the gradual rise of Germanism under the leadership of Herr Hitler and the boundaries of Central European States drawn according to the principle of self determination by President Wilson are threatened once again under the Nazi cry of *Drang nach Osten*. The heart of European peace is palpitating at Prague.

Historians will differ as to the soundness of the policy of self determination (a phrase borrowed from the Bolsheviks) so far as its consequences in Central European politics are concerned. The principle was indeed a just and laudable one but it led to the erection of five new States of questionable stability for it involved large transfers of territory and population at the expense of the Teutonic and Magyar races. The reduction of Austria to a proportion in which she could hardly maintain her existence as an independent State is one of the prices that has sometimes to be paid for the wrong application of a good principle. But the vindication of Czech nationalism which had been suffocated for centuries under alien rule and the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, as much as the independence of Poland, are some of the moral victories that were bought by the huge wastes of war. Prof. H. A. L. Fisher[1] thus describes the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic:

> "Czechoslovakia is the child of propaganda. How two able exiles, Masaryk, the son of a Slovak coachman, and Benes the son of a Czech peasant farmer set alight an agitation for the liberation of the Czechs and the Slovaks, with what wholesale desertions from the Austrian army their efforts were rewarded, how French and English brains were enlisted in their cause, with what enthusiasm the evangel of Czech liberation was received in Chicago and with what sympathy by President Wilson, how 45 000 Czech war captives in Russia formed themselves into an army marched across Siberia, and were then transported into their native country—the narrative of these events constitutes one of the most surprising chapters in modern history."

The Czechoslovak Constitution which was determined by the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic on 29th February, 1920, declares that this democratic Republic is a unified and not a federative State. This principle has subsequently become a source of great misgivings among the German minorities of the Republic. At the head of the Charter of the Constitution stands the motto "The people is the sole fountain of State authority in the Czechoslovak Republic." The unity of the State is recognized *inter alia* in Article 10 of the Treaty of St. Germain, and the oneness and uniformity of citizenship is recognised for all members of the State in the Constitutional Charter with full political and civic rights. A special section (Part V) of the Charter of the Constitution is devoted to the so called fundamental rights and liberties of citizens. Privileges derived from birth, sex or calling are not recognized, private ownership is declared inviolable and a Supreme Administrative Court guards the administration against any breach of these rights. Part VI of the Constitutional Charter deals with the protection of racial and religious minorities, and the stipulations of the Treaty of St. Germain in regard to the question of minorities have not only been ratified by the Czechoslovak Constitution, but also Articles 131 and 132 of the Charter have been declared as fundamental constitutional articles, although the above Treaty in no way required this. The Czechoslovak language was adopted as the State language, although provisions were made for the teaching of other languages spoken by the minorities.

In order to have a precise idea of the present crisis it is necessary to be familiar with the way in which the State has during the twenty years of its existence, tried to reconcile the interests of the minorities with those of the political integrity of the Republic. The percentages of minority populations in Czechoslovakia, according to the 1930 census, were as follows —

Czechoslovaks	9 638 943	62·92%
Germans	3,231 718	22·32%
Magyars (Hungarians)	692 121	4·78%
Ruthenians	594 043	3·79%
Jews	186 474	1·29%
Poles	81 741	0·56%
Other national ties	49,645	
Foreigners	250 031	

[1] *History of Europe*, p. 1155.



"Au s_ one of le pr n pal e of Sude en" German In he di ance s seen the f o e of he Re ch



A ways de halt n a Czech v lla_e



Gay scene in a Slovak village picturesque costumes of Slovakia



A village procession in Carpathian Ruthenia, near the Rumanian frontier

Lebensraum (living space). The *National Zeitung* of Essen, believed to be the mouthpiece of Field Marshall Goering took the London *Times* to great task a few days ago for its leading article which suggested a democratic solution of the minority problem The Essen writer says

"As for the usual democratic compromise suggested in the leading article whereby one side would state its maximum demands and the other its maximum concessions, this is dismissed with the recommendation that the method be employed in Northern Ireland after its incorporation in the Irish Free State"

The annexation of Austria to the Reich has not only made the Henlein party's demands more insistent, but has placed Czechoslovakia in a disadvantageous economic position in regard to its trade with Germany Germany now will be able to control the entire Danubian basin and Central European markets once she has established herself firmly at Vienna Czechoslovakia runs the risk of being strangulated economically if France and England would not furnish markets for those Czech goods which will not be bought any more by Germany Much of Czechoslovakia's trade with Austria is likely to disappear, and it is extremely improbable that Austria will go on buying one million tons of coal a year from Czechoslovakia Her finished goods will be replaced by goods of German origin Moreover, the dependence on Germany of Jugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria, which are buyers of goods from Czechoslovakia, is so great that Austro-Germany is in a position to impose new clearing arrangements on these countries which will make it even more difficult than before for them to buy goods from Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia faces today the gravest of problems that have ever presented themselves since the foundation of the Republic, as was openly acknowledged by President Benes in his speech on April 16 last He said:

"In our neighbourhood some changes have occurred which influence in a marked degree European policy, and particularly policy in Central Europe. We must not close our eyes to the fact that we are passing through the biggest political, social, and cultural revolutionary process in the history of Europe The whole of Europe is asking whether this situation will lead to another European or world war"

But Czechoslovakia is not afraid to face the situation or to defend its own rights of State sovereignty and its popular institutions if they are attacked from outside Czechoslovakia is heavily armed, and can boast of good soldiers too France has reaffirmed her Treaty obligations with Czechoslovakia, and the latter is allied also with Soviet Russia, the greatest and most powerful Slav State. Although there was nothing very categorical in the declarations of Mr Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons in regard to Britain's attitude in the event of an aggression in Czechoslovakia by the Germans, his statement was very well received in Prague. Mr. Chamberlain said

"The irresistible pressure of facts might well prove more powerful than formal pronouncements and in that event it would be well within the bounds of probability that other countries besides those which were parties to the original dispute, would almost immediately become involved That was true of two countries like Great Britain and France, with their long associations of friendship and common ideals they were determined to uphold"

The Little Entente stands discredited today and the alliance of its three component States has become too weak to be of any useful assistance in favour of Czechoslovakia. But the Anglo-Italian agreement signed two weeks ago at Rome, and the Franco-Italian conversations that are since taking place in Rome have brought great encouragement to the supporters of the Czechoslovak State, who believe in a peaceful solution of the Sudeten German problem The powerful mediating influence of Great Britain may be of immense value to the cause of Czechoslovak independence The cool reception that has met Herr Henlein's demands at Paris and London has encouraged the hope that their rejection by Prague would be regarded in those capitals as not justifying intervention by the Reich That Czechoslovakia would resist with all her might such intervention and would defend her rights was very clearly laid down by Dr Hodza in a speech before the two Chambers of Parliament at Prague on the 4th March, 1938 He said with a heroic optimism

"The Czechs and Slovaks throughout their whole historical past have stood for truth and fought for justice In the common State which we established twenty years ago we have no intention of betraying the aim of our endeavours in the past centuries. By virtue of the collective will of our whole people we are today as strong as we never were before in history. In the spirit of our history, in the spirit of the moral and intellectual qualities of our people, we are building up our restored State with all our forces as a real home for all its ethnical elements It is in a consciousness of this that is anchored our calm, our certainty and our full determination to maintain and courageously to defend the heritage that has come down to us from our Kings who were the protagonists and defenders of peace and of agreement among the nations of Europe, who were determined champions and warriors of Christian culture in Central Europe A thousand years

CULTURAL INTERCHANGE AND MINGLING

Being the Presidential Address delivered at the Second All India Cultural Unity Conference held in Calcutta April 20 1938

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Ladies and Gentlemen

* * * * *

The object of this conference is to stress the importance of cultural unity and promote it It is not, therefore, necessary for me to define and discuss culture or to differentiate between the various meanings of culture and civilization

The subject of culture may be considered under three heads, anthropologically speaking language (and literature), material culture comprising arts and crafts, and moral culture comprising such social institutions as religion marriage customs and rites ethical codes government and laws, etc

Anthropologists and archaeologists deal in detail with the material culture of the palaeolithic neolithic and subsequent ages, as evidenced by their weapons of war and chase, their implements of agriculture and domestic economy and their decorations and dress, and the like I presume this conference is not concerned with material culture of this description

It should be the endeavour of the Association holding this conference to study material culture to the extent that it relates to the arts of music painting, sculpture and architecture and such crafts as require the aid of the last three Though anthropologists include them technically under material culture, they have a notable intellectual and aesthetic aspect also Music is correlated to dancing and the various forms of the mimetic and histrionic arts

Coming to what has been technically called moral culture, we are struck with the great part which language plays in it

Culture is a social inheritance It is communicable intelligence And the communication is made mostly by means of language Each man's experience is at first locked up in his own mind If he wishes to communicate it to another man—may be sometimes to evoke a response he must choose and use a medium of communication, such as a gesture a sound, or a piece of paper, leaf, leather bark etc, with marks on it—these last being what we call writing or script I use writing in a broad sense, including some kinds of drawings and pictures If and when that is done, the other man, the man communicated with, is placed in a position to share the experience of the first man, the communicator, and can respond to the extent that he can translate into terms of his own consciousness the first man's outward sign, namely, his gesture, sound or writing

The reason why man alone among animals has culture whereas other animals have none worth the name, is that their powers of intelligent intercourse are slight. Moreover, they can hold intercourse, by means of gestures and sounds, only with living animals and such as are near them On the other hand, man can communicate his experience by means of language and writing to contemporaries living at a distance and to future generations also Just as we can hold intercourse with posterity, so can we hold intercourse with the dead by reading and understanding what they have left for us in words orally transmitted or in writing. Thus is man able to defy time and space

Literature in its comprehensive sense includes philosophy history, science, and what we understand by literature proper

Religion is vitally connected with philosophy and ethics, as also to some extent with science The prevalence in ages past and present and in various countries, of religious music, religious dances, and of religious play-acting of various kinds such as our *jatras* and *kathakatas* and the mysteries and miracle plays of Europe suggests a readily understood connection between religion on the one hand and music, dancing and some kinds of play-acting on the other

What connection interchange and unity there may have been between the material cultures—the arts and crafts of the primitive and pre historic races inhabiting different parts of the earth cannot properly be discussed here And even if it were a relevant subject of discourse at this conference I could not pretend to be competent to speak on it But in order just to indicate how old may be the process of,

perhaps unconscious, cultural exchange and unification, or of independent evolution of similar types of culture in regions situated far apart, I may mention that some of the motifs of the decorations on some pre-historic ancient earthen vessels found in Bihar are very similar to those on such objects found in the south of Europe, and that seals of the Mohen-jo-Daro type have been found in what was ancient Sumer That even so far back as 5,000 years ago or more, people used to undertake distant travel or migration, was brought home to me when Colonel Seymour-Sewell late Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, showed me in the Indian Museum a skull, found among the ancient artifacts excavated on a site in the Indus Civilization region which in his opinion was certainly of a Mongolian or Chinese type

In later times Greek plastic art influenced Indian plastic art in Gandhara and its neighbourhood—though mainly in externals, as Sister Nivedita showed in *The Modern Review*, the motifs for the most part remaining Indian

The very finely polished Asoka pillar, with its magnificent capital, found at Sarnath, has been the occasion for a discussion as to whether this branch of Mauryan art was indebted to Persian art, or *vice versa*, or whether there was mutual indebtedness for influence and consequent unification I merely refer to this topic and pass on, as this is not the occasion to dwell longer on it, nor am I qualified to do so

Art critics and historians of art will be able to say in what relation the frescoes at the Ajanta and the Bagh caves and those at Sigyria in Ceylon stand to one another, and in what relation again the frescoes in some monasteries in Tibet, which are distinctly Indian, recently discovered by Professor Tucci of Italy, stand to the Ajanta paintings The paintings recovered from the sand-buried cities of Central Asia bear witness to ancient India's far-flung cultural influence

That the ancient sculpture, painting, architecture and the drama of both China and Japan were influenced by ancient Indian art is an admitted fact That many of the ancient specimens of art in Burma, Anam, Cambodia, and Siam, bear unmistakable signs of their direct or indirect Indian origin, is well known I need not pause to dwell on the profound influence which was exercised on the culture of these countries by Hinduism and Buddhism

I just refer in passing to the probable emigration of some Buddhist Asiatics to Mexico and some other parts of America in ancient times

That the ancient cultures of Java, Bali, Sumatra and Borneo, including their architecture, sculpture, and some of their religious ritual, were of Indian origin, every school-boy ought to know now-a-days Most of the people of Java have become Musalmans, but they have all kept their Hindu and Buddhist culture Manuscripts of the Gita and parts of the Mahabharat have been found in Java. Its shadow-plays relate to episodes from the Mahabharat Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, the famous anthropologist, has told me that the *Chho* dance or masked dance of some Chota Nagpur aborigines may be genetically connected with the shadow-plays of Java The story of the Ramayan is sculptured on the stone walls of some ancient monuments of Java and Cambodia The ancient script of the Philippine Islands was taken from the Pallava script of South India

All these show how Indian culture has travelled, co-operated with and influenced many foreign cultures

Coming to more recent times, we find art critics dwelling on the origins of what has been called the Mughal school of medieval Indian painting, which was essentially Indian Here, as well as in the edifices built during the Mughal period of Indian history, there was cultural unity and co-operation between the Hindus and Moslems On this subject, writers like E B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy are reliable guides Besides Persian, some Chinese influence is also found in some of the water colours of this period

In the paintings of Ravi Varma and his followers and of Bombay presidency painters in general, except those like Kanu Desai, the influence of European art is predominant In what has been called the Bengal School of Painting, originated by Abanindranath Tagore, there was at first some Japanese influence I am not competent to speak on this subject, but I believe that this influence has been shaken off Ajanta paintings influenced our painters very much But they are striking out new paths for themselves Gaganendranath Tagore stood and stands by himself So does Mr Jamini Ranjan Ray In painting Rabindranath Tagore is unclassed and stands by himself.

There are various styles of dancing—Manipuri, Kathakali of Malabar, Kandian of Ceylon and the ordinary north Indian style Rabindranath has been creating new dance forms I have seen some 50 photographs of

dance poses of Siam in the collection of Mr Bireswar Ganguly, advocate of Maymyo Burma Some of them are very similar to Indian poses

Ancient Indian music, with variations is practised all over India by Hindus and Moslems alike Some of its greatest exponents have been Musalmans Bengali Kirtan songs are perhaps a special creation of Bengal Bau l Bhatiali, and some other indigenous kinds of songs are Bengal's own So are Rabindranath's numerous songs of various kinds

Languages prevalent in areas very remote from one another influenced one another even in ancient times. In Sanskrit there are words of non-Indian origin So in old foreign languages there may be words of Indian origin From the medieval age down to our own times the languages of different countries have borrowed many words from each other Modern Indian languages contain words of Arabic Persian Portuguese, French English and other foreign origin Similarly English and other European languages have borrowed Indian words For example, "loot" is an Indian word lifted from India

Conscious borrowing from European languages has been going on in India in the field of scientific technological terms All these show linguistic cultural fellowship

In philosophy, the inter relations of Hindu Buddhist, Greek and Arabic systems of philosophy have been discussed by occidental and oriental scholars

In science, the decimal system of notation has travelled from India to all parts of the world This is not the occasion to discuss what other original scientific work was done in ancient India In modern times, we are learning most things in science from the West but also adding a little to the world's stock of scientific knowledge ourselves

There has been, therefore cultural fellowship in philosophy and science from ancient times

There was a time when some European Indologists used to fancy and say that the ancient Indian theatre and playing were derived from Greek prototypes But perhaps even the have given up that theory as it is false and untenable

From ancient times literature in the form of fables has performed long and successful journeys How the stories of Panchatantra and Kathasaritsagara have travelled to distant lands—sometimes *via* Arabia and in somewhat altered forms, is known to scholars Other kinds of literature have also migrated to distant lands The stories which are known by the name of *The Arabian Nights* have been translated into all the principal languages of the world, including India Some Persian works, like Firdousi's *Shah Nameh* and Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*, have been translated into many languages, wholly or in part

Let me now confine myself to India, particularly to Bengal Owing to Moslem influence, many Persian books have been translated into Bengali, such as Hatim Tai, Tuti nama Bahar Danesh, Gulistan, Laila-Majnu etc Under Mughal influence many Sanskrit works, such as some *Upanishads*, the *Ramayan*, the *Gita*, were translated into Persian Such work brought about cultural unity between the followers of two faiths to some extent

In modern times, many books have been translated from one Indian language into another As far as I am aware, the Bengali books so translated have been greater in number than the books from any other modern Indian language But Bengal has not neglected the other Indian languages altogether The Ramayan of Tulsidas and his Dohas have been translated into Bengali, the *Abhangs* of Tukaram have been translated from Marathi, the Kural—that gem of Tamil literature, has been translated into Bengali, and so on

So, there has been cultural fellowship in the field of literary effort

As regards literary fellowship with the West, particularly with England, it may be stated here briefly that the modern Bengali novel, drama, short story and lyric are modelled on English patterns and are the indirect fruit of the deep seated influence of English literature —*though this influence has been so assimilated* that there is nothing exotic in the works of the principal novelists short story writers and writers of lyrics in Bengali

Some English novels, short stories and dramas, some French short stories (mostly from English translations) and other works, and some Russian stories (all from English translations) have been translated into Bengali Jyotirindranath Tagore translated some French works into Bengali One of Selma Lagerlof's novels has been translated into Bengali from the original Swedish by Lakshmiswar Sinha and published in *Prabasi*

We have thus established some sort of literary fellowship with Europe

A few Japanese stories have also been translated into Bengali Hence it is not in

painting alone that Japan has given something to Bengal

I have spoken before of India's cultural influence on many countries and islands of Asia In modern times Europe and America have been influenced to some extent by some of India's great Sanskrit and Pali works and by her Vedanta philosophy That many Bengali books—notably those of Rabindranath Tagore, have been translated into English, perhaps gives some indication of India s literary and cultural influence, however small, on Britain Tagore's works have been translated into some other principal European and some Asiatic languages also Some books written in some other current Indian languages have also been translated into English

I have already taken up much of your time I shall now conclude with some words on cultural unity in the sphere of religion I shall not dwell on other social institutions, such as government and laws marriage etc

It cannot be said with truth that there was never any religious intolerance and persecution in ancient and medieval India ,—of modern times I will not speak But this can be asserted with truth that the indigenous religions of India and their adherents were not as intolerant and as fierce persecutors as the followers of some other faiths abroad When Indian kings had the power to prevent the ingress and permanent settlement in the country of foreigners from abroad, even then the Jews settled here, the Parsis settled here, the Nestorian Christians settled here, the Syrian Christians settled here, and some Armenians also came into this country There were no anti Jewish, anti-Parsi or anti-any-other-ancient-immigrant purges or riots That shows the tolerant and hospitable frame of the indigenous Indian mind

I like the thing denoted by the expression religious tolerance, but not the phrase itself For we have often to tolerate people who make a nuisance of themselves I could wish there were a short expression signifying appreciation of and respect for faiths other than one's own Of this virtue India supplies perhaps the earliest historical example We all know that the emperor Asoka enjoined and practised equal appreciation and treatment of Brahmans and Sramans (Buddhist monks) alike It is also on record that when, periodically, the emperor Harsha gave away all that his treasuries contained, Brahmans and Sramans, Hindus and Buddhists, were alike the recipients of what he gave

But a much earlier example may be given. In the days of the Buddha we find various religious sects mentioned but no mutual persecution Some of the sects mentioned are Padaka, Latuka, Nigantha, Puppha-sataka, Tedandika, Ekasikha, Ajibika, Paribattaka, Siddhipatta, Kondapuggalika, etc

In the medieval age, the emperor Akbar set an example of cultural fellowship in the sphere of religion Dara Shukoh, eldest son of Shah Jehan, was also a very liberal minded man His is the credit for a Persian translation of some of the Upanishads

In medieval times the spirit of cultural fellowship in the sphere of religion gave birth to a Dadu, a Kabir, a Rabidas, a Nanak, a Rajjab-ji, a Ramanand, and many another saint and sage of Hindu and Musalman extraction Of Nanak it is on record that he said "I am neither a Hindu, nor a Musalman, I am the servant of all" Of Kabir it has been said that when he died, Hindus and Muslims wanted to perform the funeral rites according to their respective faiths But on removing the pall, only a heap of flowers was found Perhaps that symbolizes religious and cultural fellowship and unity

It is to be noted that though these medieval saints and sages were liberal and unsectarian in outlook, they were at the same time essentially Indian in spirit

In modern times, there are records of Hindu-Moslem amity and fellowship I will pick out only one In Dr Taylor s *Topography of Dacca*, published in 1839, Ch IX, p 257, the following passage is to be found

> "Religious quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahomedans are of rare occurrence These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah."

Among individuals in India in modern times Rammohun Roy set the earliest and the most illustrious example of scholarly and deep appreciation of and respect for faiths other than his own That as a Hindu he studied the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures in the original may not be surprising—though not many Hindus did it in those days or do it even now. But he studied the Jewish and Christian scriptures also in the original Hebrew and Greek, the Islamic scriptures in the original Arabic, and the Jaina scriptures in the original Sanskrit As a boy of 16, he crossed the Himalayas to Tibet to learn all about Buddhism He was acquainted with the teachings of the medieval saints of northern India in Hindi When at Paris, he began to learn the language of the

Zoroastrian scriptures He respected all sects alike

With all his wide and deep scholarship in many oriental and occidental languages and his religious catholicity, he was a nationalist to the backbone That there was no intellectual nd spiritual Eurasianism in him is evidenced by his Bengali hymns, by the Sanskrit name Brahma Samaj, chosen for the society of worshippers founded by him by its order of divine service instituted by him and by his editions of many Sanskrit scriptures with translations

The Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, deeply imbued with Upanishadic lore was devotedly fond of Hafiz too So was Raj Narain Bose, first president of the Adi Brahmo Samaj and grand-father of Sri Aurobindo He was a Sanskrit scholar too

Keshub Chunder Sen gave the appreciation of other faiths an institutional turn as it were One of his co-workers, Bhai Girish Chandra Sen, was the first to translate the Quran into Bengali, and to compile character-sketches of Moslem saints Bhai Pratap Ch Majumdar wrote "The Oriental Christ" Bhai Gour Gobinda Upadhyay wrote the *Gita Samanvaya Bhashya*, Bhai Aghornath Gupta wrote a life of the Buddha, and so on

The essentially national element in Keshub's spiritual constitution manifested itself in his adoption and popularization of Vaishnava kirtan and religious dance

The late Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar, a missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, translated the Sikh scriptures, *Japji* and *Sukhamani*, into Bengali

The teaching of Paramahansa Rama Krishna Dev, "যত মত তত পথ," "As many doctrines, so many paths to the goal," has popularized the appreciation of faiths other than one's own This doctrine and the spiritual attitude underlying it have been given greater publicity by his disciples than by any other body of religious men

The Swami Vivekananda and his co-workers and disciples have combined the monism of the Vedanta with the practical philanthropy of the West to a greater extent than any other modern Indian group of religious workers

The Theosophical Society has done much for the promotion of appreciation of all faiths

May we be worthy of the teachings and example of all those teachers, sages and saints of all lands and ages who have stressed the importance of religious fellowship and cultural unity!

20th April, 1938.

THE BUDGET AND THE PACTS

By Major D GRAMAM POLE

I have heard many Budget speeches in the House of Commons but none I think that was received with less enthusiasm than that of Sir John Simon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was delivered yesterday The standard rate of Income Tax has been raised to five shillings and six pence in the pound and this rise has certainly startled many of the Government's supporters When one considers that even at the end of the Great War the highest rate of Income Tax was six shillings in the pound, one realises what a heavy load on industry this tax is in peace time During the present year it is expected that Income Tax alone will yield no less than three hundred and forty one and a quarter million pounds

At the beginning of the Great War the Income Tax stood at one shilling and eight pence in the pound So that a large potential source of revenue remained to be tapped by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the War Accordingly it rose from one shilling and eight pence in the pound to the six shillings at which it stood at the end of the War But if war should come now there seems to be little left for taxation from this source And one has to remember that it is the principal source of revenue on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer relies

Our total expenditure in 1913-14 was under two hundred million pounds a year This compares with our budgetted expenditure for the current year of well over a thousand million pounds One can only wonder how long this

can go on without radically lowering the standard of living of the people. And even the budgetted expenditure does not tell the whole story, as Sir John Simon intimated that various supplementary estimates would be brought in during the year for rearmament expenditure and these would be met by loan. This of course will add to the total of the National Debt which now stands at well over eight thousand million pounds.

The duty on petrol is increased slightly. Twopence a pound added to the duty on tea will make little difference to the more comfortably off people but will hit the working classes and poorer people very keenly indeed. As one man remarked to me in the House of Commons last night "it is certainly not an Election Budget."

Meanwhile the Prime Minister has been going ahead with his international pacts. The settlement with Ireland is indeed a distinct score for Mr. De Valera as he has settled over a hundred million pounds of annuities for a payment of ten million pounds. The Agreement however is all to the good as it allows trade to flow freely between this country and Ireland. That will help not only the Irish cattle trade but also the British coal trade.

The Agreement with Italy may or may not be a good thing ultimately. Certainly the benefits to Italy are greater than the potential benefits to Great Britain. Mussolini received such a slap in the face from Hitler by the latter's sudden appearance on the Brenner Pass, Italy's northern boundary, that he was glad—and certainly the Italian people were glad—to have an appearance of friendship with Great Britain. To a certain extent it has saved his face" in Italy. This Agreement, however, does not come into effect until Italy removes her troops and munitions from Spanish territory and there is no indication that Mussolini is in any hurry to do this. Indeed from time to time he publishes in Rome the lists of Italian casualties on the Spanish front. (One Spanish report gave the total number of Italian casualties in Spain at no less than 25,000.)

But the Berlin-Rome axis is now operated from Berlin. And Mussolini has become practically a vassal of Hitler. The Italians have no reason to love the Germans while the Germans despise the Italians. Indeed no sooner were the Germans established on the Brenner than they began to divert traffic from Trieste (which of course has been in Italian hands since the Treaty of Versailles) to Hamburg.

The next danger spot in Europe is Czecho-Slovakia. Hitler has so far managed to take over the territory now comprised in Greater Germany without war. But it is extremely improbable that he could deal with Czecho-Slovakia in the same way. He can strangle her trade to a very great extent and perhaps force her to her knees in that way. But any direct attempt at incorporating any part of Czecho-Slovakia in the Greater Germany is likely to be met with armed resistance. The consequence of that no one can foresee. France has already said that he would go to the assistance of Czecho-Slovakia. If France is involved in war, as things stand at present, Great Britain would be almost immediately dragged in since, in Mr. Baldwin's words, our frontier is now the Rhine. Russia has also said that she would support Czecho-Slovakia. So that the World War that would ensue might well smash civilization. For the moment the outlook is very threatening. The claims of Herr Henlein on behalf of the Sudeten Germans are of such a nature, so one-sided and so presumptuous (even demanding a reversal of Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy) that they cannot and will not be conceded. But they seem to have the backing of the more or less official German press.

Disarmament, security, peace, all seemed to be possible, and indeed on the horizon, when the late Arthur Henderson was guiding the destinies of this country in the field of foreign affairs in 1931. The advent of the so called National Government in that year changed the whole atmosphere and we seem ever since to have been drawing steadily nearer to war. And the present Budget, with an expenditure of over one thousand million pounds is the price we have to pay for our National Government with its policy—or lack of policy—on foreign affairs. No one feels any sense of security now. The bombing aeroplane, for which we are in great part responsible is an invention of the devil which may yet lay London the finest target in the world, in ruins.

Great Britain still refuses to recognise Manchukuo as an "independent State" although Manchukuo is much more under the control of Japan than is Abyssinia under the control of Italy. The Italian conquest in Africa is by no means complete and so far is but dead sea fruit to Italy. But after the meeting of the League of Nations Council at Geneva early in May, Great Britain will recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, incomplete as it is while still continuing to refuse recognition to Manchukuo.

It is a sad reflection that our principles have to be subordinated to our interests. But so it is

Lord Lothian, in his two articles in the *Observer*, makes much the same point and it is true enough that it would be as easy to mix oil and water as it would be to make a harmonious Legislature out of the elements, democratic and autocratic, as laid down in the Government of India Act

Although no word of this has yet been raised in Parliament, it is very significant that feelers are being put out, without encountering much opposition, in the very newspapers that were most averse to these proposals while the Act was being hammered out in Parliament

London,
27th April, 1938

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MONEY?

By RICHARD B GREGG

II

Now We Can Understand Our Troubles Better

We all of us use money and we are all affected by its qualities Since in our kind of civilization money is a means to power and economic security, the desire of practically all men for power and security makes them go after money Since it is a store of value which all men recognize and also since it has all those other functions above-mentioned, it plays upon whatever tendency man has for acquisitiveness, and by frequent and prolonged repetitions of slight stimuli it makes that acquisitiveness grow Growth is inevitable from a great many repetitions of suitable slight stimuli That is a law of life, which applies to intangible qualities or powers as well as to living tissues All of us have impulses towards selfishness Money plays upon and develops them

Frequent, regular and prolonged use of tools (tangible or intangible) constitutes the most highly effective way of forming definite habits —for example, the military, industrial scientific, and religious disciplines So the steady use of money creates in us a strong habit of acquisitiveness, the less polite name of which is greed This happens to the little man as well as to the great man Other things being equal, the man who uses money most is subject to the strongest stimulus and tends therefore to have his acquisitive instincts most strengthened Greed develops not because the rich man is bad but because the instrument we all use is defective We are all directly affected by money in different degrees. In the absence of strong contrary stimuli it affects us according to the extent of our possession and use of it Some form of money is necessary, but the present form is very dangerous.

Few of Our Ills Are Caused by Wicked Rich Men Much of the Fault Lies in the Multiplicity of Functions of Money

Our troubles then,—community, class and national, both economic and social,—are not due to the original inherent wickedness of scheming financiers and big industrialists, but rather to the defects of our economic counters and symbols If those who do not possess much money could realize this fact, they could avoid any attitude of personal resentment against individual rich people, or the rich as a class On the other hand, these same considerations should enable rich people to understand more easily how and why it is that they are blamed for the ill effects of money The fault finding is not all due to envy Further more, if some sensitive rich men are troubled by the effects of their wealth or by the grave faults of our economic system, they may better understand the causes of these evils and join with others to make effective improvements Such realizations, if they can become widespread among all kinds of people, should help to lower the tensions of class feeling from both sides, and thus reduce danger of occasional violence

Rich men are caught in and adversely affected by the same economic tool which we all must use They are not to be personally blamed for the results, nor are they to be considered as devils Of course not all rich people are noticeably affected adversely by their wealth Some are very generous, simple, sensitive, and possessed of sympathetic imagination.

Nevertheless, with even the finest and strongest of them, money is a strain on their character just as the sooty air of cities is a strain on the health of city dwellers, or as working in cold damp places predisposes people to rheumatism

I am not trying to excuse the abuses of power, the crimes and breaches of trust committed by some rich men, I am trying to explain the causes Just as slum environment and impairment of family life are the predominant causes of some kinds of crime so the defects of money are a direct and predominant cause of other kinds of crime Of course the slums themselves and some impairment of family life are caused by the lust for money profit and so we may say that indirectly or directly the desire for money profit is a cause of a very large part of all crimes

Yet again, I am not saying that the acquisitive urge is wholly evil or that we should try to suppress it completely Just as with most of our elemental urges, it is within limits natural and beneficial to mankind, excepting a few saints not subject to ordinary rules But if any natural powerful tendency or activity of mankind —for example, sex or eating,—is constantly overstimulated so that it becomes gigantic or out of all proportion to the others then there is trouble That is our difficulty with money It constantly over-stimulates the normal and healthy tendencies of man toward acquisitiveness and develops an economic system which facilitates the exercise of every degree of avarice It over stimulates men s fears

Don't Look for a Scapegoat

In this situation no good is done by trying to allocate blame and place responsibility upon any particular group of people We are all of us jointly responsible for our failures to overcome our intellectual and moral laziness, for our failures to analyse more clearly, and to keep our judgment from being warped by selfish advantage We ought to understand, to endure against temptation to invent and apply economic instruments which will produce better moral results

Present Form of Money Organises Avarice

I used to think that money was the heart of our economic and social system Now I would say that the essence of our system is not an exterior thing but an inner attitude, a set of sentiments, a complex of several elements dominated by acquisitiveness or greed Money in its present form is the symbol and instrument that stimulates and organizes acquisitiveness, makes it easy, certain, and limitless

Trouble Increasing

If we continue to use money in its present form, the continued concentration of ownership and of control of wealth and the consequent growth of monopoly are inevitable In all business transactions there is the chance of loss, and in course of time losses come to all The fellows with small capital can't stand big losses, and drop out The fellows with much can weather the storm, and then they absorb the business of the little men With our present kind of money, the mathematical laws of frequency distribution necessarily produce concentration of wealth and growth of monopoly[1] This means, before long, the complete destruction of almost all small enterprizes and of the entire middle class in every country, together with suffering, violence, terror, tyranny and wars Modern inventions including several new forms of money, have greatly accelerated this cumulative process within the last two centuries And now in the United States we are painfully realizing, may be too late, that the desire for quick money profit has caused our farmers to use land in such a way that erosion by water and wind has destroyed and swept away vast areas of top soil, leaving a rapidly enlarging desert This is a danger worse perhaps even than war

Effect on Spiritual Values

The comprehension of these qualities of money helps us to understand why it has had such a regrettable effect upon the church upon other religious organizations, upon spiritual values and upon individual and group morality everywhere[2] We can better understand why one cannot worship both God and Mammon, and why the rules of Buddhist monks and early Franciscans forbade them to use money and why the *Bauls* of Bengal are also reluctant to use it

Money hurts truth because it is ambiguous in its meanings because it makes men try to squeeze all values into its one form and because it pretends to measure accurately an unmeasurable thing, namely, human trust and faith It

[1] *See* L. Hogben—*Mathematics for the Million*, London and W W Norton Co New York, 1937 pp 589 590

[2] *See* J A Hobson—*God and Mammon* Macmillan New York and London 1931 also R. H Tawney—*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* by Max Weber, Allen and Unwin, London

stimulates greed and fear and hence is divisive It creates superiority and inferiority complexes It causes frustrations and barriers of envy and jealousy It does not stimulate respect for personality but frequently makes people humiliate and insult personality It destroys the effectiveness of other values Christian Church members follow the rest of men in behaving every day as if they trusted money more than God or more than their fellow men Money makes people misconceive wherein their real and enduring security lies Money tends to warp the imagination and to injure the sense of human unity It shrivels love and often impedes its outward expression It creates conflicts in standards and motives Hence in so far as purity of heart is synonymous with singleness of purpose money greatly interferes with purity of heart The use of money makes integrity of personal character difficult Its multiplicity of functions operates to create intellectual doubts and indecision both mental and moral confusion These inner conflicts create suppressions with psychological and moral effects that we have learned in recent years to recognize[3]

Though money gives power this power is exterior and because of the moral effect of money its possession and use tends to take away as much inner power from men as it gives to them externally Indeed it probably takes away more than it gives And it deprives them of the awareness of inner power and thus detracts from the sense of spiritual reality

Money tends to create a certain kind of moral irresponsibility partly because it creates barriers between people partly because it operates over greater distances than can usually be bridged by human knowledge and sympathy and partly because it makes its more thoughtless owners feel that they can do anything and then buy their way out

Moral Lag in Society

In relation to ideals money is the great inconsistency whose constant use warps all our efforts at improvement Several years ago Mr Reinhold Niebuhr in his book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*[4] pointed out with great cogency that the individual man is capable of and fairly often does rise to great moral heights but that groups and societies of men lag far behind in this respect I believe that one cause for this is that money is the predominating tool energizer and binding force in the world today and since it is so defective the group results of its common and constant use must be equally and indeed more defective. Since our civilization can be said to have money as one of its great foundation stones we can begin to see one important reason why our civilization is crumbling

If all these considerations be true we can readily understand why so many idealistic ventures have failed in the course of a few years They are brought to naught by the character of the means which they use We can see why so many men of high promise in their youth fail to make good morally why their idealism seems to dry up

Relation to Democracy and to Non violence

The believer in democracy must learn to realize vividly that the continued use of present forms of money will destroy his objective Democracy is based on the belief that the opinion of every person has some value for the direction of the common life of the community and nation It necessarily implies respect for human personality a belief that personality with its responsibility and initiative is of the highest importance Since the operation of money overrides respect for personality and promotes economic monopoly it strangles both the social and political forms of democracy

We feel helpless in the face of economic forces partly because of the momentum of our habits but partly also because we are bound to the tools we have used so long that we now find them necessary Money is the chief of those tools and its defects make us impotent

The believer in non violence must understand the defects and deceitfulness of money for if he remains ignorant of them he will be conquered Since deceitfulness is a form of intellectual and moral violence he must learn how to meet and overcome it in this particular manifestation as well as in the grosser form of physical violence

Because of the confused way the different functions of money act upon one another and upon people money is gradually destroying mutual trust among people and among nations As that process goes on violence increases both the violence of individuals and of governments The decrease of mutual trust and the increase of violence mean before long the end of civilization

Money and War

We all recognize that important causes of modern war are economic Raw materials and

[3] See *The Freudian Wish and Its Place in Ethics* by E. B Holt, Henry Holt & Co New York 1921 Chap III

[4] Scribner's, New York

markets are needed in order to make money profit Munitions makers obstruct peace proposals and fan war scares and general apprehension in order to make money They realize vast sums out of war when it comes Newspapers magnify international suspicions, jealousies and resentments in order to sell more papers The money power of big advertisers warps the news National prestige is measured largely in terms of money Modern imperialism is largely motivated by desire for money power Undue desire for money results in injustices and misrepresentations which in turn create resentments and hatred, with probable overt violence On all but rare and relatively brief occasions the highly organized power of money and financial concepts dominates directly or indirectly all essential departments of the government Hence the stimulus that money supplies to greed and excessive competition is considerably responsible for militarism and for the threat to civilization which modern war contains Because of the ambiguity and diversity of the functions of money, its use does not clarify resolve and settle conflicts Instead it confuses men s minds and ethical impulses creates resentments, suspicions jealousies rivalries and hatreds Thus it creates occasions for the use of violence

All nations are now engaged in economic warfare with one another constantly and within each nation economic warfare goes on between different groups Occasionally when this economic warfare reaches a critical stage it changes its form to military war and thus comes more clearly into the open The change is more of outer form than of inner purpose or motive Hence in order to do away with military warfare and its disastrous effects we must somehow do away with or greatly lessen economic warfare I believe that suitable modifications in our chief economic instrument and stimulus money would do a very great deal to accomplish this end

A Relatively Simple Remedy

When we come to consider possible remedies we return to the point that a great many of the unfortunate effects of money come from the combination of several functions in one instrument It is possible, then that many of the defects of money in its present form could be eliminated by having a different kind of money for each of its present functions—five or six separate kinds of money, —but linked together somehow so that transfers could easily be made from one form to another

Separating the Functions of Money

As a matter of fact, this separation into different kinds of money according to function has already been done in part, and for the brief period it was in effect it worked well I refer to the stamp scrip which was used in 1933 in over a score of towns and cities in the United States, also in Europe earlier The English economist, Mr J M Keynes approves of it in principle[5] Professor Irving Fisher of America urges its adoption He described it clearly and fully in a little book called *Stamp Scrip*[6]

The best form of stamp scrip separated the function of medium of exchange from all the other functions of money It was only a medium of exchange and it proved able to make the communities where it was used blossom like a rose all through the worst of the depression Yet it was connected with the other functions of money by a simple device described in Professor Fisher s book Also it could be deposited in a bank and thus converted into a store of value in the hands of the bank to the equivalent value in ordinary money But it could not be hoarded The bank had to pass it on

I am not arguing here for the use of stamp scrip in the exact form that has been used But I do suggest that it is not past the wit of mankind to extend that idea and split up money into say five or six forms corresponding to its five or six functions Simple means could be devised for connecting these different forms and making each one transformable into another as need might arise All of those modifications and devices are for the experts to work out

Analogy of Benefits from Improvement in Other Kinds of Symbols and Tools

In all instances of a clarification or other improvement in a set of symbols, a great advance for mankind has resulted For example, Arabic numerals in place of the clumsy Roman numerals and the limited alphabetic numeral system of the Greeks constituted a great step forward The Hindu invention of the zero sign and place values for numbers was another immense advance Similarly the invention of the symbols of differential and integral calculus proved a vast boon to mathematicians scientists and engineers Another great step was made in botany when Linnaeus invented his system of

[5] *The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money* by J M Keynes Macmillan, London and New York 1936 pp 234, 257-8

[6] Published by the Adelphi Co, New York, 1933 See also *Men Without Money* by W Weisbaar and W W Parrish G P Putnams Sons N Y., 1933

names to fit the classifications of plants The same thing happened when new instruments were invented, such as the telescope, turret lathe, and spectroscope. The wide adoption and use of the steam locomotive caused great social changes

Splitting complex substances into simpler forms has often yielded great benefits For example, the fractional distillation of crude petroleum into benzine, gasoline, many grades of light and heavy oil, coal tar, dyes and paraffine, each with well marked characteristics and distinct standardized uses, developed many more uses than the original substance had and also produced vastly greater real wealth In some of their uses such substances can be thought of as tools

Daylight saving, a simple shift in our time-measuring instrument, changes easily the habits of hundreds of millions of people An improvement in our money tool could rapidly and easily accomplish for some of our moral habits more betterment, I believe, than centuries of purely moral exhortation and training The long and ugly history of avarice could be tapered off, and human greed could be reduced to manageable dimensions The desire for power would be diverted into more direct and open forms which could be controlled by disciplined non-violent resistance

Relation to Socialism

Socialists would probably say that in all this I am barking up the wrong tree,—that the real remedy for our social and economic troubles lies in having the government, as representative of *all the people, take over and own and operate* the means of production Without going into the pros and cons of that remedy I would point out that for it to operate successfully there must first be a strong and widespread growth in the spirit of co operation and mutual responsibility When I say operate successfully I mean a number of things I mean effectively in relation to the quantity and quality of goods produced and their distribution. Yet also I mean operate without an expensive and tyrannical bureaucracy and the enslavement of all the people I mean economic justice but I also mean an increase in goodwill and in universal respect for personality, resulting in a vast decrease of violence, both within the country involved and in its relations with other peoples Such a growth in co-operation, mutual responsibility, liberty, and respect for personality seem to me highly improbable if not impossible in our present Western culture, in which pecuniary values override all others A money reform of the sort herein suggested is, I believe, an essential precondition to the successful working of socialism, and I say it with all due respect for Russian accomplishments For those who believe in Henry George's thesis, my answer is the same Until the harmful stimuli of present forms of money and the moral and intellectual confusions created by its use are removed, I doubt whether any other deep going economic reforms can be permanently accomplished in the Western world. Modern society is so complex that there is no single root of or remedy for our ills, but there may be a certain chronological sequence or emphasis with which remedies must be applied in order to win permanent, all-round improvement

Money Reform Not a Panacea

I do not believe that evil comes only from our environment, nor do I consider money the root of all wrong, or that there are no economic wrongs except those arising from its defects I do not believe that human life was perfect before money was invented, or that some sort of reform of money would usher in on earth the Kingdom of Heaven, or that there are no causes of our present troubles more profound than the defects of money Money reform is not a panacea Yet all that I have said remains valid Money has been of immeasurable service to the human race, and in some form we must and will retain it. Every one of its functions is important and indeed indispensable Nevertheless, we must realize its present intrinsic qualities and the indubitable effect which the regular and prolonged use of a tool has upon those who use it. I believe it is time to analyze and understand clearly and fully the defects and dangers of our present forms of money, and try to remedy them. Like all man-made things, money has imperfections, and some of these defects can be removed

Details of the Proposed Remedy

Having now stated the proposal in general terms, we naturally want to examine it *in more* detail in order to see and weigh its possible implications

Stamp scrip was invented by a German named Gesell in the Argentine in 1890, was used successfully in Germany in 1919, with marked success in 1931 in Bavaria and Austria, and in 1933 as above stated, in over a score of towns and cities in the United States In most instances in America the wrong form of it was used and had no great success, but where the right form was used it was very effective Even the defective forms were decidedly helpful in

several cases In the right form the function of a medium of exchange was separated from all the other functions of money, and a special form for this one function was issued

A piece of stamp scrip of the effective kind is shaped about like a ten-rupee note but has a distinctive colour and design so that it cannot be mistaken for a ten-rupee note It bears on its face the name of the issuing community or private organization, its denomination (say one rupee) to make its purchasing power equivalent to that of the regular currency On the back of the scrip is a set of 52 squared spaces each dated to indicate the successive Wednesdays of the year The community or organization which issued the scrip sells distinctive little adhesive stamps for one pice each, and one of these stamps must be stuck on the appropriate square for it each Wednesday in order to make the scrip continue valid Wednesday is chosen for this so as to be several days removed from industrial pay day By agreement among most or all of the shops, employers and, if possible, one bank in the given community, the scrip would be accepted in payment for commodities of all kinds, and in payment of wages, local taxes, etc But its effectiveness lasts only from one Wednesday till the next, being renewable only by putting a fresh one pice stamp on the next unfilled square on the back of the scrip each Wednesday as it comes around At the end of the year fifty-two such stamps have been affixed, meaning that Re 1-0 4 in "real' money has been paid in to the issuing agency This redeems the one rupee denomination of the scrip, and the slight excess of four pice pays the cost of printing and issuance, with a possible tiny remainder left to accumulate for a community health fund Thus the scrip is self-liquidating

In the towns where it was used this scrip was a common medium of exchange and could be banked or invested, but it could not be hoarded in that form It was good for only one week at a time, and its validity could be extended only from week to week and only by putting on a stamp costing one pice or the equivalent in the currency of the country where it was used This scrip, you see, is *not* a store of value The long time element, necessary for a store of value, has been separated from it by the weekly stamp device

The communities which used this scrip had their economic life going on busily, no unemployment, and no economic troubles to speak of Numerous public works were completed by its use Shops which at first refused to take it found the trade all going to the others, and so they joined the others The speed of circulation of the scrip in the American towns which tried it was about four times that of the average dollar in normal times and about twelve times that of an average dollar during the depression People would pass the scrip along so as not to have to pay for the little weekly stamp The weekly stamp acted like an inescapable, confiscatory tax on hoarding From the point of view of the tradesman, the weekly stamp was like a small tax, about 2%, on new business which otherwise he would not have had at all

Opinions of Two Economists

Professor Fisher, in the book mentioned, describes all the details, mode of operation, mode of installation, arguments and history of stamp scrip, and criticises its different forms He states that the speed of circulation of money is the most baffling factor in the stabilization of the price level, and that stamp scrip would regulate that speed better than anything else He says that it gives buying power to the consumer and supplies him the compulsion to use it He says that it would not constitute inflation because it is tied to actual consumer transactions, is issued only against actual goods and services, and is therefore limited It may be added that since stamp scrip is not a store of value, but only a medium of exchange, the chances of inflation through it are very slight It restores exchange to normal, but not being a form of credit it has no tendency to balloon Nor does it constitute bad money which, under the operation of Gresham's law, would tend to drive out sound money It does not drive out money but steps into the gap left by the so-called good money when it previously was retired from circulation because it was hoarded Since stamp scrip supplements the failure of ordinary money in times of great distress, it can hardly be called "bad money" Indeed, the separation of the medium of exchange from the other functions of money would probably put an end to Gresham's law, thus making a new element of stability and security in the new forms of money

Mr J M Keynes in his latest book above referred to also approves of the idea behind stamp scrip but believes that some modifications should be introduced in order to make it generally successful

The Linkage of Functions

The stamp scrip, though being only medium of exchange, was connected w

other functions of money It was tied to ordinary money by the device of the weekly small stamp Also it could be deposited in a bank and thus converted into a store of value in the hands of the bank to the equivalent value in ordinary money The bank of course did not keep the scrip but passed it out to its customers putting it immediately back into circulation, just as it usually does with the ordinary ten-rupee notes which you and I may deposit only more quickly Other connecting devices could be invented for use between the other forms of functional money which I have suggested These forms could be integrated with our bank checking system probably through modifications of the present form of checks The connecting links between the different forms of money would need to be some specific devices acting in definite uniform fashion

Possible Devices

The function of a store of value might be represented by specially colored paper bills of several kinds valid only for stated periods Then the appropriate kind could be used in relation to the special kind of work to be done The speeds of conversion of different raw material into finished products and the speeds of transport of different commodities might be governing factors here One kind might be valid only for the maximum expectation of life of a person thus doing away with some of the difficulties of unlimited inheritance of wealth Perhaps there might be an agricultural scrip valid only for a year or for a season with of course a mode of translating it into the store-of value form or some other Or if all banks were operated by the Government storage of value might be confined only to bank accounts, with perhaps special arrangements as to the special kind of stored value represented by rights to money income inherent in corporate or Government securities Especially large amounts or long terms of credit might be limited to community or governmental use

All of these modifications and devices are for the experts to work out

Some form of stamp scrip money, by separating the medium of exchange function from all the others would make it much easier for the Government or the Central Bank System to control the quantity of currency and its speed of circulation This would in turn make possible better control of fluctuations in the measure of value function and hence would stabilize prices of all commodities Since the medium of exchange is, for the great majority of people, the most important function of money, stamp scrip could well be adopted pending the working out of the other forms, thus beginning promptly with the most important change We do not need to wait until all the forms are worked out in complete detail

If a separate form of money were created to act only as a measurable symbol of trust and credit I believe that its divorce from the other present functions of money would do much to release peoples minds from the confusion between symbol and reality in relation to mutual human trust faith credit and belief The reality of that imponderable state of mind and feeling would become stronger Also I believe certain other doubts would be resolved

One Criticism and Its Answer

For instance, a critic of these ideas might well say that although the trust which people have in Mr A because of his conduct for many years is an undoubted reality and asset for Mr A, yet as an asset it depends upon Mr A's having lived in that community for a considerable number of years and his continuing to live there Suppose he wants to move elsewhere, ought he not to be able to 'cash in" on that asset and take it with him to the new place? That is, ought not the symbol to have reality and value by itself? What if his business keeps him always on the move?

My proposals do not really present this difficulty The means by which value is created or stored need not be the same as that by which it is transferred, yet one form could be translated by appropriate devices into the others The wise merchant's conduct gradually builds up a fund of individual and community trust in him and that trust expresses itself to a large degree in money tokens To the extent that it does so, he can transfer it to a new place That part of it which does not so express itself cannot be immediately transferred to another place Some of it may later find a transferable expression Some of it will remain permanently in the community It will be part of the evidence, part of the foundation of past acts which have given all the people of that community a common faith in humanity That is the case at present and would continue to be so if changes in money were put into effect Nobody can jump out of the community every bit of trust which his honest deeds have created We should be glad to leave with the community a considerable part of that trust, for it goes to form an environment of security for us and our children Our little daily acts grow like a

coral reef Tru t is not and cannot be made a wholly unilateral affair An attempt to make it so creates resentment and mistrust Indeed a person s willingne s to leave behind him some of the tru t he has created to lose some of it to the *community is itself one of his assets* He recognizes the truth of life that time and repetition are necessary for growth that all humanity is one so that he cannot act merely for and unto him elf The more richly and vigorously he has lived upon this basis the less he loses when he moves to a new locality His life has become more widely known and his character is stronger and more quickly realized in the new community

Furthermore a person s mode of action and its results become part of his character and are to careful ob ervers perceivable in his eyes mouth voice carriage and manners If he moves to a new town he takes his character with him and it is perceived by the strangers there instantly and to a large extent the longer he stays there So some of the trust which th first community had in him he carries where ever he goes not in his pocketbook but in his body and personality It cannot be stolen from him

We dare not try to separate ourselves *entirely from the community* in this matter of wealth or in any other matter Nor should we try to externalize and express in tangible transferable form all the trust which we feel towards others or which they feel towards u We would lose both inner and outer security and power more important to our life than any tang ble thing Indeed one of the great dangers of our present form of money is that it turns into individual fortunes the wealth created by the community and then trust good will and moral health wither and decline In this respect *money has acted like private appropriation of* community created values in land the effects of which were so clearly stated by Henry George

Some Results of Separating Money s Functions

Since so many of the evil results of money have come from this combination of many functions in one instrument it seems highly probable that the separation of those functions and the provis on of a special in trument for *each function would go far toward solving many* of the troubles which now encompass us This separation of functions with a part cular medium for each would also make it possible to see far more clearly the problems within the limits of each function and thus hasten further reforms For example, it would probably then be much easier to solve the difficulties involved in having a tangible measure of so subjective subtle and fluctuating a thing as value and to decide more *surely the merits of proposals to have* instead a measure of energy conver ion We could more readily reach a sound conclusion whether to abandon permanently the gold standard We could consider with more charity and wisdom the question whether to place a limit on the function of storage of value Again the problems whether to adopt the social credit scheme of Major Douglas or to permit credit to continue to be issued by private banks operating for private profit could be treated more wisely and perhaps with less heat than at present The proposed separation of money functions and of their operations would permit sound discrimination and therefore wise choices and decisions and would make possible a con trol of results and a vastly sounder moral situation [7]

Like machinery money has given man an exterior power of control over his fellows out of all proportion to his inner powers—his self control and wisdom This lack of proportion between his inner and his outer powers makes inevitable many immoral results from the use of money It would be irresponsible and immoral of me to try to operate an airplane before I had developed understanding of its mechanisms and controls had acquired skill in handling it knew where I was going and cared more for human life than for machines or for the thrill of flying Without those preconditions my trying to fly would involve grave danger to others as well as to myself But the construc tion of the airplane might conceivably be greatly simplified so that it would be much more *nearly fool proof self balancing etc Then* the skill required for its successful operation would be within my reach and conscious respon sibil ty Then my use of it might involve but little danger and so not be immoral Similarly by correcting the form and functions of money we may make it more nearly related to man s present inner power of self control and wisdom Such a change may even strengthen his self control

Our soc al and moral relationships are largely expressed in economic modes Since our *economic language—money—is clumsy inaccu* rate inadequate ambiguous and variable our

[7] See *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics* by E. B Holt, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929 Chap. III.

morals are gravely hampered If money can be corrected and improved, an immen e load can be lifted from the entire human race I am thoroughly optimistic about human nature As soon as it is given proper environment and proper tools, economic, moral and intellectual the race will enter a new era of happy development

If we understand how the stimuli of the defects and pressures of money have warped men s characters, and that the substitution of better stimuli can again cause sound growth we renew our faith in the possibilities of improving our social and economic systems without violence

Maybe No Immediate Adoption

It is not likely that such changes will be adopted while we continue on our present level of economic recovery The failure of the recent attempt to adopt stamp scrip in Alberta indicates this improbability But when another very big depression comes, there is a fair chance of stamp scrip being more widely used and perhaps permanently continued It might be begun even now in communities where the proportion of unemployed is very high This use would lift much of the burden of unemployment from local governments People are more likely to change their ideas and habits during periods of general insecurity than at any other time Often such changes are regressions, like the tendency to violence But the change I advocate would be a progression and would do much to end the insecurity

Benefits of Clear Understanding

In any case, if people get a clearer idea of the defects of money and its influence upon them, they have taken the first step toward freedom from those bad effects The truth shall make you free Only when we understand the causes of disease and health can we make sure progress to health? A person who knows all about a complex and dangerous instrument and its effects on him is less apt to be hurt by it than one who is ignorant of its parts and working. One who has the right inner attitude can take as a joke what another man would consider as an insult A clear understanding of the dangers of money will make less insidious the temptation placed upon some leaders to sell out their cause Such understanding will help those who are trying to live rightly It will help all of us

CONGRESS COTTON COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By S P PALEKAR

It is now three months since the report of the Congress Committee on cotton was published The comparatively long time that I have taken in putting together the following criticism will, it may be hoped, prove to be an indication not of any laxity of thought but of the profundity of the subject itself

The report can be conveniently divided to embody the following measures —

(1) Curtailment of area under cotton.
(2) Loans against cotton
(3) Facility regarding rent or revenue
(4) Freight reduction.
(5) Export subsidy
(6) Prohibition of the imports of finer cotton
(7) Changing over to superior varieties of cotton
(8) Regulation of "Teji" "Mandi" operations
(9) Control of ginning and pressing factories

The report says that the present slump in Indian cotton is due to the policy of economic self-sufficiency pursued by foreign countries The whole position of Indian cotton today may, therefore, be summarised as one in which there is an exportable surplus of raw cotton and the prices realized by the cultivators are ridiculously low In view of this situation the proposal of the committee to restrict the area under cotton sounds quite reasonable For that would imply a smaller number of persons engaged in the cultivation of cotton and consequently a smaller number of people that would be hit adversely by the slump in world cotton

price Furthermore there seems to be a tacit presumption that this would decrease the world supply of cotton and would raise the world price Now this will not be the actual state of things Though India provides a fairly large portion of the world supply it has not yet attained that supreme stage to be in a position to formulate and dictate the tone of the world-market Moreover, one cannot positively say that the prices of cotton will never go up If however, they do go up in course of time say by fortuitous circumstances as a world war the cultivator would be robbed of the blessings of such a rise which he would have enjoyed in the ordinary course of things

The committee does not seem to have explored all the possible channels of alleviating the present distress of the cottongrowers Too much stress is laid on facilitating the export of the surplus cotton There is no mention of the possibility of wiping out the surplus by internal absorption This could be effectively achieved by giving a powerful stimulus to the cotton mill industry, by improving it on the most up to date lines and thus enabling it to absorb the surplus of raw cotton and to convert it into manufactures which would then be exported This was hinted a couple of months ago in the Bombay Legislative Assembly when the need for an aggressive and progressive policy of industrialization was urged upon the Government This would prevent the export of raw cotton which, like the export of any raw material, is always accompanied by disastrous consequences to the economic development of any country when the same raw material is imported from abroad as a manufactured commodity for home consumption

This brings us to the question of growing cereal and fodder crops on land given up for cotton Now the selection of the cereal on which depends the entire success or failure of the proposals would be such an extremely difficult and technical problem that the slightest miscalculation would involve the cottongrower into complete ruin Moreover this change from money crops to food crops savours of a gradual move towards the ideal autarchy which doctrine would never tolerate a state-subsidy given for the export of any raw material far less cotton

"To strengthen the holding capacity of the cotton cultivators and with a view to preventing excessive seasonal decline in prices" the committee recommends 'loans at 2 per cent through the Imperial Bank against a deposit of cotton" This problem of agricultural credit is at present being tackled by the Reserve Bank I do not at all thereby suggest that the proposal is out of place or superfluous but feel that it will be very difficult to implement the proposal so long as branch-banking is not fully developed in India

It is not quite clear what the committee means by "dealers" If, as it seems, it comprises the *adatya* and a host of other middlemen their low holding capacity and the necessity of giving them any relief may be seriously doubted

So far as the relief proposed to be given to a cultivator who is unable to pay the land revenue or rent is concerned, it must be noted that the Congress governments will be faced with the same difficulty which will confront the Madras Government with regard to the agricultural debt relief sought to be given in that province The Government will get only a hazy notion a misty fragment, of the ability or the inability of a particular cultivator to pay the land revenue or rent. Thus there is every chance of this charity being misplaced. But, of course, the Government would say that these things cannot be helped The sun shines both on the rich and the poor alike

Referring to the freight reduction the committee says that the cultvator invariably gets a price in which the freight is fully discounted Freight reduction if any therefore will not reach the cultivator Now it is curious to note that in spite of this the committee had further recommended that

"The Government of India should devise a scheme for reduction of freight on consignments which are intended for export and which in fact are exported."

But the committee does not seem to have regarded the export subsidy in the same light. *The export subsidy would never go to benefit* the cultivators but the middlemen who at present hold almost all the stocks of surplus cotton as the holding power of the Indian agriculturist is deplorably low Even taking it for granted that it will somehow or other filter through to the cultivator one is forced to the conclusion that it is a virtual negation of the first proposal to restrict the area under cotton For the cultivator on his part will be tempted to grow as much cotton as possible, being goaded on by the certainty of the State undertaking to dispose it off at its own cost In this connection the financial aspect of the subsidy should not be overlooked as it will mean a further drain on the Exchequer whose solidarity is already threatened by such schemes

as those of prohibition, technical education, agricultural relief, rural development and many others If therefore more importance is to be given, as it should be given, to the interests of the cultivator, it must be admitted that a production bounty given to him would reach him more directly through a reduction in the land revenue and rent than the export subsidy which would be of use to him only at some *remote time when he would become aware of it Thus a production bounty would be more* desirable not only to minimize the present distress but also to expedite the economic development of the country

As regards this export subsidy the Report says that extraordinary inducements are being held out to cotton purchasers by America and it is not right that India should allow her customers, through neglect to be 'snapped by the United States Serious measures should be contemplated for an export subsidy' The committee's argument for this subsidy is the "difficulty of exporting Indian cotton due to its being above parity in relation to the prices of foreign cotton"

Now I have already emphasised above the fact that the export of any raw material particularly one so valuable as cotton should never be the ambition of India who is now on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of its industrial development The admission at the very outset by the committee of the policy *of economic self sufficiency followed by other* nations coupled with its recommendation for stimulating exports of cotton leads to a logical contradiction If the foreign nations are in*flamed with a spirit of economic nationalism* and are determined to be independent of any other nation for the supply of their needs, of what use is an export subsidy? It will only go to *facilitate the export of a commodity* that is not wanted outside Under these circumstances it may reasonably be asked why the State should bear the burden of the difference between the home-price and the foreign price of cotton and the consumer be unduly saddled with a tax, however small, "to recoup the expenditure on the subsidy" as the committee has suggested?

The ambition to compete with a resourceful country like America is, indeed a glorious one But let us compute our rival properly Let us not forget the fact that whatever cotton America exports today is the residue after all her enormous industrial requirements are fully satisfied On the contrary our exports represent the blood of our future industries which have at present fallen innocent victims to the lethargy of the State and its prejudice against the industrialization of India *Let us* therefore keep our resources within the country and also at the same time follow a vigorous policy of extensive industrialization not only as a temporary measure of retaliation but also as a permanent effort to march shoulder to shoulder with other nations towards the goal of economic salvation

The committee, under the same heading, has also suggested

"The textile industry, both hand and machine, *should be assured adequate protection against cheap* foreign cotton goods if necessary"

Now if the committee is so anxious about maintaining the status and position of our industries in the home market why did it not also consider the problem of furthering the same in the world of manufactures abroad? The very conspicuous absence of even a mention of a production bounty is enough to prove that they did not do so

The committee deplores the action of several millowners and cotton merchants in actively negotiating for the import of American and African cotton The Report says

"This threatened invasion of foreign cotton when we *have an unmanageable amount of surplus in India*, is one which it is the imperative duty of the State to ward off We feel it is necessary to ask for total prohibition of the import of cotton of one-inch staple and below, from whatever source We recommend that all provincial governments in whose area cotton is grown should urge the necessity of such a measure on the Government of India."

Here one feels that *total* prohibition *of the imports of* finer cotton will react unfavourably upon the Indian cotton mill industry which is developing rapidly and has a promising and bright future before it Let it be clearly understood that I hold no brief for the millowners Yet I am forced to remark that it will be an injustice done to them who will lose sight of their prospective high status in the sphere of world manufactures by being forced to have recourse to inferior qualities of indigenous cotton which does not lend itself with any great felicity to the manufacture of finer cloth without being mixed Therefore imports of finer cotton, in however small quantities, are absolutely essential if finer cloth is to be produced from home-grown cotton The committee perhaps having realised this difficulty, has also recommended changing over to superior varieties But in the meanwhile we must avail *ourselves of the* imports, if only as a pair of crutches which

will be discarded when we shall not need them any more Incidentally if the changing over is to be successful we must resort to a proper classification and a careful election of seeds rather than to acclamatization of exotics

As noted above the committee has recommended changing over to superior varieties of cotton We may here pause to ask ourselves the question Why was it that the Indian cultivator did not take to superior varieties in the past? Was it due to ignorance? Conservatism? No It was due to practical commonsense He did not take to superior varieties mainly because they do not pay him To ripen fully the superior variety takes from about two to three months more than the inferior one The poor cultivator being very much hard pressed cannot manage to stand the delay Moreover the longer time of waiting introduces the element of the vagaries of the season and the possibility of pestilence to crops Secondly the inferior variety is more prolific i e the yield per acre is definitely greater than that of the superior one Thirdly the inferior variety it has been found by experience can resist diseases much more strongly than the superior one which succumbs to them very easily And finally the ginning percentage is greater in the case of inferior variety which yields more lint than the superior one which yields more seeds. I am not here making out a case for the cultivation of inferior quality but I fail to see how the execution of this proposal will be possible or paying to the cultivator

Coming next to the regulation of 'Teji' 'Mandi' operations (forward transactions) the committee states that these should be strictly controlled and recommends an enquiry to be held by the Bombay Government I hope the committee has not in mind their total suppression on German lines There is such a thing as healthy speculation which has its own advantages And if control is proposed to be exercised on these forward transactions it will be very difficult if not quite impossible to distinguish between rational speculation and speculative speculation. Moreover it is high time that we realised the despiriting delays caused by holding enquiries the results of which it is common experience only rot in the obscurity of the secretariat pigeon holes We have had enough of committees commissions reports enquiries and a host of other things in the past What is now wanted is action—a strong deliberate and determined action.

In conclusion the report says

"Owners of gins and presses combine for exploiting the distress of the farmer by forcing him to pay excessive charges."

Therefore it recommends

"Government regulation to bring down the charges to competitive level"

This needs no comment But it may be suggested that it will be very difficult to lay down an equitable maximum



LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA

By RATILAL MEHTA, M A

THE aim of the present paper is to give a glimpse of the administration of a village, in so far as it is reflected in the *Jataka* stories Here it is taken for granted that the *Jataka* stories give a reflection of the life and thoughts of the period just preceding the Buddha of the period which can well be called the *Mahajanapada period*—approximately ranging from 600 B C to 800 B C[1] These simple folk tales give us a wealth of information about the life of the masses of those days

There can be no doubt that such extensive states as Kasi and Kosala, Anga and Magadha, Assaka and Kalinga which flourished during this period had well-marked boundaries and distinctions and were divided into different administrative units, provinces or districts and villages Though we, unfortunately, do not get much information about the provincial or the district administrative arrangements, it is nevertheless, conceivable that, officials like the *rajjugahaka amaccas*[2] or *rajukas*[3] were the provincial heads It has been well maintained[4] that the *rajukas* or *lajukas* of the Asokan Inscriptions were provincial heads, their main functions being, presumably, survey, land-settlement and irrigation Though the term *mahamatta* occurs several times in the *Jatakas*,[5] it is very difficult to say how far it corresponds with that occurring in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and the Asoka Inscriptions where, indeed, it has been taken to mean provincial official[6] Similarly is it doubtful whether the *Yuttas* and the *purisas* appearing so often in these stories,[7] should have any affinity with the *Yuktas* and the *purusas* of the Mauryan administrative system[8] It is certainly difficult to attach any technical significance to these general terms Still we may be permitted to hold that, these were officials connected with the provinces or districts, but did not possess such wider and more distinct powers as their followers of the Mauryan days did Lastly, we may note that, there is even a suggestion to the effect that some kings appointed their princes as governors or viceroys over the provinces (*janapadas*) in their kingdoms,[9] as was really the case in the Mauryan days[10]

The village, on the other hand, was clearly an administrative unit. After all what was a kingdom if not a definite collection of villages?[11] Then, as even now, the bulk of the people lived in villages The greatness of a kingdom is represented by the large number of villages it included[12]

A village (*gama*) consisted of closely situated habitations in the midst of cultivated fields and jungles Beyond the fields lay the waste and the woodland where the village-cattle were grazed,[13] and the villagers went to gather firewood and leaves of trees[14] Most of the villages were protected with simple bamboo palisades with gates[15]

The population of a village extended from thirty to a thousand families,[16] or, approxi-

1 This point is discussed in detail in my forthcoming book *Ancient India in the Jatakas*

2 *Jataka* II, pp 367-8

3 *Rock-Edict* III, *Pillar Edict IV*

4. Dikshitar *The Mauryan Polity* pp 208, 216 19

5 *J*, II pp 367, 378, IV, pp 134—*Gatha* 101, where *mahamattas* are distinct from *manins*, 202—"*ranna va rajamahamattena.*"

6 Dikshitar *op cit*, pp 208-10 Of the third group of provincial officers namely, the *pradesikas* or the *pradestaras*, we have no mention in the stories

7 *J*, IV, p 492, V, pp 14, 117—G 20 where *yuttas* are clearly associated with the *janapada* or district affairs I pp 200 263, 384, II, p 122 III p 326, VI, p 135

8 Dikshitar, *op cit*, pp 222 27

9 *J*, IV, p 131—*Raja tesani janapadani datva uyyojesi*, also VI p 294-G 1284.

10 Prince Bindusara was the Viceroy of the Southern Provinces Asoka is also said to have been the Viceroy at Takkasila and under Asoka himself, no doubt, the princes (*Kumalas*) were appointed as Viceroys at Taxila, Ujjein Tosali and Suvannagiri See Dikshitar, *op cit*, pp 200 *ff*

11 *Cf* Rhys Davids "But the peoples of India, then much more even than now, were, first and foremost, village folk"—*Buddhist India*, p 50

12. *J*, III, pp 365 7—G 76—*gamasahassani pari punnani Solasa*, V, p 258—G 41—*Satthi gamasahassani paripunnani Sabbasa*. The figures 16 000 and 60 000 may seem to be exaggerated, but they are not altogether improbable *Cf* Pran Nath, 'Videha may certainly have contained 16 000 villages, provided village be taken in the sense of survey village or estate—*Economic Condition*, p 51

13 *J*, I pp 193-4.

14 *J*, V, p 103.

15 *J* I, p 239, II, p 76—*nalaparikkhitto*, 135, III, p 9, IV, p 370

16 *J*, I p 199—*Tasmin ca game tims'eva kulani honti*, V p 71—*ekekasmin panca panca kulasatani vasanti* III, p 281—*tesani gamato avidure anno Sahas*

mately, 150 to 5000 souls It is not necessary here to go into economic details But it is quite essential to state some of those facts in order to get an idea of this administrative unit —the village

There were different orders of villages *viz*, *nigamagama, janapadagama, dvaragama* and *paccantagama* and villages occupied with different guilds varying in importance and population People could live in these villages a simple and inornate life 'pursuing their trade and commerce, agriculture and various other avocations in peace and security'

Though so far as the internal administration of a village was concerned it enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy, the central government did not follow a strictly non interfering policy as we shall see

Every village was under the control of its headman called the *gamabhojaka*,[17] or the *gamani*.[18] The literal meaning of the title *gamabhojaka* would be, one who enjoys a village, *i.e*, a village given in reward by the king Now, there seem to have been two types of villages, *viz*, (*a*) those, the revenues yielded by which were enjoyed by an individual and (*b*) others, the revenues of which were enjoyed by the State In either case there must be a headman Whether this headman was the rewarded person himself or not is not at all clear It may be easily supposed, however, that, the higher officers like the *purohita* who were the usual recipients of such grants could not possibly act as the headmen of the villages In that case, they only had concern with the annual income to fetch which they would proceed to their respective villages and leave every other item of administration in the hands of a person who was really the headman In some other cases where the recipients were just ordinary persons like a merchant or a Brahmana, the headman may have been the same as the recipient Anyhow, since the distinction cannot be more comprehensive, we may proceed with our task of observing the actual administration of a village, taking the *gamabhojaka* of the stories as the headman proper

The functions and powers of the *Gama bhojaka* were wide and important He exercised judicial powers and also executive authority so far as his civil and, to a certain extent, criminal jurisdiction extended Thus one *gamabhojaka* issued prohibitions against the slaughter of animals within his jurisdiction,[19] and another stopped the sale of wine[20] Elsewhere,[21] a *gamabhojaka* fined a fisherman's wife for stirring up a quarrel and she was tied up and beaten to make her pay the fine Once when crops failed in a village due to famine, the headman distributed food to the famine-stricken villagers on promise of receiving a share of their next crops[22] These instances sufficiently indicate that the headman had substantial powers at his command But his powers were not unlimited, nor completely transferred He could not become a tyrant in his own village

Firstly, he was not without any control from above, *i e*, the king Once a *gamabhojaka* spoke ill of the villagers to the king, but on their innocence being proved, the slanderer's *(pesunnakarakassa)* possessions were given away to them and he was made their slave and finally turned out of the village[23] Another headman was properly punished by the king, as he, with his own people, went away to the forest deliberately leaving the villagers at the mercy of robbers[24] That his judicial powers also were restricted in character is seen from the fact that he could not deal with complicated law-suits arising in his village[25] nor could he inflict graver punishments We see from the *Gamanicanda Jataka*[26] that in judicial matters the final authority largely rested with the king, or his Court It also proves that the administration of justice was one of the essential links[27] that bound the village to the Central Government If one of the litigant parties in a village wanted redress at the hands of the king or his Court, in spite of suitable arrangements in the village itself he could do so and the case had to be decided accordingly If the other party refused to agree to such a course, he was liable to punishment

sakuṭiko gamo, also III p 8—*tattha timsa jana rajasevaka vasanti*, where thirty men must of course mean thirty men with their families.

17 *J* I pp 199, 354 483, II, pp 136 300—G ?, *IV*, pp 115 326

18 *J*, *IV* p 310—G 84, *gramani* is a *Vedic* title for the village-headman, *Vedic Index*, I, p 247

19 *J*, IV, p 115—*gamabhojako maghatam kara pesi*.

20 *Ibid*, *gamabhojako majjavikkayam karetva*.

21 *J*, I p 483.

22. *J*, II, p 135

23. *J*, I pp 199-200

24. *J*, I p. 355—*ayam duṭṭhabhojako corehi ekato hutwa gamam vilumpapetva coresu palayitva tam kammam pakatam jatam. Ath assa raja dosanurupam niggahan akasi*.

25 *J*, III, p 204.

26. *J*, II p 301

27 Another essential link was the revenue collection.

So we are told,

Now these people have a custom that they pick up a bit of stone or a potsherd, and say 'here's the king's officer come along' If any man refused to go he is punished"[28]

Secondly, the villagers themselves perhaps through their committee, exercised not a little amount of influence on the activities of the headman In both the instances cited above, *viz*, of prohibitions against animal slaughter and sale of intoxicating liquors, the villagers make a representation in a body to their head men to suspend or annul the prohibitions for those were their time-honoured practices The headmen had to yield and say 'Do as you have always done aforetime'[29] The village committee must have been a potent force in the carrying out of the affairs affecting the common interests of the villagers in general Although it is not possible to say anything definitely regarding the constitution of such committees indications are not wanting to point out the fact that the heads of the houses in a village carried on their common affairs in remarkable harmony and co operation It is necessary to point out in this connection that, though the majority of villages very likely contained a heterogeneous population there were others inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single class or followers of a single occupation thus making a homogeneous whole[30] In this latter case the guild or corporation (*seni*) which was already a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people, shared with the headman the responsibility of carrying on the management of rural affairs And if the village consisted of men following more than one profession, the village committee might have comprised a representative of each family in the village Thus we see in the hamlet of Macala in the kingdom of Magadha, heads of thirty families of which its population was composed, assembling together in the middle of the village, and carrying on its business[31] Similarly, in another place,[32] we find the same number of men transacting the village affairs This is significant enough And as has been well observed

'It may not also be improbable that, irrespective of the total population of a village the committee usually consisted of thirty members or thereabouts'[33]

The meetings of the village committee must have been held in a hall (*sala*) in the midst of the village, provided with boards, seats and a jar of water[34] As to the nature of work generally performed at these meetings (*gama-kammam* or *gamakiccam*) the same Macala hamlet provides us with an interesting example The members of this corporate body are found to be in complete agreement with their leader who is credited with much initiative[35] Here the leader is said to have established the members of his committee in the Five Commandments and, thenceforth, to have gone about with them doing good works Then the people, too,

"doing good works always in the Bodhisatta's Company, used to get up early and rally forth with razors and axes and clubs in their hands With their clubs they used to roll out in the way all stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village the trees that would strike against the axles of chariots they cut down, rough places they made smooth causeways they built, dug water tanks and built a hall"[36]

A remarkable picture, this, revealing before us the healthy spirit of communal work, the sense of dignity of labour and the genuine public spirit Observes Dr Radha Kumud Mookerji

We have here in this short paragraph a most graphic and complete account of the evolution through all its stages of a village built up by the communal labour of its inhabitants We may notice how the assembly hall of the village figures prominently in its public works as being the indispensable material requisite for the growth and sustenance of that larger public spirit or civic consciousness, which builds up the village itself"[37]

28 *J*, II, p 301—"*Tesu pi janesu yam kinci sakkharam va kapalakhandam va ukkhipitva ayam te rajaduto ehiti vutto yo na gacchati tassa rajanam karonti*."

29 *J*, IV, p 115—"*mahajano sannipatitva aha 'sami, ayam migasukaradayo maretva yakkhanam balikammam karissama pubbe imasmin kale Surachana nama hoti' 'tumhakam pubbekarana-niyamena eva karotha'*"

30. For instance, *J*, II, pp 18, 368, 405 III pp. 281, 293, 342, 376, IV, pp. 276, 344, 376, 390, V, p. 337, VI, pp. 71, 156

31 *J*, I, p 199—"*Tasmin ca game tinsava kulani honti, te ca tinsa kulamanussa ekadivasam gamamajjhe thatva gamakammam karonti*"

32 *J*, III, p 8—*Tattha tinsa jana rajasevaka vasanti, te pato va gamamajjhe sannipatitva gamakiccam karonti*.

33 B C. Sen, *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, 1930, *Studies in Jatakas*, p 108.

34. *J*, I, p 199—"*Gamamajjhe . salam karesi, tattha phalakasanani santharitva pani—yacitam thapesi*. The *Santhagara*, or the motehall, was a similar feature of the town *J*, IV, p 74 *gamassa kammantatthanam* at J, IV, p 306

35 *J*, I, p. 199—*te tinsa jana Bodhisattena samanacchanda ahesum*.

36 *J*, I, p 199—*Te pi tena eva saddhim punnani karonti kalasa'eva butthaya vasipharasumusalahattha catumahapathadisu musalena pasane ubbattetva pavattenti, yananam akkhapatighatarukkhe haranti, visamam samam karonti, setum attharanti, pokkharanyo khananti, salam karonti*

37 *Local Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p 146.

Indeed, the villagers of Macala provide us with a refreshing example through the gloom of the intermediate period of our history, specially when we are bent upon planning a country-wide rural reconstruction scheme There is nothing to show that the workers of the Macala village had to depend upon State funds or grants for their public works

Influential as the village committee was, it often went against the interest of the *gama bhojaka* For instance, in the same Macala village, the members of the committee having by common consent given up the habit of drinking wine, incurred the displeasure, of the headman who practically traded upon the immorality of his own people

"When these men used to get drunk and commit murders and so forth, I used to make a lot of money out of them, not only on the price of their drinks, but also from fines and dues they paid But now here s this young Brahmin Maga bent on making them keep the commandments he is putting a stop to murders and other crimes."[38]

From all this, it seems that the village government was largely carried on by the committee with the help of, or rather in co-operation with, the headman and excepting judicial matters of graver character and the revenue collection, the Central Government did not interfere much with the rural affairs Village life was thus peaceful in general, but sometimes disturbed by the autocratic action of the headman or the harassment by the tax-collectors who were anything but kindly Even so, the villagers would sometimes not suffer a despotic *gamabhojaka* They would take the law in their hands For instance, when once a headman intrigued with a villager's wife, he was seized by the lock of hair on the top of his head, dragged into the countryard and thrown down as he cried 'I am the headman' He was thrashed till he fainted and made to remember the lesson[39] If he was congenial, he could be left free surrounded by his comrades enjoying in dance and music and favoured by the king[40] On the whole it would seem that the village was a self-governing unit in those ancient days

38 *J*, I, p 199—*"Catikahapanadivasena c eva dandabalivasena dhanam labhami.* 'Amongst these *cati* deserves our special notice It most probably comes from the word *cata* or *cara*, a well known word in epigraphic records, but its meaning is differently given. However a *cata* meant a policeman and his unjust extortion from the people is quite evident in the epigraphic records See, for instance, *Ep Ind.*, IX pp 283, 298, XI, pp 179 221, for a fuller description of this official see Pran Nath, *op cit., pp. 64 ff* Our *gamabhojaka*, then, had also police duties to perform. It is clear that he is represented by the *patel* of our times contrast, Mrs Rhys Davids, *J R A S* (1901), p 887

39 *J*, II, p 136

40 *J*, IV, p 310—G 84—*So gamani hotu sahayamajjhe, naccehigitehi pamodamano*

CANNING OF FRUITS AND ITS SCOPE IN INDIA

By B K DHAR, B Sc, (Ag), Alld, *Horticulture (Advanced), Poona*

India is a fruit-growing country where almost all the tropical and sub-tropical fruits are grown under the different climatic conditions In some parts of the country, some of the fruits are grown so abundantly that during the fruiting season it is a very common sight for a pedestrian to witness the stray cattle butting each other for the rotten fruits near the streets in the city In India under the present circumstances it is not possible to get the different varieties of fruits all round the year, except fruits like papaya and banana Because of the scarcity of the fruits in and out of season and of the special liking for dried, salted, canned and bottled fruits and vegetables, Bombay Presidency alone excluding Sindh imports foreign dried, salted, canned and bottled fruit and vegetables worth Rs 91,77,516 annually (average of 1928-29 to 1932-33, Dr Cheema) So from this data we can see the importance of fruit preservation as an industry in a vast country like India

It is due to the fact that the fruits are spoiled by organisms like moulds, yeasts and bacteria when kept for a long time that the idea of preserving fruits and vegetables by drying, harmless preservatives, by means of heat and in cold storage, came into the minds of the scientists For several years in almost all the civilized countries experiments on the preservation of fruits and vegetables economically are being conducted. Thus the importance of canning of fruits has been realised all over the world As the industry

of canning does not require a large capital always it can be started as cottage industry in some parts where fruits are available very cheap during the fruiting season

Canning may be defined as the preservation of foods in hermetically sealed containers by sterilization by heat. In a broader sense it includes preservation by sterilization in glass containers as well as in tin cans

When the surplus fruits are not sold profitably in the market the growers can easily prepare jams jellies marmalade preserves syrup etc and can make a profit by selling these products to the customers who prefer canned fruits At present however due to the following reasons it is very difficult to compete with the foreign canned fruits that are available in the market

(1) People in general who purchase preserved fruits as jams jellies etc always prefer foreign products because of their established reputation

(2) Due to the high price of glass containers as well as tin cans and other materials that are necessary for canning the cost of production in India is more than the other industrialised countries

(3) During these days of hard competition the capitalists are not ready to take the risk by investing large sums in the canning industry which is still in an infant stage in India

In spite of these difficulties let us see the scope in canning industry in some parts of India where fruits are grown abundantly and how much capital a man needs if he wants to sell the products profitably in the market.

Almost in all the Indian houses whether rich or poor the housewives prepare some kinds of chutney jellies jams etc for home consumption But as these products are not prepared on a scientific basis and on commercial scale they are not so delicious and attractive looking and cannot be preserved for a long time like the foreign canned and bottled products Now in India if these housewives who are already interested in canning are trained under proper guidance, they themselves can manage the industry without much difficulty

In Western countries like America and England it is found that most of the workers in canning factories are women because they have found that women workers are better than male workers as the fair sex is naturally skilled in the art of cooking and other household affairs So in India where the women are always taking an active part in household affairs they can easily start canning of fruits if they are scientifically trained But before starting the industry as a business they will have to solve the following problems

(1) To create a market for the products

(2) The establishment of a good reputation for the manufactured products

(3) It must be done very systematically and hygienically

(4) The cost of production should be as low as possible

In one word he or she will have to convince the customers that the products are by no means inferior to the foreign products

The following are the points to be considered very closely before selecting the site for the industry of canning

(1) Marketing facilities
(2) Amount of fruits available
(3) Water supply
(4) Capital available
(5) Transportation facilities
(6) Labour available

In India among the three factors of production *viz* land labour and capital the last factor is the most important one When the capital is available the person should consider how much he can put in the reserve fund and how much he can invest on a house, small machinery utensils etc After getting the capital in hand he should adjust the amount in such a way that he can manufacture at least 100 bottles or cans as the minimum number daily if he wants to compete with the foreign products in the market

The following are the rough estimated assets required to manufacture 100 bottles or cans of fruit products daily

Seaming machine one, costs	Rs.	250
Capping machine one costs	"	25
Lever press (local made) one costs	"	20
Open bath sterilizer with false bottom two costs		40
Mincing machine two costs	"	6
Marmalade fringing machine one costs	"	15
Balance one, costs	"	20
Engine stoves three cost (Rs. 15 each)	"	45
Thermometer one costs	"	5
Sacharometer one costs	"	6
Class jars six cost	"	12
Two syphons with rubber tubings cost	"	2
Aluminium vessels six cost	"	12
Tin plates six cost	"	3
Spoons both small and big twelve cost	"	5
Almirah three costs	"	60
Felt hat for filtering three costs	"	3
Furniture table etc.	"	50

Bottlecans etc.,	„	100
Other materials	„	100
Total	Rs	779

The following are the average costs calculated in canning laboratory College of Agriculture Poona, for Jelly Jams Marmalade Juice Syrups, Preserves, etc, by the writer while he himself was preparing the products

		Cost of Production.		Market Price		Profit.	
		As	P	As	P	As	P
1	Guava jelly for each bottle	7	6	9	0	1	6
2.	Papaya „ „ „ „	8	0	9	0	1	0
3	Wood apple „ „	5	0	9	0	4	0
4.	Goose berry jam „ „	5	3	9	0	3	9
5	Papaya jam „ „	3	6	9	0	5	6
6	Pomelo marmalade „	6	0	9	0	3	0
7	Sarvati lime marmalade „	5	0	9	0	4	0
8.	Lime juice „ „	5	0	12	0	7	0
9	Lime juice syrup „ „	4	0	12	0	8	0
10.	Pomegranate juice „	5	3	12	0	6	9
11	*Pomegranate syrup* „	6	3	12	0	5	9
12.	Chiku preserve „ „	5	6	7	0	1	6

It is no doubt a fact that the cost of production will vary from place to place and it may not be a profitable concern in those places where the fruits are very costly But still in some parts of India during the fruiting season the growers find it so difficult in disposing of the fruits that either they have to auction them or throw them as waste products In such places at least fruit canning can be started as a profitable business

Today due to the world wide trade depression many men and women are thrown out of employment. Those who are thrown out of employment are without any capital to start an industry like canning As there is competition in the market as regards this industry the work must be started very efficiently To start the industry efficiently capital is required In order that the unemployed men get some benefits it is our earnest desire that those who could afford would give the start by establishing canning factories in at least some of the most important cities of India If the start is given we have no doubt that before long this industry would spread into the villages where poor men and women could start it as cottage industry

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND FORECAST OF POPULATION INCREASE

By Professor RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

Few laymen realise that over-population holds good only of the human community There are several kinds of automatic checks which keep down animal populations at an equilibrium density at which the animals are in proper vigour and fitness

Animals usually avoid an over abundance through a change in habits and relations in food clans through a decrease of the life span and of the rate of reproduction In the human level the institutional structure helps the population towards maintaining an average abundance and longevity and avoiding natural selection by actual starvation famine and disease Among animal populations there are hardly any maladaptations in reproductive habits and ways of living in relation to limited resources In the human community we often meet with institutional misfits as a result of which man in all ages foregoes or delays his adaptations vital to his survival In India polygamy ancestor-worship and the religous obligation to bear male issue are now in discord with the enormous populations which have over reached the means of subsistence

The adjustment of human numbers to food supply has reached such close approximation in most parts of India that slight variations in the cropped area are accompanied by marked disturbances in the trend of reproductivity and mortality The standard of living is the lowest consistent with the bare maintenance of life as would appear from the fact that there is no margin of reserve to permit of birth and death rates being maintained anywhere near the normal when there is a slight variation of food supply as measured by the cropped area On account of the great instability of agriculture

in the crowded river plains of India and the population not exercising its normal psychological checks over long periods, food supply and economic toil have direct relations with natality and mortality and through these restore the equilibrium between density and the region Birth and death rates are thus matters of ecological adjustment, and starvation hardly operates directly, as a check on numbers Men thus have lost or broken out of control of the various checks which among animals keep down numbers to reasonable portions so that the gregarious communities may have some margin left for times of food-scarcity which are normal Meanwhile migration, intensive farming and industrial employment also serve in some measure to counteract the lack of balance between human numbers and the resources of the region

Crime against property increases in years of bad harvests and diminishes in years of good ones Population maladjustment not only leads to crime and vice directly by shaping domestic and social ties, but also indirectly by leading to unemployment and wholesale emigration to distant places where the usual community means of social control do not operate

The social process as a result of which the natural checks of numbers have ceased to operate is complex and connected with the whole texture of social life but the factors may be analysed somewhat as follows 1

(a) In India climate has contributed to earlier maturity, the majority of females being capable of matrimonial life by the age of 15, however unfit for it they may be physically Thus the reproductive period is longer

(b) In Northern India the race is more mixed in the eastern than in the western portions Where the lower castes and lower branches of widespread castes dominate, the rule of child marriage is adopted more strictly Thus the age of puberty is somewhat earlier and infant marriage more common in the eastern than in the western districts of the Ganges Valley

(c) Generally speaking the sex ratio is greater in the lower than in the higher Hindu castes in Northern India, and higher in the same caste as we advance eastward in the Ganges Valley The lower caste Hindus show a greater natural increase than the high caste Hindus In some areas these threaten to swamp the upper caste Hindus which show a striking paucity of females, adopt rigid exogamous and hypergamous restriction and strictly prohibit widow re-marriage—social customs which the lower Hindu castes do not favour

(d) The custom of universal marriage irrespective of economic considerations has received the sanction of religion while the desire to bear and beget children has been transmuted into a religious sentiment both in China and India

(e) A high development of parental impulses has also contributed to encourage multiplication. This has been institutionalised in the authority of the joint family, and rigid control of marriage by the parents which is one of the factors responsible for child marriages

(f) The low social position of the woman, who is also protected in some degree against hard work in the fields by taboos, also encourages frequent child-bearing irrespective of her physical suffering or economic incapacity

(g) The Muhammadans not only have discarded the prohibition of widow-remarriage but have adopted polygamy throughout Northern India The Muhammadan custom of adopting more than one and as many as four wives, who serve as field labourers in new reclamations, contributes towards the success of agricultural colonisation in virgin wildernesses, islands and swamps, where the delta-building rivers meet the sea in Bengal Among the Muhammadan males, not merely is the proportion married much higher than among the Hindus, but also the proportion of widows amongst females is much smaller, contributing to a much larger natural increase In the recently reclaimed and prosperous districts of Eastern Bengal, the Muhammadan increased from 645 to 710 per mille of the total population during only fifty years

(h) The average number of persons per farm family is as high as 5 78 persons in North China and 5 5 persons in Eastern Bengal These figures may be compared with 4 4 persons per farm household in the United States Farming in Southeast Asia is largely or entirely dependent upon family collaboration, which, however, extends to social objectives Large families are an economic advantage in intensive farming while the conventions and taboos relating to sex in India permit a large commensal group to live together in the same homestead without marital encroachments and discords

(i) Precariousness of agriculture due to the irregular distribution of rainfall has in some measure diminished thrift and prudence

(j) A faulty land distribution has discouraged the accumulation and investment of capital by the small holder The change from

1 See my *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*

cultivating proprietorship to tenantry and from tenantry to the proletariat characteristic of the agrarian history in China and India in the recent decades tends to sap all initiative and desire for a high standard of living

Among the social and institutional factors which encourage large families in India it is doubtful whether universal marriage among the Hindus and polygamy among the Muhammadans will soon be given up Though polygamy may have declined India even now shows after 20 practically all her girls married Drought years in India lead only to postponement of marriage which being a sacrament is performed as soon as favourabe agricultural conditions are restored

With the improvement of the land system and stabilisation of peasant proprietorship prudence and desire for a higher standard of living will be engendered Many social and ameliorative measures especially the improvement of sanitation and public hygiene, the opening of schools and Co operative Credit Societies may develop prudential restraints On the other hand, it must be admitted that the sheer increase of numbers frustrates in large measure the effects of land legislation and adjustment and delays or renders to some extent nugatory schemes of education, sanitation and rural reconstruction Millions of more mouths to feed than the land can support also imply millions of children whom the primary schools cannot accommodate and millions of adult men and women whom medicine cannot reach in sickness or death Even with compulsory education and vast schemes of rural uplift, over-population implies such fractionalisation of holdings as makes subsistence farming more wide-spread, ruling out the introduction of improved seeds, fertilisers and implements and improvement in marketing methods Over-population means also such multiplication of agricultural labourers in the country-side as would lower both agricultural wages and efficiency and exclude every kind of labour-saving device *In the face of* an over plus of landless labourers no law preventing the tillers of the soil from transforming themselves into a class of rent-receivers and intermediaries can succeed No doubt with a large increase which has taken place in the agricultural population in India there has not been a corresponding increase in actual holders of land, whether peasant proprietors or tenants, and it is probable that in many parts of India a concentration of land in the hands of non-cultivating owners is also taking place Some economists have recently stressed that the Indian population problem is mainly one of distribution of wealth This is an entirely wrong perspective, since the multiplication of agricultural population and insecurity of tenure and uneconomic rents are found to co exist in every agricultural country To depend upon a better distribution of wealth for an uplift of the standard of living of the masses in India or for population restriction is putting the cart before the horse

Modern demographers indicate the probable trend of population from the age composition of the population, the proportion of married women at different age periods and the gross and net reproductional rates In India Raja has recently considered the growth of population from this point of view In a forthcoming publication *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* I have also analysed the above determining factors in regard to future population increase in India. We shall here confine ourselves to an examination as to which factors would accelerate immediate population increase and those which would check it

Table I gives the variation on population at certain age periods in India and in her major provinces It will be seen that in the previous census periods drought and famine were responsible for a thinning out of both old and adolescent groups

TABLE I

Variation in population at certain age-periods for successive censuses.

Period	Variation per cent in population					
	All ages	0-10	10-15	15-40	40-60	60 and over
INDIA						
1881 1891	+11·2	+16·1	+ 4·3	+10·8	+9·7	+ 8·0
1891 1901	+ 1·8	— 5·1	+14·5	+ 2·3	+5·2	+ 0·3
1901 1911	+ 6·6	+ 9·7	— 1·7	+ 7·3	+5·1	+ 8·6
1911 1921	+ 0·9	+ 0·1	+ 8·5	— 1·0	+1·1	+ 3·1
1921 1931	+10·9	+14·5	+10·6	+15·1	+3·1	—14·9

Except in the last decade due to absence of economic catastrophes and severe epidemics of diseases, there is a tendency of decrease of *proportion of the very young, while the proportion* of the very old shows census by census a more marked diminution, due to the selective incidence of agricultural scarcity and epidemics The influence of droughts and famine in the earlier decades left its mark on the adolescent groups as well until 1921, particularly in the United Provinces Such factors as migration, inaccuracy in returns and alteration in the method of grouping are responsible for anomalies, but *the dominant tendency as regards the* thinning out of the young and the old is clearly discernible Economic privations affect persons at the extremes of life more than persons in

middle age, men more than women, while in drought years the number of births diminishes, the proportion of children to the total population being reduced For both Bombay and the United Provinces the legacy of past famines was the dominant factor in the age constitution in the last decade even over shadowing the selective mortality of the influenza epidemic[2] The heavy piling up of both the young and adolescent groups has been unparalleled in the 1931 census and thus will tend to a heavy and interrupted increase of population between 1931-41

The phenomenal increase (14 5 per cent) in the 1931 census of the proportion of the smallest age group (0-10), which has been unparalleled during the last 50 years is also responsible for ushering into social importance the problems of education and welfare of the minors on an unprecedented scale in recent years The changing age composition in favour of the middle aged groups as compared with the older one which has lost by 14 9 per cent has also forced into prominence the question of industrial and professional unemployment

The economic significance of the changing age distribution in favour of both minors and middle aged persons is obvious The pressure on the soil and unemployment of all classes have increased and in the coming decade the present piling up of the minor and adolescent groups will add many more million mouths to feed and employ enormously aggravating economic pressure and rudely disestablishing the land man ratio In the oldest group, those aged 70 and over have decreased by a million in the last decade On the other hand in age groups 10 30 the increase in females has been particularly remarkable, which will lead to a spurt of population growth in the present decade This will be very clearly traced in the following tables

Tables II and III give the proportion of women and married females at certain age periods for successive censuses in India.

TABLE II

Variations of Proportion of Women at Certain Age-periods per 10 000 Females for Successive Censuses.

	Ages.						
	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50
1891 1901	835	892	895	851	587	652	339
1901 1911	826	930	909	835	586	631	338
1911-1921	815	881	886	833	565	621	348
1921 1931	938	985	868	756	595	505	389

2. For Bombay, see Sedgwickff Census Report of the Bombay Presidency, 1921, and Marten Census Report of India, 1921, p. 130.

TABLE III

Variations of Proportion of Married Women at Certain Age-periods per thousand Women at the Same Ages

	Ages						
	15 20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50
1891 1901	777	876	859	793	722	584	
1901 1911	Age 15-40		833		Age 40 & over		833
1911 1921	771	877	863	797	727	599	527
1921 1931	818	886	869	824	703	627	473
	15-20	20 25	25-35	35-45	45-55		
England and Wales (1921)	18	270	631	946	721		
	15 20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50
Japan (1925)	132	670	876	903	889	849	789

Upto the age of 30 the age distribution of married women in India is distinctly more favourable for population growth than in both England and Wales and Japan The period of the most effective fertility lies between 15 to 20 both in Japan and India

For arriving at Kuczynski's fertility rates the proportion of married women, as given in Table III, is significant, and it is much more favourable for reproduction in India than in Japan

It will be seen from the above two tables that in 1931 the proportion of women for the age periods 15-20 and 20 25 has greatly increased and this increase is even greater when we consider the proportion of married women at the successive age-periods 15 20, 20 25 25 30 and 30 35 Even if it be assumed that Indian women are less reproductive than those in other countries after 35, the piling up of the proportion of the married women during most part of their reproductive life in the 1931 census is most favourable for enhanced growth of population

The earlier age-periods show in all probability greater fertility rates in India than the later age periods and since the proportion of women in the earlier age groups is larger, this is a factor definitely more favourable to population increase than in the previous census periods

The age of marriage is a matter of great demological significance Table IV gives the main statistics regarding the distribution and progress of early marriage in India

TABLE IV

Number Unmarried per Thousand Females Aged

	5-10	10-15
1881		481
1891	874	491
1901	893	559
1911	891	555
1921	907	601
1931	807	619

The figures show some decrease in the numbers of those in the earlier age category

who are still unmarried but an increase of the number of unmarried girls belonging to the second age category The improvement of the age of marriage in 1931 would have been much greater had it not been for the fact a large number of child marriages preceded the Sarda Act On the whole we would expect in the *future even better improvement in the age of* marriage This will lead to an increase of both nuptial as well as effective fertility As the age of marriage in India will change from say 10 to 13 to 15 to 20 both the rate of fertility and the rate of survival will be substantially raised In Germany where the age of marriage of women is seldom below 20 marriages at 20 are much more fertile than late marriages

TABLE V

Age of Wife at Marriage	Average Number of Children
20	2 25
25	1 69
30	1 33
35	0 8

It is unreasonable to hope that the age of marriage in the near future will reach 20 years but that improvement of the age within the lower limits will raise fertility is shown by *the experience of Baroda where Child Marriage* Restraint Laws had been in operation for some time and where the change of the age of the girl at marriage from 13 or 14 upto 20 has led to an increase of both fertility and survival In Travancore, where about 49 per cent of the women are married between 15 and 20 as compared with Baroda's 13 per cent both the number of children and the proportion of those who survive diminish as the age of marriage of girls advances This is however contrary to general experience In India on the whole the improvement of the age of marriage of wife upto say, 20 years will it is expected increase the effective fertility Baroda Travancore and Scotland are compared in the table below

TABLE VI

Age of Marriage of Wife	Average number of children born per family			Average number of children surviving	
	Travancore.	Baroda.	Scotland.	Travancore	Baroda.
13-15	7 0	5 24		5 4	3 08
15-20	6 5	5 54	9 02	4 9	3 30
20-25	5 9	5 40	7 86	4 4	3 09
25-30	5 0	4 97	5 66	3 7	3 11
30 & over	3 6	3 72	3 89	2 9	2 23

Widowhood withdraws a large section of the Indian women from child bearing. 16 per cent of the women of the reproductive age in India are widows and do not bear children In England and Wales only 8 per cent of the females are widows and some of these do remarry But the general ratio of widowed females is decreasing In 1921 there was 175 widows in every 1 000 women a figure which had fallen in 1931 to 155

Female mortality experience during the last two decade also indicates that the specific female death rate which is generally higher than amongst males in the 5 10 age group and again between 15 40 in some provinces is steadily diminishing showing less neglect of female children and also improved midwifery so far as the *whole of India is concerned*

General mortality experience (of both males and females) has shown that there is a distinct tendency for a fall suggesting also the probability of some further diminution of the death-rate in the future

TABLE VII

INDIA

Period	Birth rate per thousand	Death rate per thousand
1901 1910	38	34
1911 1920	37	34
1921 1930	35	26
1931 1935	34 7	23

JAPAN

Period.	Birth rate per thousand	Death rate per thousand
1901 1910	32 25	20 0
1911 1920	33 25	21 7
1921 1930	34 1	20 6
1931 1935	31 7	17 2

The birth rates in India and Japan are *almost on a par though in the former country* its diminution has been larger In 1925 when Japan showed a gross reproduction rate of 2.39, her birth rate was 34 9 which exactly corresponds to India's birth rate in 1931 (35 per thousand population) The expectancy of female lives in India and Japan may be thus compared

TABLE VIII

	At Birth	At 20	At 40	At 60
	INDIA			
(1931)	26 56	27 08	18 23	10 81
	JAPAN			
(1925)	43 20	40 38	23 09	14 12

With the birth rate almost the same and female expectancy about two thirds of Japan the specific fertility in India must be much larger than in the case of the latter country The age distribution of Indian women shows much larger proportions between 15 and 25 (Table III) and this is also favourable for a higher specific fertility

Kuczynski calculates 'the gross reproduction rate" by the formula

$$\frac{\text{Total fertility rate} \times \text{Female Births}}{\text{Total Number of Births}}$$

and by adjusting the latter to the mortality figures reaches the net reproduction rate His method has been followed in constructing the fertility table for India the specific fertility of women in Japan being adopted for our country due to the present incomplete state of fertility data here

The gross reproduction rate of Indian mothers amounts to 4 5 which may be compared with Ukraine rate of 3 65 of all females in 1896 97 But the latter dropped to 2 49 in 1926-27 The total number of girls born to 1 000 women in India passing through child-bearing age would be 4,542 but since according to the life table out of 1 000 life born females only 524 females (and hence 524—18 2 per cent or 429 married women) are found to be living at the age of say 20 and so on total fertility (measured by female births) is reduced by mortality from 4 542 8 to 1 762 18 A thousand mothers would be replaced by 1 762 new born girls Of these 308 would be widows and unmarried females (17.5 per cent) Thus a thousand mothers would give birth to 1 454 future mothers and the net reproduction rate for India will be 1 762—308 or 1 454

The net reproduction rates of several countries are given below

TABLE IX

Country	Year	Net Reproduction rate
Russia	1928	1 70
Japan	1925	1 495
India	1931	1 454
Ukraine	1929	1 40
Italy	1921 22	1 40
England & Wales	1921	1 087
France	1933	0 82
Germany	1933	0 70

If we take a generation as a period of thirty years, population in India would be increasing in the proportion 0 454 every 30 years Thus by 1961 the population of 353 millions would increase to 513 millions, if fertility and mortality remain constant.

Regarding the use of the net reproduction rate for forecasting the future population Dr Enid Charles observes,

"The important point to note is that the net reproduction rate represents to a high degree of approximation a rate of growth to which the present population is tending. The length of time before a population begins to behave in the way indicated by the net reproduction rate depends on the extent to which its age composition differs from that of a stable population compatible with the net reproduction rate

With these limitations, however, the forecast of the future population based on analysis of the quantitative aspects of the population structure foreshadows a grave economic crisis, which is primarily and fundamentally the problem of food planning for the additional 160 millions or so who, unless fertility changes or some famines or epidemics ravage the land, are sure to come

The movement of population in India however is the result of factors which differ essentially from those in Western countries But fertility and mortality in India respond to conditions of agriculture as well as public health in a manner unknown in the West. In the Western countries the age composition is relatively stable and is dominated by the net reproduction rate mortality being a negligible factor In India on the other hand, reproduction is to all intents and purposes unchecked by human volition and the condition of harvests leads accordingly to sharp variations of the proportion of the minor age-groups On the other hand drought or famine as well as epidemic diseases cause considerable fluctuations in both the minor and adult age categories The much lower expectation of life in India also sharpens the fluctuation in the adult age-groups This may be illustrated by comparison between a typical Indian province and other countries with reference to the age distribution

TABLE X

Age-Group	Types of Population: Bihar & Orissa	Japan	Italy	Distribution of Population by 10-year age-groups: Germany	England & Wales	U.S.A	France.
0-10	286	254	110	158	181	217	139
10-20	200	212	209	205	190	190	177
20-30	176	158	161	184	161	174	150
30-40	144	120	129	142	146	150	143
40-50	97	105	106	124	132	115	138
50-60	57	74	87	96	96	79	114
60 and over	46	77	109	92	94	76	140

The outstanding fact in the type of Indian population is that there is a heavier piling up of the base and violent fluctuations are relatively common. Like India, Japan has also a heavier foundation than all the Western countries Both in India and Japan there is shrinkage in the middle and old age group and the shrinkage is larger in India than in Japan In the Western countries there is a gradual slope, England, Germany and United States showing the slope best Mature adults

are proportionately very much less in India than in Japan and all Western countries In Bengal the proportion in the old age group is the least considerably smaller than in Bihar and Orissa and other provinces This is probably due to earlier maturity and senility and the endemic of malaria in Bengal It is likely that in India the population reaches maturity earlier, especially in the hot and moist regions and the prevalence of infant marriage also accounts for this peculiarity in age composition The same differences in the types of population may be exemplified by applying Sundbarg's age categories

TABLE XI

Distribution of Three Functional Age Groups

	Under 15	15-50	50 and over
India			
1911	388	503	109
1921	392	495	113
1931	399	505	96
Bihar and Orissa			
1911	402	488	110
1921	397	496	107
1931	402	502	96
Japan			
1910	349	486	165
1920	365	480	155
1930	366	482	153

Table XII presents a fair view of the trend in the age distribution of the Indian population

TABLE XII

Distribution of Population by 10-year Age Periods 1891 1931

(Per 1000 population.)

(I)

Age Period	1891 Male	1891 Female	1901 Male	1901 Female
0-10	283 7	292 3	264 8	272 1
10-20	197 4	175 8	213 0	191 7
20-30	167 8	180 1	166 6	1 8 7
30-40	145 5	140 1	145 1	140 8
40-50	100 4	94 9	101 9	99 1
50-60	59 0	59 6	61 4	62 1
60-70				
70 & over	46 2	57 3	46 6	55 5

(II)

(Per 1000 population.)

Age Period	1911 Male	1911 Female	1921 Male	1921 Female	1931 Male	1931 Female
0-10	271 0	281 6	267 3	281 0	280 2	288 9
10-20	201 3	182 3	208 7	189 6	208 6	206 2
20-30	171 8	189 9	164 0	1 6 6	1 6 8	185 6
30-40	145 1	139 1	146 1	139 8	143 1	135 1
40-50	101 4	96 9	101 3	96 7	96 8	89 1
50-60	60 9	60 7	61 9	60 6	56 1	54 5
60-70	34 0	38 0	34 7	37 7	26 9	28 1
70 & over	14 5	17 5	16 0	18 0	11 5	12 5

We find that during the last four decades there is a steady decrease of the old age classes 50 and over The minor age group has not much increased but has shown fluctuations from decade to decade due to disease and economic conditions Its remarkable proportionate increase since 1921 is discernible. Between 1921 and 1931 there has been a tremendous increase in small children as shown below

TABLE XIII

In Million

Age.	1921	1931
0—5	3 96	5 34
5—10	4 67	4 55

The reduction of the old age class in ratio from 105.2 to 94 5 between 1891 1931 is an index of the decrease of survival value of the population Though population is on the whole progressive there is a gradual thinning out of the old Even the upper middle aged group (40 50) has declined in ratio from 100 4 in 1891 to 96 8 in 1931 This group everywhere shows the lowest mortality and the best leadership The decline in proportion of this group which is already the lowest among all the countries tabulated above does not augur well for social progress in the immediate future

A variety of factors operates to cause marked fluctuations in both age and sex composition of the population in India (1) the variation of birth rates which increases with good harvests and diminishes with bad harvests, (2) the variation of mortality which increases with bad harvests and diminishes with good harvests (3) the selective incidence of certain diseases which have unfavourable effects on reproduction or which carry off a larger proportion of females or the very young or the very old In Bengal the conception rate shows heavy increases in March and June and decreases in October or November when malaria breaks out after the monsoon Influenza leaves a heavier toll from among infants and younger adults i.e, persons between 20 and 35 Children and adolescents suffer less and old people particularly males do not seem to be so seriously affected Influenza also strikingly reduces the conception rate. Malaria is particularly unfavourable to younger adults especially women Similarly the incidence of mortality from plague is heavier among women The diseases which affect women more than children and men also affect the conception rate (4) Migration is spasmodic in India, the volume

governed by the intensity of agricultural distress In a year of scarcity there is an exodus of able-bodied men to places outside the district or province and this indirectly brings about a diminution of birth rate in a scarcity year

All the above factors which lead to the violent fluctuations of birth rate and mortality *bring about oscillations in the age composition* and the proportion of female reproductive group in the population This would make the net reproduction rate in India an unreliable index of population growth We have already referred to the heavier increase of population of the minor and adolescent age groups during 1921 and 1931 and especially of women at ages 15 20 and 20 25 The increase in the minor age group is itself the result of a relative agricultural prosperity in India in the years previous to the agricultural depression when the prices of cereals remained at a relatively higher level for some years after all other commodities had come down in value The increase in children under 5 years is specially remarkable On the other hand while the increase in females in age group 10 30 is responsible for the recent storm of breeding in the country the low numbers in the 1931 census in group 5 10 which presumably are the result of the after effects of the influenza epidemic of 1918 will probably reduce the birth rate in the first half of the decade 1931 1951 It is thus that specific fertility or net reproduction rates cannot truly *measure the population trend* in India as in the Western countries

There is an intimate connection between agriculture nutrition and fertility which is discernible not by an all India survey but only by agricultural and demographic investigations in particular agricultural regions or ecological areas Such investigations indicate that fecundity is reduced as the result of the deterioration of the food position in the face of an intense population pressure The relation between sterility and malnutrition has been traced in many countries In feeding animals on diets extremely deficient in Vitamin B McCarrison noticed in 1918 that atrophy of the testis was one of the earliest effects During famines and wars sterility in women and failure of the menstrual functions have been recorded as evidences of malnutrition Malnutrition by leading to specific deficiency in essential foodstuffs such as calcium and vitamins has direct effects in the reduction of fecundity, as laboratory experiments indicate No doubt the consumption of wheat which contains Vitamin B, is considerably reduced if it does not altogether cease during a year of scarcity or famine, while milk and milk-products as well as some fresh vegetables, all of which are rich in Vitamin E that has also been considered to have favourable effects on reproduction, are entirely eliminated from the diet The general loss of physiological vigour indirectly affects menstruation, leads to an increase of abortion and contributes to diminish fecundity On the other hand, scarcity or malnutrition increases the death rate, especially of children and mothers There are several diseases like diarrhœa, dysentery, beri-beri, malnutritional œdemas, epidemic dropsy and xerophalmia which are found especially in India and China and caused by inadequate or faulty diets

In the heavily populated provinces United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal there has been a steady decline of birth rate during the last thirty years which the census superintendents of the Public Health Directors find difficult to account for apart from the inaccuracy of statistics The figures are given as below

TABLE XIV

Fall of Birth rate in the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal

Year	United Provinces	Bihar & Orissa	Bengal
1901 1910	41 4	41 0	35 5
1911 1920	42 3	39 0	32 5
1921 1930	35 1	36 5	28 5
1929 1935	35	33	29 6

Intensive study of vital statistics over a period of sixty years in certain congested districts in the United Provinces also indicates that there is a distinct tendency towards diminution of birth rate after a district's saturation density is over stepped For instance in Jaunpur the average birth rate was 36 per thousand between 1901 and 1911, it came down to 28 between 1919 and 1927 In 1932 it stood at 26 4 Between 1928 and 1932 the birth rates remained stationary at 28 Such diminution of birth rate is not due to human volition at all Nor is it due to postponement of marriage The practices of infanticide and abstention from intercourse have also largely been given up The slackening of birth rate is due to the direct and indirect effects of malnutrition, and the alteration of the age and sex composition of population

Fertility therefore is reduced in the following manner (1) Inadequate and ill-

balanced dietary by leading to a chronic deprivation of certain essential minerals and vitamins causes a decline of fertility (2) Malnutrition raises infant mortality and thus reduces the birth rate through the diminution in the proportion of adults in the total population (3) Malnutrition is also unfavourable for the mothers and by raising maternal mortality reduces the birth rate (4) Epidemics which may affect persons of child bearing age reduce the fertility (5) An increase of the disproportion of sexes, *i e* paucity of females also indirectly reduces fertility The sex proportions at birth vary widely in different countries In India during the last few decades the proportion of females per thousand males is gradually diminishing in some provinces

TABLE XIV

Average Number of Female Births per Thousand Male Births.

	1891 1901	1901 1911	1911-21	1924-28	1929-33
Bengal	936	941	933	926	926
Bihar and Orissa*	942	955	950	960	960
Bombay	926	926	925	926	926
Burma	931	938	945	950	950
Central Provinces	941	954	955	950	950
Madras	959	958	956	960	950
N W F Province	816	819	805	770	770
Punjab	906	909	906	890	890
United Provinces	918	924	919	890	890
Japan (1930)					990
U S A (1930)					976
England and Wales (1931)					1087
Scoland					1082

Race environment and dietary govern the sex ratio at birth It appears on the whole that there is a lower proportion of females born in North and North Western India where the Aryan and Semitic peoples preponderate than in the South and Central tracts of India where the Dravidian race element is the strongest. But race is only one factor in the distribution of the sex ratios The same castes which are distributed in different parts of Northern India show a deficiency of females as one moves further towards the arid conditions in the West and North West In Sind Gujarat, Rajputana and the Deccan where conditions of economic life are more severe there is a striking deficiency of female births Harder economic life led formerly to infanticide or deliberate neglect of girl babies and this may have elected those females for survival who are likely to bear a preponderance of male children It is not unlikely that severe economic struggle under hot and dry conditions which is aggravated by the increase of population is responsible for the downward trend of female births in the N W F Province Punjab Bombay Bengal and the United Provinces Caste which promotes inbreeding may also have increased masculinity and perpetuates it so long as strict endogamy is maintained Economic struggle and inbreeding seem both to lower the vitality of women and this promote paucity of female births The sex proportions in the reproductive ages depend upon differential birth and death rates which are in some measure governed by the age of marriage risks of child bearing differential treatment of boy and girl babies and the nature and extent of woman's work in the field Chemical and food materials have an enormous influence in the sex ratio and fertility of animals As economic pressure increases it is not improbable that the deficiency of females which is the geratest in the Indo Gangetic plains will increase and this coupled with other factors may alter the age and sex composition of the population in the long run to the detriment in birth rate

Where man's institutions and social habits and his standards of living do not safeguard his equilibrium density his ecological routine of life and his stable occupational adjustment in the region ecological controls of population which are operative in the regulation of animal numbers come to play an increasing role in re establishing the equilibrium In the overcrowded regions of India we now meet with the familiar checks of animal numbers (1) The rodent type of check or an increase of mortality especially in the form of epidemic outbursts following storms of breeding (2) The fruit-fly type of check or a gradual slackening of birth rate with density as an average abundance is over stepped The greater the approximation of numbers to an equilibrium density through the ecological controls of fertility and mortality and the diminution of the average expectation of life the more remote will be the indiscriminate reduction of population by actual starvation But the

*The female ratio is higher among the aboriginal tribes and castes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and this explains largely the excess in Bihar and Orissa. The figures of Bihar proper are as follows

	1901 11	1911 21	1921-31
North Bihar	952	944	950
South Bihar	954	951	955

Malthusian nightmare of famine as the ultimate safeguard of an equilibrium density still haunts the population Meanwhile the paucity of females increases with over population and becomes established as a stable racial trait which is transmitted to the next generation Where man does not exercise any control over his multiplication the forces of evolution and heredity combine to check over population and seek to preserve the organic acquisitions of the past But such check is both cruel and haphazard Man's conquest of the soil is in vain if he fails to exercise his own volition or the socio religious restraints of the past nor uses scientific technique for the control of his reproduction but, leaves nature to control it indirectly, through its control over the rate of mortality and even over his capacity of reproduction

PROFESSOR BHOLA NATH SINGH D Sc

By X

Prof B N Singh d sc Kapurthala Professor of Plant Physiology and Agricultural Botany and Director Institute of Agricultural Research Benares Hindu University has been the recipient of an international honour from the Academia de Sciencias e Artes Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) As a homage to his (your) technical merit and in gratitude to the services he (you) has (have) contributed to teachings in India the Congregation of the above Academy has conferred upon Prof Singh (you) the Diploma of Honour and the Direction of the Academy has confirmed this act of high justice by conferring on him (you) the Scientific Medal of Merit This Academy has been awarding this rare distinction to select workers of the world on an inter continental basis in recognition of definite fundamental advances made in the realm of science or arts and for creating a new school of thought

It is a matter of supreme gratification that Indian work has gained such wide recognition in the domain of science

Prof Singh's career is an instance of one who has fought his way with no adventitious advantages but by sheer ability undaunted courage and devotion to his subject to a position of honour in the scientific world

In 1931 Professor Singh succeeded in inducing the university authorities to establish the Institute of Agricultural Research with the old plant physiology department as its nucleus and here he gradually developed a very living and flourishing institution receiving appreciations from several distinguished men of science both foreign and Indian In 1937 a grant of Rs 67 920 was sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for Prof Singh's investigations on physiology of cane and wheat

Prof Singh has published a large number of papers in the fields of plant physiology and



Professor Dr B N Singh

nutrition bio-chemistry agronomy soil science general geology and plant pathology in some of the best known scientific journals of England like The Annals of Botany Annals of Applied

Biology, New Phytologist Nature, Journal of Ecology The Bio-chemical Journal The Empire Journal of Experimental Agriculture, The Empire Cotton Growing Review, of America like Botanical Gazette, Plant Physiology Soil Science, American Society of Agronomy, Science, Phytopathology Journal of Heredity Protoplasm (Germany) Tropical Agriculture (Trinidad), and of India like Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences Indian Journal of Agricultural Science Journal of the Indian Botanical Society Current Science Science and Culture and Proceedings of the Society of Biological Chemists

Commenting upon the published work of Prof Singh *Nature* in an editorial note under the caption 'Physiology of Indian Crop Plants' observed

"For some time past the staff of the Institute of Agricultural Research of the Benares Hindu University has been engaged under the leadership of Professor B N Singh in detailed and comparative studies of the physiology of Indian crop plants. A considerable number of publications on this subject has now been issued and good progress has evidently been made in a highly interesting and important field of work. The most extensive work completed is that dealing with photosynthesis under different conditions of light, temperature and carbon dioxide supply Another specially interesting problem under investigation is that of the differences in respiration rate found to exist in plants differing in their duration of life Other subjects under investigation by comparative methods include the water requirement of seeds possessing different structural and bio-chemical properties, and the effects on plant growth of irradiating seeds with X rays."

Professor Singh's published work has received similar recognition from time to time in the editorial comments of *Tropical Agriculture*, *Science*, *Berichte uber Die Gesamte Biologie Abteilung*, etc The manurial yield trials on wheat and complex experiments on sugar canes with reference to fertilizer effects were much commended by Sir E J Russel, F R S Director Rothamsted Experiment Station and Professor R A Fisher, F.R.S., the famous statistician, who are themselves actively engaged on similar work in England Sir E J Russel in his recent report referred to Prof Singh's Institute as "an unusually well equipped one, working on a variety of subjects which gives the students a wide training" while Prof R A Fisher observed that 'the Institute of Agricultural Research at the Benares Hindu University is doing great work and laying a fine experimental foundation" Dr F Crowther, plant physiologist to the Sudan Government, who was specially deputed to study the work carried out in Prof Singh's laboratory and farms, recorded "It has given me the greatest pleasure at last to see some really good physiological work on my travels" Prof V H Blackman F.R.S in his recent visit to the Benares Hindu University as a member of the British Science Delegation observed that the "Institute of Agricultural Research so admirably directed by Prof Singh and so excellently equipped with facilities for research occupies the same position in India as the plant physiological institute under my charge in Great Britain."

Prof Singh's contribution on 'Biology of Longevity and Death' which through the kind offices of Prof M N Saha, F.R.S., figures as the opening article in the Science Congress Silver Jubilee number of *Science and Culture*, received a remarkable tribute from Prof Crew, Director of the Institute of Animal Genetics, University of Edinburgh himself a great exponent of the subject Prof Crew while addressing the joint session of the Indian Science Congress and the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Calcutta on "Biology of Death" remarked that he had "not yet come across another biologist whose work on the subject has been more comprehensive than that of Prof Singh, whose work and writing have greatly moulded his (my) thoughts in this direction" and that he considered Prof Singh "a greater biologist than himself (me)" Some of the other lines of work of much practical value going on under the direction of Professor Singh are the cold and gas storage investigations on potatoes and fruits, physiological basis of drought resistance in Indian crops, the improvement of plants through physiological means from a study of the genetics of physiological characters, weed control measures, photoperiodism, Green manuring problems etc Prof Singh has given us the benefit of his ideas about the future development of agriculture in the country in two articles, one entitled "Reorganising Agriculture in Federal India" and the other as a Presidential Address to the Old Boys' Association of Benares Hindu University

Lack of space forbids mention of the high appreciation of Prof Singh's work by eminent men like Sir J C Bose, His Excellency Sir Harry Haig Governor of U P Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir M Visvesvaraya, Sir T Vijayaraghavachariya, Sir Bryce Burt, Sir Frank Noyce, Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Richard Gregory, members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and others

BURMESE ERAS, YEAR, MONTHS AND DAYS

By BIRESWAR GANGOOLY

(From Irwin, Htoon Chan, U Dana, U Wih and other sources)

That Burmese astronomy was originally taken from India, is now a well-established fact and no one versed in Burmese astronomy will ever deny it Kings of Burma, though often engaged in war and conquest, were great patrons of learning and used to take great interest in Indian astrology Even from as early as the 4th century B C they used to entertain in their courts Pouna (Brahmin) astrologers from India and performed the ear boring and marriage ceremonies of their children on auspicious days and hours fixed by these Pouna Brahmins



The Guru, with his son and younger brother of the Yakl aing Pouna Brahmins of Mandalay Mark the *namaval* on the person of the boy

Learned Pouna priests were placed in charge of their coronation ceremonies and they used to attend daily the Royal Courts, opening and closing them with sacred hymns and prayers With the help of learned Bikkhus of Burma, they translated Sanskrit astronomical books into Burmese and introduced in Burma a system of astronomical calculation, which now forms the ground-work of the Burmese calendar and also of their astrology

U May Oung late Home Member, in a learned article published in the *Journal of the Burmese Research Society* (1912) confirmed this statement and averred that "the methods of Burmese astronomical calculation were doubtless drawn up by the Hindu Astrologers from India at one of the Courts of Burma"

This was supported by Justice Irwin of the Rangoon Chief Court and was more definitely coroborated by Htoon Chan, an advocate of the same Court, who in his very useful book *The Arakanese Calendar* ably proved, by a careful comparison, that "the system of astronomical calculation prevalent in Burma was originally derived from Indian works on astronomy and expounded by Pouna astronomers from India"

The Burmese books of astronomy, mentioned at the close of this article, will further prove the correctness of this statement.

Burmese Era

The Era now current in Burma was introduced from 22nd March 638 A D by Pubba Saw—a Rahan, but supposed to be a King of Pagan It is called the Kachha-Panchabda (*i.e*, The Fifth Era), because there were four other Eras previous to this Kachha-Panchabda, but why 'Kachha" no one can definitely explain

It is interesting to note that in the same year and month, new Eras were also introduced in Arakan and Siam, though politically these two Kingdoms were then entirely independent In Siam, it is called the Chula Sakabda or Chulabda The explanation perhaps lies in the fact that there was intimate international religious and commercial intercouse between all the countries in Indo-China, from the days of the great Hindu expansion in the 7th century B C and there were then land and sea routes open from India to Burma, Siam, Cambodia, China and Japan

The four Eras previous to the current Burmese Era (Kachha Panchabda) were as follows

(1) Gajabda
Gajabda was according to a book written in 1863 by Kani Min a Minister in the Court of King Mindon, introduced by Kootha Min leaving 14, 938, 560 years of the previous Era—Akarabda—which were too old to be reckoned This Era was prevalent for 8 650 years before the 7th century B C

(2) Anzanabda—King Anzana, grand-father of Goutama Buddha, on a consultation

with the learned hermit Devala, suspended the Gaja Era and introduced a New Era called Anzana-Era, from 691 B C It continued for about 583 years These years and those mentioned just below, are not however very accurate and reveal anomalies when compared with other chronicles

(3) Maharaja Ajatasatru of Magadha suspended this Anzana-Era and introduced a New Era called the Buddya-Era from about 544 B C to commemorate the death of Goutama Buddha

(4) In the year 624 of this Buddya-Era, Samundarit, a King of Prome (not shown in the list of the known Kings of Burma) introduced a New Era in 82 A D, called Samundarit-Era and it is from the year 562 (rather 556) of this Era (i.e, in 638 A D) Pubba Shaw Rahan of Pagan introduced the current Burmese Era called the Kachha-Pan chabda It is now 1300 B E that is to say 1,300 years have elapsed and the 1301st year has commenced from the 15th April, 1938 and will expire in April, 1939 So, in the Burmese method of calculation 1300 B E. means 1,300 years have been completed and 1301st year is going on, contrary to what we generally understand by the English Era

Mohnin Thado a King of Ava, desired to suspend this Pubba Saw-Rahan Era and perhaps he actually introduced a 'Sabana' Era but the priests were against the change and he died soon after the change, as prophesied by the priests and no new Era was introduced

In Thaton, the ancient citadel of the South Indian Buddhist civilisation in Burma a different Era was in force, introduced from the arrival there, of Arhan Sona and Uttara [272 B C (?)] But it came to an end in the year 1057 A D, as King Anurudha (Awnaratha) of Pagan had destroyed Thaton in 1014 A D and had taken its King as a captive The Thaton Era, therefore continued for about 1329 years and ended with the end of the political independence of Thaton

Year

According to the Burmese conception of a Mean Sun as also of the Hindu astrologers, the Burmese solar year is of 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds, instead of 365 days 5 hours 8 minutes and 49 75 seconds of the true solar year In their calculation, therefore, the Burmese do not use either the tropical year or even the sidereal year of 365 days 6 hours 8 minutes and 5 seconds Their solar year (of 365 days 15 nayi 31 B and 30 K=365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds) is in reality a sidereal-anomalistic year, shorter than the sidereal year by 4 minutes 31 seconds and longer, as shown above, than the true solar year

Owing to this difference—a divergence is caused from the Equinox (as Irwin points out) at the rate of one month in 94 cycles of 1786 years So the New Year day of the Burmese Era which first fell on the 22nd March 638 A D has been, since then, gradually advancing towards the middle of the year *e g* in 1938 A D the Burmese New Year fell on the 15th April instead of in March (23 days later than the 1st New Year) and in 3500 years, the New Year day will fall in June in lead of in April, as it now does

The Burmese New Year again does not begin until about 2 days after the Maha-visuva-Sankranti of the Bengali Calendar because the Burmese Era commenced when the Mean Sun entered the Meitha (Mesha Rashi) in 638 A.D, while the true Sun at that time had advanced more than one *pād* of Aswini in the Meitha (Mesha) The true Sun takes 363 days 75 Kyammat to reach the 1st *pād* of Aswini, while the Mean Sun takes 365 days 207 Kyammat to complete the circuit So this difference of 2 days 132 Kyammat (2 days 3 hours 57 minutes and 36 seconds or rather 2 days 4 hours 1 minute and 12 seconds, as the Burmese Calendars show) is compensated by postponing the Burmese New Year day 2 days 4 hours 1 minute and 12 seconds after the true Sun has arrived back at the 1st *pad* of Aswini

Mythologically the lay man has a curious story attached to it He says that the Thakya Min (King Sakra of Heavens) comes down to this Earth at the expiry of the solar year and resides here for 2 days and then goes back to his high abode The day on which he arrives is called the "Akya-day," on which the water festival begins and the Burmese Buddhists receive the Thakya Min with small jars of water covered with seven kinds of twigs *viz*, Thabye (Jaman), Thee (Kad bel) Dan (Mahandi), Ohn (Coconut), Awza (Custard apple), Makala (Guava) and Mye-sa yet (Durba leaves) The day following is called the "Akyat-ne" or the intermediate day, and the 3rd day on which he departs, is called the "Atet-Ne" (day of rising up) The Burmese astronomers carefully calculate the time of his arrival and departure and the Kings of Burma used to announce them

by report of guns, bombs, rockets and beat of drums from the Palace The day following the Atet-Ne is the Burmese New Year day—a day on which the water festival ends and the people go out with small jars of water containing new Thabyet and Malka twigs and Mye Sa (Durba leaves) bunched with flowers to pay homage to their superiors

Months

There are of course 12 months in the Burmese year as it is with us, but the Burmese months are Lunar months alternately of 29 and 30 days *e g*, their Tagu (Chaitra) is of 29 days while the next month Kason (Baisak) contains 30 days and Nayun the third month (Kaith) is of 29 days and the fourth month contains 30 days and so on Thus in 12 Burmese Lunar months there are 354 days only—11 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36 seconds shorter than their solar year To regularise this shortage intercalary months and days are inserted, which are called adhi masha' and adhi nes The years in which the adhi masha and "adhi nes' are to be inserted are fixed by well calculated rules and the Pouna astronomers of Burma though they sometimes disagree, profess proudly to be correct in their calculations

The Burmese months being Lunar months, begin from the 1st day of the Moon (*Sukla Pratipada*) and expire with the end of the next inter Lunar day (*Amabasya*) but their New Year does not, as explained above, begin with the 1st day of the Moon (Lunar month) nor does their year end with the last day of the month (*Amabasya*) For example the Burmese New Year in 1937 A D fell on the 8th Lasan (*Sukla Ashtami Tithi*) of Kason (Baisak) instead of the 1st day of the Moon in Kason

The Bengalee Hindu *Tithis* also do not exactly correspond with the Burmese *Tithi*. There is a difference of about 12 to 24 hours

The Burmese month being a Lunar month, one would expect that the dates of their month would correspond to their *tithis* (or *Dithis* as called in Burmese) But it is not so, for a Burmese *Dithi* is not exactly equal to a Burmese Lunar day For example, 3rd February 1938 was the 4th day of Lasan of Tobodwe (*Sukla Chaturthi*) but the *Dithi* on that day was *Dwitiya* or *Tritiya*, according to their calendar

For explanation Htoon Chan writes 'Months are calculated by the Dithis and each month is divided into 30 Dithis but each month has 29 days 31 Nayi 50 Bizana and $5\frac{400}{1167}$ Kaya (29 days, 17 hours 44 minutes, 2 3897 seconds) and so the ratio between the day and 'Dithi' is expressed as $\frac{67 \text{ Days}}{1 \text{ Dithi}}$" To find out the Dithi of a day, U Wili says, "Add the Longitudes of the Moon and the Sun and divide the result by 720 The quotient and the remainder will show the Dithi"

Counting the months by the Moon is of course a very old method in the East and is in existence even now in Sambat and Fazli eras of India In Bengal too, the Lunar months had been introduced and the Bengali month is still named after the constellations, on which the Full Moon day of the month ends and not by the sign of the Zodiac in which the Sun enters at the commencement of the Solar month

The Signs of the Zodiac

The Zodiac, as we all know, is an imaginary path of the Sun The Burmese astronomers call it by the name of "Dwadatha-Yathee" (Dwadasha Rashi) The constellations of the Zodiac also bear the same Sanskrit names, though slightly deformed, *e g*, Mesha (Meitha) Vrisha (Parietha), and so on

Though the signs of the Zodiac have been slowly shifting from their original positions, the Burmese astronomers, like the Hindus take them as stationery, for their astronomical purposes

The Burmese months are also, in their astronomical books named according to the constellations (such as Baisaka, Jaistha, etc) But these astronomical names naturally clashed with the popular names already given to them by the lay man and they were not therefore changed and are called as Tagu, Kason, Nayun, etc as before The meanings of these names, however, are too long to be described in this article

The Burmese Zodiac is also divided into 27 Stars (Aswini, Bharani, etc, excluding the Abhijit) as the Hindus have and are denominated by the same Hindu names, such as Chitra, Bishakha, Aswini etc Each of these asterisms, has 4 *pads*, making 9 *pads* for each sign

In Burmese astrology the calculations relating to the constellations are highly important Their astrologers can correctly determine the position of a planet at a fixed time and place and profess also to know their influence on the course of life of a man and his character

Days of the Week

The names of the days of the week are also taken from Hindu astronomy Like the

Hindus, the Burmans believe that the sun, the moon, and the other planets rule the days and their names are given as Taninga-nwe (for Ravi), Tanin-la (for Soma), Anga (for Mangala), Bouduha (for Budha), Kyathabade (for Brihaspati), Thoukya (for Sukra) and Saney (for Sani)

Division of Time

The Burmese day begins astronomically from midnight and ends at the next midnight, though in common parlance the day begins from the time the sun rises

The Burmese month is, as stated before a mean period of lunation from a New Moon to the next New Moon

The Burmese astronomers understand the Hindu division of time, the Hora Danda Pala, Bipala, etc But they use a different division of time for their astronomical calculation

Their 1 year is equal to 12 months, 1 month=30 days (or more accurately =29 days 31 Nayi 50 B and 5 $\frac{0}{0}\frac{0}{8}$ Kaya), 1 day=60 Nayi (more accurately, 59 Nayi 3 B 40 $\frac{4}{0}\frac{0}{8}$ Kaya)

The word Nayi is now wrongly used to express one English hour, but astronomically 1 Nayi is equal to 24 minutes that is to say 4 pads, 1 pad=15 Bizanas, 1 Bizana=6 pranas 1 prana=10 Kayas, 1 Bizana is equal to 24 seconds, Kyammat is 800th part of a mean day

These divisions of time are however used in their astronomy The villager does not care for these astronomical divisions and has no clock to determine the time of the day or of night He uses queer phrases to denote the time An incomplete list of these pharses is given below for our inquisitive readers

1 Kye-oo-Thon=cock crow time 4-30 A M
2 Aun-chhon kat chhain = 5 A M
3 Nayhtwe-daw pyu-chhin=Sun peeping time
4 Chhon khan chhin=Phongyi begging alms time 6 A M
5 Nay Htwe daw phya=Sun-on pe myrah tree time
6 Nanet-Son Si-chein=Meal time for Phongyis—about 8 A M
7 Ne-chhon chhachhein = Meal time for Phongyis = 11 A M
8 Mun Tet-chhein=Midday—12 Noon
9 Nya Sa, Thamin Sa-chhein = Evening meal time 5 P M
10 Moh Hmoung Kya chhein=Sky-darkened time—7 P M
11 Mee-Hton-Chhein = Light kindle time.
12 Nwa Yaing Thwingyin chhein = vicious-cows to-be-put in-shed time
13 Nee-Ako-Mathee-Tathi Chhein=Brothers won't know-each-other-time=7-30 P M
14. Thu Nge-taik-chhein=Child sleeping time
15 Lubyo-lay-chhein = Youths-to-roam time
16 Than goung-chhein=World-quiet time

The Phongy Kyaung in the village usually keeps a clock, but a stick placed perpendicularly on an open ground near the Kyaung tells them the time of the day by its shadow, and the candles or the Stars show them almost as accurately as clocks, the time in the night During the Burmese regime, there was a Royal sun-clock and a water-clock in the Palace, and time was used to be notified by beats of the Royal drum (one beat two beats and so on)

Seasons

Astronomically there are six seasons in the Burmese calendar as we have, according to the sun's position in the Zodiac But popularly they speak of three seasons only—Summer, Rains and Winter

Burmese Books on Astronomy and Astrology

The following Books are only a few of the astronomical books used by the Burmese astronomers —

Raja mattan, Nirnaya Sindhu, Mala Kasha Loka-Deepani, Chandra Surya Gati Deepani Maha Nayi Sankha bodha, Makaranta, Surya-Siddhanta, Briha, Arya Siddhanta, Dwadasarathi, etc

The Burmese astronomical books are too numerous to be mentioned, but they are all based on Hindu astronomy The modern Burmese astrologers are using English and American books also to help their predictions

In the "Briha" it is mentioned that Pandit Bhagawandeen, a learned man in astronomy from Benares, was brought to Mandalay by King Mindon and was employed by him as a Court astronomer Bhagawandeen is reputed to have altered the Malamasha Shifts into 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15 and 18 and the next shift also will be necessary in a short time There are Bengalee Pouna Pandits in Mandalay who are quite adept in Burmese astronomy and astrology and a few of them were given the pompous title of Raja-Guru

RURAL BROADCAST IN ITALY

By Dr P N ROY

The Radio has come to stay in modern life and every day the number of its users is increasing It has become a cheap source of entertainment to thousands of people and it has proved itself to be a powerful instrument in the hands of almost all governments for mass-contact and the shaping of public opinion But its utility has a wider extent It disseminates news, rivalling the newspaper in this respect and it undertakes the task of educating the people by means of instructive talks and scholastic broadcast

It is because of this versatile character of the Radio and its great utility to the State that broadcasts in all countries are either State managed or State controlled But the needs of urban listeners are perhaps not the same as those of the rural listeners Moreover varieties of programmes meeting the needs of different classes of listeners cannot perhaps be satisfactorily arranged within a limited period of time from the same broadcasting station A programme which includes general items of entertainment and special items for special classes of listeners can not perhaps allot more than ten minutes to each special item, which also is possible at irregular intervals and at varying hours

It is the recognition of this fact that has led some countries to make separate arrangements for urban and rural listeners Italy has a special radio organization, called the *Ente Radio Rurale* (Rural Radio Corporation) in existence for several years now, which caters to the special needs of the rural population of the country, bringing instruction and entertainment to the doors of the farmers and other moffussil dwellers Every Sunday, this Corporation broadcasts for full one hour a special programme called The Farmer's Hour when topics connected with agriculture, the farmer's life and life in the country in general are discussed and practical advice suited to seasonal work in the field and the sale of products is given The programme also includes a brief period of pleasant entertainment.

The programme of the Farmer's Hour is divided into three parts, each lasting for about 20 minutes The first part consists of the political and economic happenings of the week and the second of songs and music These two parts are broadcast from Rome In the third part different branches of farm-work are dealt with according to the different agricultural work carried on in the region This part of the programme is broadcast from the various regional radio-stations of the country As the listeners of this programme are all people whose education does not perhaps go higher than the elementary school training, care is taken that no pedantry and no difficulty of technical language creep into the talks and instructions given during the Farmer s Hour The Rural Radio Corporation claims that the initiative has had the greatest success among the rural classes and it is estimated that hundreds of thousands of the rural population crowd round the various radios installed in different localities For the benefit of the listeners the Corporation also publishes a weekly magazine called *La Radio Rurale* (The Country Wireless), which is distributed free of charge

But the Farmer's Hour is only a part of the programme conducted by the Corporation Complementary to it is the programme of rural scholastic broadcasts meant for supplying the teachers of the rural schools with suitable teaching material of current interest, so that they may enliven and complete the ordinary routine of teaching

It would be wrong to suppose that scholastic broadcasts diminish the importance of the teacher The Rural Radio puts otherwise unobtainable teaching material at the disposal of the teacher, who previously gives a lesson on a particular subject and the wireless then enters to supplement his instruction For example, a teacher in a village school has first of all given a lesson on the submarine, its inventions, its construction and its activity When the theoretical lesson is over, in comes the wireless A microphone is installed in the very heart of a submarine and thence the details of its very life and of its inmost workings are carried to the school children who thus receive a vivid impression of life on board The plain narrative of the teacher is thus rendered more vivacious and interesting In this way the Rural Radio broadcasts for instance, dialogues regarding traffic regulation, personal hygiene and gardening or carries the imagination of the young listeners on



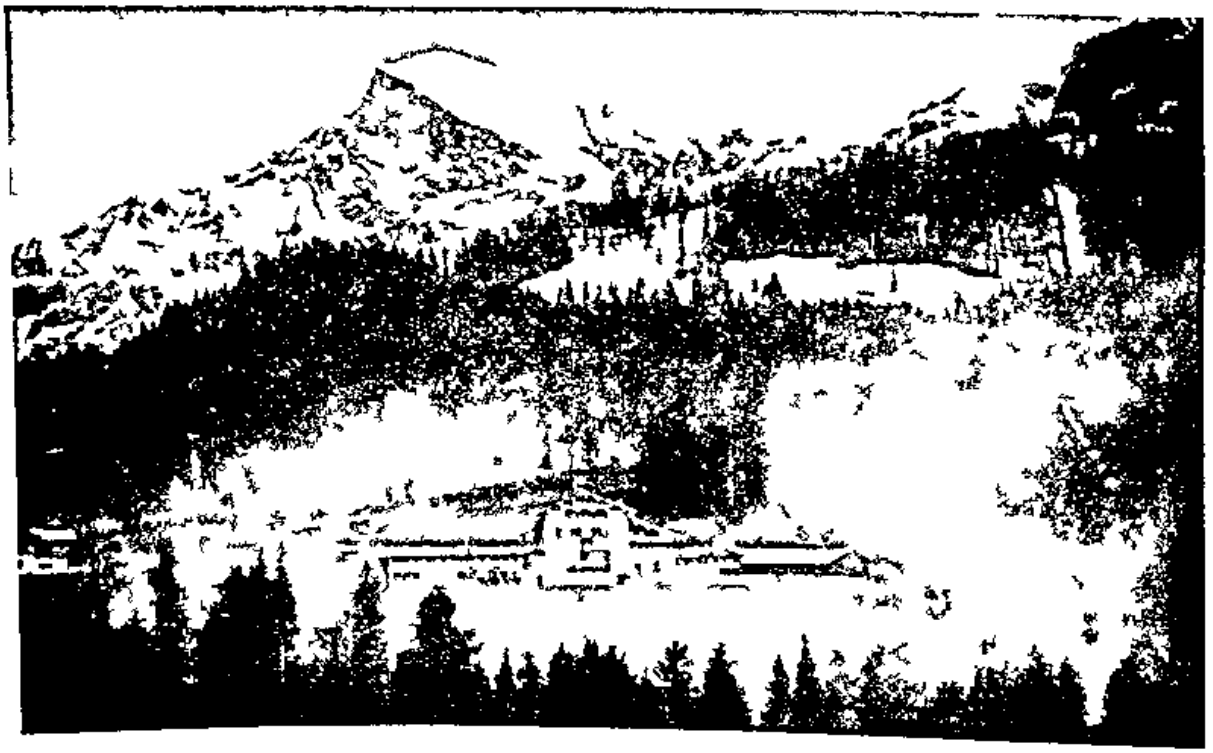
Rural Radio listeners : Italy



Radio lesson in a rural school in Italy



Les on o malar a n a ru al school n I aly



H tler s home Bergl of at Obersalzbe g n the Ba ar an Alps wl ere tl e last discuss ons between H tler and Schuschnigg took place

board a ship or a submarine, to the field of military manœuvres, or inside factories, barracks, aerodromes, etc It also excites the curiosity of its listeners by giving drawing lessons and promoting competitions in letter-writing, etc All important patriotic celebrations and ceremonies are broadcast from Rome or from wherever they take place During the last Abyssinian War the Rural Radio was used as an instrument for teaching the children to assist their elders in facing the situation

But to do all this successfully two things are necessary—to develop the habit of listening in and to supply radio-sets at a cheap price The first, *i e*, the listening-in habit, depends to a large extent on the second In order, therefore, to facilitate the purchase of radio-sets by schools and similar bodies, a highly sensitive and powerful receiving set has been put on market This is sold at a low price But in order not to injure the radio trade in general, the sale of this set is limited to the abovementioned organisations

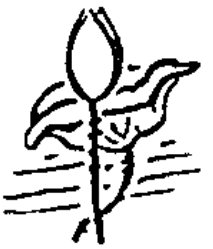
Another problem is the establishment of social centres where country people can gather for collective listening in Naturally such centres cannot be in the house or courtyard of a private individual The Rural Radio Corporation has thought out the problem and found that the best place for installing radio sets in the rural area is either a school or the seat of any other State-organization *e g*, the Fascist Headquarters, the Afterwork Recreation Room, the Parish Hall, the Agricultural Syndicates, the Headquarters of the National Balilla Organisation, the Offices of the School Inspectors, etc Every village in Italy has one or more of the abovementioned places where a radio can be installed

It cannot be said that at pre ent all schools in Italy are supplied with radio-sets But of late the Italian Ministry for Education has issued an order, as a result of which every elementary school would, in the near future, be provided with its own radio

The question of rural broadcasts in Italy reminds the writer of the present article of the similar effort made by some of the radio stations in India The Delhi Station tried to popularise the listening-in habit in some of the villages in the Punjab and U P and it is said that the trial was a failure because the villagers did not show any sustained interest The causes of this lack of interest may be enquired into Some evident ones seem to have been the monotony of programmes and the lack of centres suitable for collective listening-in Rural programmes should be entirely separated from and not inserted within the urban programmes and variety with interest must be sought in making them. The programmes might be best prepared in consultation with people who actually live in villages, and attention should be paid to regional necessities In fact all rural programmes ought to be regional programmes and different hours should be allotted for different regional programmes. Villagers themselves from various regions might sometimes be invited to speak before the microphone on the problems of their own regional life. At the same time the significance of the important events of the outside world, particularly those that affect the life of the rural population, should be explained to them And in preparing the amusement part of the rural programme, village artists should be taken into consideration

As regards the centre for collective listening in, rural broadcasts will always fail in India so long as the radios are installed in the houses of private individuals, whether village headmen or not Villagers have their own political, social and private divisions, jealousies and rivalries which would come into play when the radio-sets are installed in the house of any one individual. Under the circumstances they should be installed in the village post-office, the village school, the union board, the thana and so on

Rural uplift is now a major problem of the Government and it is hoped that the radio will play its proper part in it by bridging the gulf between the city and the country



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed Newspapers periodicals, school and college text books, pamphlets reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered No criticism of book reviews and notices is published —Editor THE MODERN REVIEW

ENGLISH

THE ATTEMPTED WHIG REVOLUTION OF 1678 1681 *By Frances S Reynolds Published by the University of Illinois Price $2 50*

The last few years of the reign of Charles II form one of the most intriguing periods in English history The Whig leaders tried every means to exclude the Duke of York from the throne and cleverly bolstered up the bogey of the Papists bloody designs Titus Oates the most amazing villain in English history, William Bedloe another unmitigated scoundrel and rogue, William Scrogge, the profligate Lord Chief Justice, Ralph Montagu, the immoral and unprincipled diplomat Mrs Cellier the disreputable mid wife of Meal tub fame, and James of Monmouth the illegitimate son of a prostitute are some of the strange characters who played their part in the attempted Whig revolution of 1678-1681 The book under review is an interesting survey of the political drama that was enacted during these fateful years. The account is based on original and contemporary documents and State Papers and embodies the results of valuable research into the history of the stirring events of the period preceding the death of Charles II The author has been able to throw new light on some of the characters and events on which there is still divergence of opinion among the historians. The exhaustive bibliography given by the author is a valuable feature of his scholarly work His references in the text are, however mostly to printed rather than to manuscript sources. For example where documents are listed in the Calendar of State Papers, the citations are made to it, and not to the Public Record Office originals. The work on the whole is an important contribution to the history of the Whig politics of the XVIIth century

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

LONDON MUSIC IN 1888-89 AS HEARD BY CORNO DI BARSETTO (LATER KNOWN AS BERNARD SHAW) *Constable Coy Standard edition of the works of G B S Price 5s*

G B S comes from a musical family from the mother's side He was trained in music, and his first experiments in livelihood were in musical journalism Of literature he had no dreams at all, "any more," as he says, "than a duck has of swimming" Probably, it was all to the good Adolescent dreams have always been poor substitutes

But what a vigorous musical mind it was to appreciate the greatness of Wagner, the Liberator behind his monstrous Cacophonies, to realise his supreme necessity to 'smash the obligatory superstitions' and fight 'the tyranny of arabesques' Rosalias and tawdy rum iums had to be eschewed from orchestration and they were by Wagner Such a man required a mind keen and akin, and it was there in bristling red Today G B S thinks that the most poignant dramatic quality can go with the elaborate design of Bach and Mozart But his 'to-day' is not ours in India The sense of form that precipitates after deep stirrings is not the same as that of being complacent with a surface placid by shortage of movement The beauty of calm that descends after a storm is not to be compared with the muffled stillness of days before rains come A saint's face is qualitatively different from that of a child, though both are reputed to be simple In most cases, our love of classical forms is the reflection of inertia of our desire *not* to think and live Sometimes one wishes for a crude artist and a vulgar critic to debunk our classicism

TRENDS IN SOCIALISTIC THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT *By Ilyas Ahmad, M.A, Lecturer, Allahabad University, Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp 113 plus four Appendices and a select Bibliography from 115 to 201. 193" Price Rs. 2*

The book dismisses the origin growth and development of Socialism down to our own times in 75 pages. The onslaught of that movement in India—the phrase is on the jacket and describes a part of the scope of the book—is however interesting Its clue is furnished by what follows, 'Islam and Socialism,' which should have been re named as 'Islam in Danger'

The author has completely misunderstood the significance of the growth of Socialism in India and the part played by Pandit Jawharlal in its spread Panditji may not be a True Socialist, his tragedy may be similar to that of the last great Victorian, John Stuart Mill, but to be blind to his contribution to link up India's destiny with the world's through anti imperialist struggle is to shut one's eyes to socialistic theory and to historical facts and take the name of academic detachment in vain

I am not sufficiently, acquainted with Islamic theology to pronounce on Islam's connection with or superiority over Socialism But what is known as the Muslim community under the new dispensation enjoys certain historical and social advantages over the non Muslim brethren-at arms in being able to skip the step which the latter were forced to take by the exigencies of certain situations in the recent past This probably accounts for the fact that an appreciable number of Muslim intelligent young men today are Socialists in theory and practice The author of the book is a well read man but has not looked out of his library to know what is happening outside This book is unfair to the present and therefore unreal An additional proof is the number of 'isms' littered over the pages. No account of socialistic theory, here or anywhere, is possible without due attention being paid to the history of strikes

and trade-union movements More so in India, where much leeway has to be made.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT? *By J C. Kumarappa. Hindusthan Publishing Co., Ltd. Rajamahendry. 2nd edition 1938 Pages 136. Price Twelve annas*

This book is a plea for a new economic order in India and not a mere recital of the benefits of the village movement. The author has gone to the root of the matter and has taken up the problem of analysing the characters of western and eastern civilisation. Sjt Kumarappa has made the Gandhian outlook of life his own and has given expression to thoughts in a way which is strikingly original, clear and convincing

Sjt Kumarappa divides human organisations into two types, the industrialised and the social type, from which originated what he calls the "pack type" and the "herd type," if they are named after their animal prototypes. The pack type is a predatory one and posesses those qualities that make for success of the tiger or the wolf in the forest life This type in human beings develops an attitude for central control and concentration of power in the hands of individuals or small groups and places the prospect of gain as the motive force for all activities and attempts to gather as much as it can without reference to the value of service rendered

On the other hand, the herd type possesses qualities *which in forest-life make it possible* for the elephant or the cow to exist and thrive in spite of the tiger and the wolf This type develops aptitude for social control and decentralisation and distribution of power The working and regulations in this case are impersonal. It attempts to safeguard the weak and the helpless and wants to distribute gain as widely as possible

Sjt Kumarappa then traces the development of the institutions of the east and the west and shows how the western or pack type organisations found expression through a civilisation centering round cities and made way for the strife for raw material, for markets and for industrialisation and led to unemployment and ultimately to violent occupation of territories and destruction of what the herd-type hold as culture.

The herd-type organisations on the contrary centered round villages, producing and distributing mainly for markets nearest home and made way for development of society by creation of joint family and caste systems and ultimately of village republics.

Sjt. Kumarappa puts the case for the preservation of the social institutions of India, in a masterly way. *If they are revived the villages will automatically take* their rightful place and bring out the character of the civilisation they stand for The book is of immense importance to those who want to understand the inner currents of civilisation and the root cause of the present world strife.

India is naturally socially minded. Its socialism is as deep as it is wide. When the 'pack type' nations, after living centuries of predatory life, were *looking for* discovering something better, they got a glimpse of Socialism. *But their socialism is found to be tinged with predatory* philosophy. I believe that if the modern socialists will *seriously study this little book*, they will be able to grasp why Gandhism is to be regarded as the highest type of socialism.

From 1903, Gandhiji has been preaching his doctrine of non-violence as an abiding force for maintaining and developing society and therefore of politics. It appears that it took us 30 years to realise the futility of violence in our national struggle. The western ideas of socialism have come as a wave sweeping over the country. Shall we take another generation to understand that Gandhian socialism is of the rightest sort? A serious and critical study of Sjt. Kumarappa's thoughts and presentations will be of great help at the present moment.

Sjt Kumarappa is at the head of the All India Village Industries Association His contribution to the cause of village movement are great and this book is no small addition to his many achievements.

SATISH CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MAHARASTRA AND KARNATAK · *By Y S Pandit, M.A Published by the Tilak Swarjya Sangh, Poona. 1936*

This is a prize-essay published on behalf of the Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Fund. The conditions laid down for the award of the essay included —(1) That it should be written from a nationalist point of view, (2) that the treatment of its subject matter should be scientific and (3) that the writer should hail from Maharastra or Karnatak. These conditions the essay fulfilled to the satisfaction of the examiners and the writer was awarded a prize of Rs. 1,000.

The essay gives a fairly complete and accurate picture of the economic conditions in Maharastra and Karnatak as pieced together from Government Reports and published books. There is no attempt made at first hand investigation The last chapter entitled "Conclusion" gives a general summary and indicates the views of the writer on the various economic problems of Maharastra and Karnatak.

The essay is well written and the views expressed are generally sound But the treatment is purely economic and that too from rather a narrow standpoint The population question is not dealt with except in a short appendix in spite of the conclusion of the author that it is the human factor that is responsible for the poor economic condition of the tract. Nor has the author devoted any attention to the subject of education, general and technical, which obviously had a great deal to do with economic backwardness of the people both in Maharastra and elsewhere Nonetheless, the essay of nearly 200 pages, gives a useful review of the economic conditions in Maharastra and Karnatak and is eminently readable

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A GUJRAT TALUKA. *By J R Shukla, M.A., edited by C N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1937. Price Rs. 5.*

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS *By A. D Patel, M.A., with a Foreword by Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. 1937. Price Rs. 6.*

These are two theses approved by the University of Bombay for the Master's degree in Economics and are the result largely of personal investigation conducted by two research students under the guidance of University teachers.

Professor C. N. Vakil has explained in an editorial note as to why a Taluk was chosen and neither a village nor a district or a larger regional unit. The two studies are both conscientious and painstaking and give a careful analysis of the factors affecting moral life and prosperity. Both make useful and practical suggestions for improvement.

To the scientific investigator and the Government both *the studies are of equal value and importance* and the one supplements the other as the Talukas chosen are of two different types. *But for the general reader* "Indian Agricultural Economics" by A. D. Patel is more helpful—it is both better planned and more readable

The two studies under review have still further strengthened my belief that detailed investigation into rural economic life may make our knowledge more impact and definite but it is not likely to add anything new to it The facts disclosed by the two studies are not at all new nor are even the suggestions made for improvement original or novel As a matter of fact Indian economic problems are extremely acute and they are very well known—a few more details makes hardly any difference to their understanding and search for solutions Who is there who does not know that the pressure of population on agriculture is great and has been increasing and that little improvement can be expected unless this pressure is relieved through industrialization? Similarly the evils of subdivision and pregmentation of holdings and the causes thereof are too well known to need repetition or emphasis The lack of capital and of credit facilities the colossal indebtedness of the agricultural classes the need for proper measures of suitable bye industries the ignorance of the ryot and the cleverness of the money lender the hopeless condition of roads and of sanitation, the poor irrigation and marketing facilities and other difficulties and drawbacks of rural life are familiar to all students of Indian economics and of public affairs in the country The same is true of the suggestions for improvement cooperation—for consolidation credit purchase of seed, manures and other materials and implements sale of produce, etc—, land mortgage banks supplementary industries like spinning rope and basket making dairy poultry and bee farming etc are the usual remedies suggested What is needed is planned action by provincial Governments—and if studies of the type under review act as timely reminders and goad the provincial Governments to systematic and persistant action they would have served not only their academic purpose but also a practical purpose of great public utility

GURUMUKH N SINGH

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN FRANCE IN THE XIXTH CENTURYY *By Canon W J Sparrow Simpson Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd Museum Street, London Pp 192 Price 5s net*

The author gives us in this book a careful and well written summary of the views of various Frenchmen of the last century on religion and religious subjects He reviews not only Christian but anti Christian writers as well, and not only writers but also preachers, Catholic as well as Protestant. The Catholic bias of the author is not concealed and he does not profess any sympathy for what is called Biblical criticism but what very often turns out to be little better than undisguised hostility towards religion And the fact that several literary men of the period originally hostile to religion, were in later life converted to Catholicism, has not escaped the notice of our author

Many of the accounts could, very profitably for the reader, be much longer Sometimes the summary is so brief as to produce in the readers' mind the impression that he is going through a bibliography Yet, on the whole, the book is an excellent account of the subject it professes to deal with.

TOWARDS A NEW MANNER OF LIVING *By Dr Howard E Collier Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London Pp 99*

The new manner of living, and the best manner of living according to our author, is that which harmonises the individual with society—which unifies "at one and the same time personality and sociality" (p 15) And this manner of living, we are told, is provided by Quakerism. To the first of these propositions, assent may readily be given, the second, however, is a matter of opinion

The author belongs to a group of men whose "aim is the creation of a World Organism of Christian Friends, a Religious Society of Friends here on earth," and who believe in the reality of "the creative power of the Logos" (p 95) The book is written in a fervid style, not free from a ring of mysticism, and will have an appeal for all who believe in the potency of "Christian friendship" and in the power of that religion to shape our life for the better

POPULAR CULTURE IN KARNATAKA *By Mastı Venkatesa Iyengar Published by Satya Sodhana Pustaka Bhandara, Fort Bangalore City Pp 163. Price Rs 2/2.*

As the name of the book implies, it is an account of some popular cultural movements that took place in Karnataka (Mysore and the surrounding area of land). Such movements have taken place in other parts of India also and are worthy of being remembered They have shaped the life of the ordinary people and generally shaped it well The impact of modern civilisation is fast destroying their effects perhaps they have outlived their period of usefulness but in their time, they were a reed on which the religion and morality of the masses rested And history would not be complete if the originators of these movements were not remembered. Our author's endeavour therefore, deserves praise Besides, the book has been written in a simple and attractive style.

There is one peculiarity of expression used by these Karnataka people to which our author has drawn pointed attention and which he regards as specially indicative of their high spirituality It is that when any of them are indisposed they do not say "I am unwell" but would rather say My body is not well" This, our author contends (p 11 and also p 149), implies a knowledge that the body is not self Perhaps it does, but it may be an idiom of the language as well In Bengali too, the idiomatic expression employed on such occasions is exactly the same. But for that alone, Bengal (and perhaps Karnataka also) would not be justified in claiming an extraordinarily alive spiritual consciousness

U C. BHATTACHARJEE

HAR BILAS SARDA COMMEMORATION VOLUME *Edited by P Seshadri, M A Published by Vedic Pantralaya, Ajmer 1937. Pp xlvii + 555 Price not mentioned*

Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda is chiefly remembered throughout the length and breadth of India as the author of that highly beneficial nation building measure—the Sarda Act. But the Dewan Bahadur throughout a busy life of over 70 years has been serving Mother India by his Speeches and Writings It was, therefore, a happy idea on the part of Principal Seshadri to commemorate Har Bilas Sarda's completing 70th year by presenting him with a Commemoration Volume.

Frederic Harrison has protested more than once against the practice of holding celebrations in honour of living personalities and wished that the public would reserve judgment till they could be seen through the long perspective of past history But there is genuine and sincere pleasure in expressing our appreciation of one who is still happily amidst us. It is a great satisfaction to feel that honour is being done where honour is due It is again almost a national duty to express our gratitude to those who have rendered valuable national services, however much they themselves may not look forward to rewards of this kind.

It is in this spirit that the Volume under notice has been edited It is a sumptuous volume of over 550 quarto pages, rich alike in its contributions and in its contributors The messages and greetings come from far and near, from men like Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru from the Ruling Princes and from officials like the Executive Councillors to the Government of India and the Residents of the Native States The contributions cover a very wide field from Indian Art and Archæology in British Isles to the Technique of Social Reform in India from Cultural Coalescence in the Atharva Veda to Folk Songs of Syrian Christians and from the making of American Constitution to the Co-ordination of Indian Education The value of the book has been enhanced by the inclusion of a table of the principal events of Har Bilas Sarda's life with dates and a list of his writings, and of several plates. We have nothing but praise for this Commemoration Volume, and we congratulate Principal Seshadri on the successful completion of his self appointed task

DEBT LEGISLATION IN BENGAL *By Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha. Published by M C Sarkar & Sons Pp 40 Price Re 1*

It is a good, short interesting study on a subject of considerable practical importance to Bengal

J M Datta

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION A Perspective and Retrospect *By M N Roy Published by D M Library, Calcutta. Price Re 1*

FASCISM Its Philosophy Professions and Practice *By M N Roy Published by D M Library, Calcutta. Price Rs 2*

Comrade M. N Roy brought with him the revolutionary experience of three continents as he is proud to avow, *to apply to the Indian situation* The two small books from his pen are, therefore welcome to all. More than anybody else in India he can speak about the Russian Revolution with authority, and, more than most other such people he knows what Fascism is and means to the world And the books also explain to a discerning mind the strange fate that pursues Comrade Roy, in spite of his ability and ardour, in India and abroad his rise and fall in public affection.

The *Russian Revolution presents a historical perspective* and a retrospect of the great upheaval and, the socialist reconstruction that follows it. It is clear in its survey of the conditions and forces, it is thoroughly logical and reasonable in its analysis, and it will satisfy none, for there are few whose opinions are not already formed and encased in the iron bars of prejudices or predilections of one kind or other Roy defends Stalin and his policy as a Marxist and as an independent thinker condemns everyone of the Left or Right who disagreed with the Stalinists, for under the given conditions' the communists could not do otherwise. Yet every Communist must under the given conditions' of the Comintern fall foul of this expelled member, the more so, when the 'renegade' holds that the Russian revolution was, and, 'under the given conditions' could not be, a proletarian revolution but a peasant revolution under the leadership of the proletariat' The Communists must denounce this revisionist' *But Roy, perhaps, would deserve a better* treatment from the ordinary unbiased reader, if there be any left so, who may even go so far as to suspect him to be a Stalinist

'*Fascism*' *will meet with little opposition from* any of the comrades of the writer It will evoke protests from all Indians who hold Indian philosophy and Indian culture dear and near to their heart. Roy is acute in his analysis of the Fascist mind the western schools of thought which supplied the philosophical strands for this unscrupulous socio-political movement. Mercilessly the writer persues further and traces the affiliation, psychologically, of that philosophy with our Indian thought as enshrined in the Gita and other sacred sastras We are as a subject people, *all against Fascism but we are also nationalists, at least* proud of our cultural inheritance. The dangerous parallelism, and the close affinities that Roy shews to exist between Indian thought and Fascist philosophy, are not likely to make us feel comfortable Most will disagree with Roy, many will call him superficial and confused in his knowledge of Indian philosophy, but the truth is more likely to be on the side of Comrade Roy than on that of his critics.

One thing is certain—Comrade Roy knows how to think and how to speak In thought and style, he is absolutely clear and penetrating

Sandhani

CENTRAL BANKING IN INDIA (1773-1934) *By Om Prakash Gupta, M.Sc LL.B, F.R Econ S Hindusthan Times Press Delhi Pp 290 Price Rs 5*

Establishment of the Reserve Bank of *India*, ushers in a new era in India's financial administration Since the beginning of the present century there had been a number of committees and commissions dealing with India's financial and banking problems. Apart from the reports of these committees and commissions there had been a host of publications on the study of the e subjects by well-known economists. Mr Gupta's book on "Central Banking in India" recounts the story of India's attempts, for the establishment of a *Central Bank*, since the year 1773 The book also gives a co-ordinated history of the long chain of events, during these 162 years, relating to India's currency, finance and banking. Mr Gupta, in his book presents in a concise and scientific manner the *importance* of the Reserve Bank of India in the national economy of the country In the concluding chapter of the book the author examines the evolution of the central banking system in general and explains at length the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 in the light of the laws, chapters and statutes regulating the central banks in the different parts of the world The book will prove useful to the students of Indian Banking

Nihar Ranjan Mukherjee

A GUIDE TO BELUR *By Dr M H Krishna M.A., D.Lit (Lond) Published for the Government of Mysore Bangalore, 1937 Pp 29 + 10 plates. Price 4 annas*

We are sure this neat little booklet illustrated by several well printed photographs will prove helpful to visitors to Belur in Mysore

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, (Part II The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhara) *By N G Majumdar Archæological Survey of India, Delhi, 1937 Pp ii + 137 15 plates and one map Price Re 1/8*

In the introduction, the author gives us a learned account of the chief characteristics and historical affiliations of the Gandhara School of Art. This is followed by a detailed description of the exhibits together with copious explanations from Buddhist sacred literature. The illustrations are of a uniformly high quality

A GUIDE TO FATEHPUR SIKRI *By Muhammad Ashraf Husain, M.A., M.R.A.S Delhi, 1937 Price Re. 1 Pp 77 + 12 plates*

AN HISTORICAL GUIDE TO THE AGRA FORT (Based on Contemporary Records) *By Maulvi*

Muhammad Ashraf Hussain, M.A Delhi 1937 Pp viii + 71 + 8 plates

These two booklets illustrated by excellent photographs and maps will not only serve the purpose of the layman but also of the more serious student of history The appendices containing translations of the inscriptions and the bibliography will be particularly helpful to the latter One however misses in the latter book any reference to Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* although books of lesser value find a place in the bibliography

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE BATTLE OF CHINA *By Dr K R Menon Ph.D Published by the School of Printing Printers Association Singapore $1 00 or 2s 6d*

This book which bears the sub title *The Lay of a Chinese Girl* is to be appreciated rather for the cause than the achievement Written in championship of the Chinese people engaged in a life and death struggle against the Japanese invader and bearing a declaration to the effect that the entire proceeds of the sale of the book will go to the Chinese Red Cross the book describes the valour and gallantry of Chinese soldiers at the front and the intense patriotism of the people at the rear The story culminates in the historic episode of a brave Chinese girl who offers herself as a prize in a lottery to raise funds for the defence of China

The verse is poor at best but it is bad English in a good cause and to misuse a line from Tennyson the cause the cause alone is eloquent

S H V

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARAT *Virataparvan (Fascicule 8) critically edited by Dr Raghu Vira. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1936)*

Difficulty lies at the beginning of all things and this universally accepted truth is exemplified in the *Adiparvan*, the opening section of the Great Epic Like a real Mahabharata hero Dr V S Sukthankar the general editor has fought against legions of hostile problems and recovered for us, the *basic* elements in the *Adi* the crown jewel of textual criticism His devotion was so keen and his technique so reliable that his learned colleague Dr Raghu Vira could not help observing at the end of his introduction "The technique of reconstruction has been perfected to such a degree that the personality of the Editor has been almost eliminated That is the triumph of our labours."

Yet the difficulties, here in the Virataparvan as elsewhere appeared to be overwhelming The Parvasamgraha figures for the *Virata* are 67 adhyayas and 2050 slokas These figures were accepted by the late Mr N B Utgikar who prepared the Tentative Edition (1923) of the Institute. Prof T G Sastri in his Southern Recension critically edited" (1932) figured at 67 adhyayas (although all his MSS divided the text into 76[1]) and 3500 slokas. Dr Raghu Vira after a most exacting analysis, accepts with the detachment of a scientist under the limitations of our present MSS materials the figures of 67 adhyayas and 1834 slokas. He regrets that Prof Sastri's uncritical method has not helped very much in arriving at good results and that a sounder edition of the Southern Recension would be most welcome Under the circumstances Dr Raghu Vira with perfect reason, adhered to the more reliable textual traditions of Northern India, utilizing the Sarada, the Devanagari and the Bengali versions (collated at the Visvabharati Library) He has utilized also the Dutch edition of the *Javanese* Virataparvan (11th century A D) published by Dr Juyaboll

The Bhandarkar Institute deserves the congratulation of the nation for having acquired and utilized a manuscript dated V Sam 1493=1437 A D and thus the *oldest dated* manuscript (so far traced) of the Mahabharata It is written on old unglazed Indian paper which has withstood for five centuries the ravages of climate and insects. It should be advertized as a National Treasure

The Asiatic Society of Bengal from its rich collection, supplied the only Sarada MSS (1708 A.D), extant, of the Virata and how the folios of the MSS stuck together on account of moisture were separated deftly by the collator Shankar Sastri reads like a romance A few other MSS from the Bombay Government collection (now deposited with the B O R I) are dated 1494, 1539 1614 and so forth showing how with better technique of preservations and a little more attention of our big Provincial Universities we may save thousands of such rare MSS documents of our national culture Thus the Mahabharata research initiated by the learned Editor and his devoted colleagues of the Bhandarkar Institute, clearly points to the next urgent line of work where the Central and the Provincial Governments may co operate with a view to the collection and conservation of the fast decaying MSS treasures of India What is possible for the scholars of India to do has been admirably demonstrated through the Mahabharata work of the Institute but mere scholarship is not sufficient and funds are needed if we mean to organize on a nationwide scale the work of MSS conservation and cataloguing. Dr Raghu Vira has in the Virataparvan gloriously continued the traditions of the Bhandarkar Institute to which as well as to the learned Editor we offer our hearty congratulations

KALIDAS NAG

HINDI

RAJASTHAN RA DUHA *Part I Collected and edited by Prof Narottamdas Swami M.A Published by Navayuga Sahitya Mandir Delhi Pp 112+248 Price Rs 2*

The book under notice is the second volume of the Pilani Rajasthani Series instituted and financed by Seth G D Birla our well known and liberal minded countryman

The book contains Rajasthani verses on various heads, some of which are of historical interest This is a contribution to our folk literature Here we find the Marwaris at home and at their best The Introduction deals with all about Rajasthani language and literature The Preface written by Mm Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha of Ajmer is a short history of anthology compilation in India. The Notes are very useful, giving parallel passages from both old and modern authors

The book is a welcome addition to Hindi and Rajasthani literature

RAMESH BASU

MARATHI

HINDUNCHE ARTHSHASTRA (*Part One*) *By Govind Mahadev Joshi B.A Published by W H Munje, Secretary, Hindu-Sanskrit Sampadak and Granth Prakashak Mandal, Walker Road, Nagpur Pages 234 Price Rs 2*

Starting with the publisher's and author's dogmatic prefaces stating that poor Hindu culture is standing unsafe amidst a hurricane of rebelling and reacting idea forces and is endangered every moment with the imaginary onslaught of alien materialism and horrors of class-war, the book aims at a reconstruction of the fundamentals of the science

of economics from the cultural and sociological standpoint of the Hindoos—a phrase unexplained all through the book. But stuffed with the unimaginative and unbridgeable insularity of a typical conservative and symptomatic of unpurposive analysis, rigid and harsh, the book leaves the reader with an utterly disappointing impression that the author has presented a rehash of und gested material from the Western Economists only The bibliography suggesting that all the main reference books used in this attempt at re-establishing Hindu culture are English and a paragraph on the third page in the introduction dealing with the ab truse Ricardian equations, given in the Greek and Latin mathematical terms are pieces of a ridiculous paradox, upsetting downright the very claims of the author In its design to embrace all the four corners of the wide fields of knowledge and to solve all the possible problems of space and time and population and moral values in its narrow limits the book has neither remained philosophy nor sociology nor economics but a hopeless higgledy piggledy of all sorts of what nots without selection or emphasis For example the first chapter entitled 'Thought about Sciences simply repeats the deductive logic, that too in the western fashion the fun being all through the book the author proposes to be logical but is led away at places by the blind belief in authorities and at places loses integrity in the oblivion of abstracted argumentation

On the whole the book is written in a tedious techn cal manner at places tinted with verbose and in an un intelligible Marathi though one may perceive some sense in chapters as on population problem after undergoing the ordeal of a curiously manufactured phraseology How is the book going to serve Hindu culture when one Hindu per hundred will hardly follow it?

P B Machwe

GUJARATI

MUNSHI PATHAVALI *By Sombhai Patel Published by R R Sheth & Co Bombay Thick Card Board Pp 238 Price Re 1-4-0 (1937)*

The Hon ble Mr K M Munshi Home Member in the Bombay Provincial Cabinet, is a brilliant and versatile writer of merit He has handled novels, biography drama, and essay writing with great effect and the best passag s from his works have been selected for presentation to students in the present compilation Indeed it is a great honour to a living person to see his work appreciated in this fashion, and a source of pleasure too The Introduction is contributed by a young fr end of h s, Chandravadan Metha,—an admirer but at the same time an outspoken writer He treats in a sarcastic way th reception which possibly the compilation may meet with, at the hands of persons engaged in the teaching line. He has a few plain words to say to the spiritless studen s who are likely to study the spirited sentiments of Mr Munshi

JAINACHARYA SHRI ATMANAND JANMA SHATABDI SMARAK GRANTH *Published by the Shatabdi Smarak Commutee, Bombay and edited by Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, B.A., LL.B., Advocate Clo n bound. Illustrated Pp 188 (English) 213 (Hindi), 144 + 260 (Gujarati) Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1937)*

This stupendous memorial volume has been ably edited by that well known Jain man of letters and Law, Mr Mohanlal D Desai It contains very interesting pictures to illus rate the many articles which are found in it and the articles contributed are in three languages, English, Hindi and Gujarati so that a very wide field of choi e has been provided for the Editor Atmanandaji was well known as a religious head an author, and ideal saint amongst the Jains during his life time. It was he who inspired the late Virchand Raghavji to go to America to propagate the Jain Sampradaya there. The mechanical get up of the book is of a superior quality and the varied information contained in the contribution make it an interesting and informative volume

K. M J

TELUGU

RADHIKASANTVANAMU *By Muddu Palani, No I of Srungara Grandha Mandali series of K. G Murty, Masu lipatam Demy 1/8 Pp 28 + 147 Price As 12 for members only*

Muddu Palani, the mistress of the Maharana Chief tain, Pratapasimha who held the reins of the Chola king dom between 1740-1765, is the authoress of this good literary piece of 4 cantos. The divine love of Krishna, and Ila and Radha is the theme of the story It is erotic in sentiment This creditable work long suffered the curse of oblivion through the ban of the Government Public gratitude and support are due to the Mandali for its care and pain in saving it from decay

TATA CHARITRAMU *By K Satagopachari, M.A., B.L Cocanada. Pp 12 + 164 Price As 10*

A life his ory of the Indian industrial pioneer the late Jamshedji N Tata, who worked for India s material regeneration, and to whose indefatigable endeavours the Tata Iron & Steel Company the Indian Institute of Science, the Taj Hotel the Lonavala Hydro-Electric Scheme and a host of others owe their shape and existence. The pr sentation of the material tends to be a contribution to industrial history rather than to biography

R S Bharadwaj

BOOKS RECEIVED

AN IDEAL HAPPY LIFE OR DO BUT NEVER MIND *Illustrated. Seventh Edition By Khushi Ram, New Delhi. Pp v + 156 including 7 charts Price Re. 1*

BEAUTIFUL BOMBAY AND OTHER STORY POEMS *By Innocent Sousa. New Book Co., 188-90, Hornby Road Bombay Pp 56, Price Re 1-8.*

THOUGHTS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY *By H I Chinmulgund (Rao Bahadur) Printed and published by Mr A V Patwardhan B.A., at the Arya bhusan Press 91a1 Bhamburda Peth Poona 4 Price As 12*

FREEDOM INDIA S MESSAGE, WORLD PEACE AND SELF REVEALING SONGS *By Ramanadasa K. S Seshagiri, B.A., 31 South Mada Street Mylapore Madras. Pp 24+2 Price As 3.*

THE HIDDEN YEARS OF JESUS *By S t Das, Officer d' accdemie (Paris) Calcutta. 1933. Pp 29 Price As. 8.*

GURU JANA GANA SEVITHAM OR MY PLAN OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM *By Brahmapasyula Sitaramiah B.A., L.T., M R S T (England) Pp xxxix+50+ xiii. 1933. Price Re 1-8. Foreign 3sh. or 75 cents.*

SHOULD THE INDIAN SPEAKER FOLLOW THE BRITISH OR THE AMERICAN MODEL?

By D N BANERJEE,
Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

THE SUBJECT which I propose to discuss is "Should the Indian Speaker—and I mean by the expression 'Indian Speaker' not merely the Speaker of a Provincial Legislative Assembly today or the Speaker of the Federal Assembly of India when it will be constituted but also the President of the Council of State or of a Provincial Legislative Council—follow the British or the American model?" That is to say, whether in the execution of the duties of his office, the Speaker in India should follow the example of the Speaker of the British House of Commons or of the Speaker of the American House of Representatives? Incidentally I shall also refer to the position and functions of the President of the French Chamber of Deputies. The subject is not merely of academic interest, but also of great practical importance to this country particularly in view of the ruling given by the Speaker Mr Purshottamdas Tandon on 19th January last in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly[1] and the endorsement of that ruling by the then President of the Indian National Congress[2]. The occasion for the ruling was the notice of a motion for adjournment given by Mr Zahirulhasan Lari for the purpose of discussing the question of "the participation of the Speaker in party politics"[3]. And Mr Speaker Tandon has been reported by the Special Correspondent of the *Statesman* at Lucknow to have declared, among other things[4]:

> I have expressed on several occasions my views in regard to the functions of the Speaker. I have made it clear that no one deserves to occupy the chair of Speaker who cannot commend the confidence of the House as a whole and who cannot be impartial while he takes part in politics. I have made it also clear that I do not believe in the convention of the House of Commons. I believe in the conventions of France, U.S.A. and some other countries, which permit the Speaker to take part in politics. Situated as we are in this country, I am particularly emphatic that it is absolutely necessary to allow the Speaker to take part in politics. If he does not do so you may be content with a third rate person or a civil or criminal judge but you will not get a prominent politician."

And in a statement[5] to the Press Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has declared that he wholly agrees with the position taken up by Mr Speaker Tandon on the question whether a Speaker in India should abstain from participation in politics outside the legislature. His actual words are[6]:

> Some people have inclined to the view that the practice of the British House of Commons should be followed here; others have inclined to the different practice which prevails in the United States of America and elsewhere.
>
> "The question is whether a Speaker should abstain from participation in politics outside the legislature. Personally *I wholly agree with the position taken up by Mr Purshottamdas Tandon Speaker of the United Provinces Assembly*. It is obvious that a Speaker must be absolutely impartial in his dealings as Speaker. He must protect minorities from the over bearing weight of a great majority. If that is conceeded, as it must be, then I see no reason why he should not participate in political activities outside the legislature.
>
> "This becomes all the more important in a country situated as India is at present, that is a country under alien domination struggling to be free.
>
> "Every Indian feels or ought to feel strongly in this matter and should try to throw his weight on the right side, the only side so far as he is concerned. Every Congressman is bound to do so by his convictions and temperament. For him to say that by virtue of election to the Speakership he will suddenly become a neutral element in politics is to delude himself as well as others. We cannot become neuters."

This frank declaration, coming as it has done from the President of the Indian National Congress, is very significant, specially in view of the fact that there are already several provinces in India in which the government is virtually in the hands of the Congress.

Although Mr Speaker Tandon has admitted that no one deserves to occupy the chair of Speaker 'who cannot command the confidence of the House as a whole and who cannot be

1 *Vide* the *Statesman* (Dak edition) of 21st January, 1938.
2 *Vide* the same of 3rd February 1938.
3. *Vide* the same of 21st January, 1938.
4 *Ibid.*

5 See the *Statesman* (Dak Edition) of 3rd February, 1938. The relevant Associated Press message was dated at Allahabad, 1st February 1938. At that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of the Indian National Congress.
6 *Ibid.*

impartial while he takes part in politics" yet it is very clear from what he has said that he does "not believe in the convention of the House of Commons," but that he believes "in the conventions of France U S A and some other countries, which permit the Speaker to take part in politics"

Now, what is the convention of the House of Commons referred to by him? It will be evident from what follows The most distinguishing characteristic of the Speaker of the House of Commons is his impartiality He has," as Bryce has stated in his *American Commonwealth*[7] "been chosen by a party because a majority means in England a party

But on his way from his place on the benches to the Chair he is expected to shake off and leave behind all party ties and sympathies Once invested with the wig and gown of office he has no longer any political opinions, and must administer exactly the same treatment to his political friends and to those who have been hitherto his opponents, to the oldest or most powerful minister and to the youngest or least popular member It makes little difference to any English party in Parliament whether the occupant of the chair has come from their own or from their hostile ranks a custom as strong as law forbids him to render help to his own side even by private advice Whatever information as to parliamentary law he may feel free to give must be equally at the disposal of every member"

This impartiality is "the most precious attribute" of the English Speaker and like the English King he is "supposed to have no politics" As Michael MacDonagh has beautifully put it in his *Pageant of Parliament*[8]

"whether the Speaker is first designated by the Government, or, in case of a division, is carried by the majority of the Government, when he is being conducted by his proposer and seconder from his place on the benches to the Chair he, as it were, doffs his Party colours, be they buff or blue, and wears, instead the white flower of a neutral political life Henceforth he sits above all Parties. As Speaker he has no political opinions."

He is, as another eminent English writer[8a] has nicely remarked "as near as can be in a human being the Rules and Practice of the House come to life without interposition of his own view" And this admiration for the office of the Speaker of the House of Commons is not confined to British writers alone Prof Josef Redlich of the University of Vienna has observed[9] that "from the moment of election he discards every outward tie that has hitherto bound him to his party, he refuses to enter a political club, and, both *within the House and without*, abstains from expressing any political opinion," and that even at a general election he "only offers himself as a candidate by written communications and refrains in his election address from touching upon political questions"[10] As a result, the office of Speaker in England has become, to quote him[11] again, "a synonym for dignity and impartiality" This is a high tribute indeed—and that from a foreigner!

Moreover, even distinguished American writers on the constitutional system of the U S A, like the late President Woodrow Wilson, Prof William Munro and Prof Arthur Holcombe of Harvard University, Prof Frederic Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Edward Sait of the University of California, Prof James Young of the University of Pennsylvania and Prof Charles Beard of Columbia University, have, while contrasting in their works the office of the English Speaker with that of the American Speaker, either directly or indirectly expressed their admiration for the former Thus we find Prof Frederic Ogg remarking (*European Governments and Politics*)[12]

"Outside, no less than inside, of the House, the (English) Speaker abstains from every appearance of partisanship He never publicly discusses or voices an opinion on party issues, he never attends a party meeting, he has no connections with party newspapers, he never sets foot in a political club, he of course, makes no campaign for his own re-election The Speaker of the American House of Representatives is, quite frankly, a party man an official *who serves, and is expected to serve, the interests of his party so far as it can be done without too flagrant unfairness to the opposition.* The contrast with the speakership at Westminster is indeed striking As would be expected, the deference paid the Chair at Westminster is considerably greater than at Washington, having often been as Sir Courtenay Ilbert remarks 'the theme of admiring comment by foreign observers"

Again, "the speaker," writes Prof Munro,[13] "from the moment he takes the Chair, ceases to be a party man

He discards his party colours be they buff, or blue, or red. He is no longer a Liberal a Conservative, or a Labour partisan. He attends no more party gatherings and is not called into consultation on party measures of party policy He must be a neutral in politics .Whether in entertaining his friends at dinner, or in recognizing members who desire to speak, or in ruling on points of order he must act with the impartiality of a chief justice If he has personal and political likes or dislikes, as most

7. Bryce *American Commonwealth*, Vol. I. (1922), p. 183.
8. MacDonagh, *Pageant of Parliament*, Vol. I. p. 121.
8(a) Herman Finer *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II p. 782.
9. See his *Procedure of the House of Commons*, (Vol. II pp. 133-34.
10. *Ibid* p. 133.
11. *Ibid*, p. 131.
12. P 244.
13. *The Governments of Europe*, 1922, p. 170.

public men have, he must somehow manage to keep them submerged"

But what does the American Speaker do? He has great political power, and is permitted nay expected," says Bryce,[14] to use it in the interests of his party

In calling upon members to speak he prefers those of his own side He decides in their favour such points of order as are not distinctly covered by the rules Although the Speaker seldom delivers a speech in the House, *he may and does advise the other leaders of his party privately, and when they go into caucus* (*i e*, hold a party meeting to determine their action on some pending question) *he is present and gives counsel*

Prof James Young of the University of Pennsylvania has gone further He has said (*The New American Government and Its Work*)[15]

"Whether the Speaker has been Clark Crisp or Randall of the Democrats or Cannon or Reed of the Republicans he has been forced (in the interest of his party) *to abandon all pretence of impartiality and to support and guide his party in its legislative program* As presiding officer he decides points of order and procedure *always with a view to the promotion of his party's legislative program*

And before 1910 11 the Speaker was virtually the autocrat of the House of Representatives— in a real sense the dictator of the House"[16] He had gradually acquired this position through his prerogative of recog nition' of members which would alone enable them to address the House his power of appointing the Standing Committees of the House and of interpreting and applying its rules of debate, and through the instrumentality of the small Committee on Rules," of which he was the Chairman Thus says Prof Holcombe in his *State Government in the United States*,[17]

"The combination of the power of recognition, appointment, and control of the committee on rules made the Speaker *a veritable dictator* in the House of Representatives A similar development in the influence of the Speaker took place in those states where business was heavy, where members were numerous, where time was short, and where party lines were closely drawn This was notably the case in the state of New York."[18]

And it may also be noted here that in appointing the Standing Committees of the House, the Speaker, as Woodrow Wilson has remarked in his *Constitutional Government in the United States*,[19] not only allowed "himself to make them up with a view to the kind of legislation he wished to see enacted, he was "expected to make them up with such a view"—was expected to make them up as a party leader would' Even his own personal views upon particular public questions he would not hesitate to enforce in his appointments"[19a] And although the powers of the American Speaker have been considerably curtailed since the reforms of 1910-11 they are "still great"[20] He is still "a party man" and still "wields the strongest influence in legislation"

The Speaker is also "the most powerful officer in the lower houses of the state legislatures'[21] in the U S A And this is more or less due to the same causes, *mutatis mutandis*, which made the Speaker of the House of Representatives "the Czar of the House" before 1910 11

It is evident from what has been shown above that the Speaker in the U S A is not only a party man but he is also not *strictly* impartial in the discharge of his duties as the Chairman of the House of Representatives or, as the case may be, as the Chairman of the Lower House of a State legislature He often acts in the execution of his duties as Chairman, in a manner that is likely to promote the

14. *The American Commonwealth*, Vol I, pp 140-141

15 Pp 49 53.

16 See Young *The New American Government and Its Work*, p 50

17 Holcombe *State Government in the United States*, p 260

18. We also find in Woodrow Wilson (*Constitutional Government in the United States* 1911 pp 91 98)

"The power of appointing the Committees, which the House has conferred upon its Speaker makes him the almost autocratic master of its actions.

"In all legislative bodies except ours the presiding officer has only the powers and functions of a Chairman He is separate from parties and is looked to to be punctiliously impartial But the processes of our parliamentary development have made the Speaker of our great House of Representatives and the Speakers of our State Legislatures party leaders in whom centres the control of all that they do So far as the House of Representatives and its share in the public business is concerned the Speaker is undisputed party leader The whole powerful machinery of the great popular chamber is at his disposal, and all the country knows how effectually he can use it."

19 Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* pp 91 92

19(a) We also find in Munro (*The Government of the United States of America*, p 236) "It became his regular practice to make up the Committees in such a way that they would do just what he wanted them to do. The Speaker in a word controlled the Committees and the Committees controlled the House One man in this way, determined both the form and the destiny of the laws It was he who decided whether a measure should go on its way to the statute book or be relegated to the discard"

20 Bryce *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p 142.

21 Holcombe *State Government in the United States*, 1916 p 252.

interests of the party to which he belongs or to help the adoption of measures in which his party is interested[22] And this is well-known in the U S A But although the warfare of parties there is "based upon a real difference of opinion about the needs of the community as a whole," yet the parties themselves are not divided there on religious or communal lines Parties in this country however are, and will for a long time to come be formed on communal or religious lines And we cannot get away from these facts, however ideological we may be Thus the lines of cleavage in the two countries are fundamentally different Regard being had to this fact would it not be disastrous to the true interests of this country if the Speaker here were allowed to follow the American model rather than the English? Besides, whatever Mr Speaker Tandon and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may say it is difficult for an ordinary mortal *although there may be exceptions, to be an active party man outside*, and to be strictly impartial in the performance of his duties as Chairman inside a legislature Moreover even if he attempts to be impartial in the legislature his impartiality may sometimes run the risk of being adversely commented upon And if once the impartiality of his rulings becomes rightly or wrongly suspect as having been influenced by party consideration—and this will inevitably be the case sooner or later if the Speaker takes an active part in politics outside the legislature—then it may be extremely difficult for him to restore order when there will be a "clash of wills and tempers" in the legislature And this will not certainly help the smooth working of legislatures in this country, which again will unfortunately have repercussions in other directions, not conducive to its best interests What I mean is this If the Speaker's rulings become suspect, they will be challenged This will not only entail "waste of time", but will, what will be much worse, also give rise to a controversy after the passage of a bill that it has been "unfairly passed" And a law made under such conditions will as Dr Finer 22(a) has said in another connexion, lose part of its authority And this may lead to many undesirable consequences at the time of the enforcement of the law The *Speaker's conduct, both inside and outside the* legislature should, therefore, be such as to be, like that of a judge, above suspicion And the *same considerations which forbid the judge to* take part in politics should prevent the Speaker from participation in politics He should be *the one person in the legislature who should be* able by his tact, firmness, character, personality, and above all, the strictest impartiality, to inspire in the minds of its members confidence in and respect for him

What I have said above against the imitation of the American example may be urged with an equal force against any proposal for the adoption of the French system by the Indian Speaker My justification for this statement is that the President of the Chamber of Deputies in France, who is "elected anew at every session" resembles, to quote the words of Bryce[23] again, "the Speaker of the American House of Representatives rather than the Speaker of the British House of Commons, for *he is not expected to display that absolute impartiality which is the distinguishing note of the latter*" He too is "a party man" and on election to the Chair "does not cease to be a party man,"[24] but "remains a politician"[25] As a result, he "does not enjoy in the Chamber (of Deputies) the consideration" which is accorded to the Speaker in the British House of Commons According to Mr Bodley[26] he is not elected to his office "by reason of his impartial temperament." The choice generally falls, he says, "upon a combatant politician who does not sink his opinions in the Chair

22. This is also the view of Dr Herman Finer He says

"In U S A the Speaker is not impartial and is not intended to be by the majority, nor, if we judge by experience does he intend to be although he is expected to *be fair to the minority He is to-day one of the* majority party leaders, before 1911 he was the party leader in the legislative branch of government

"When the Speaker is chosen he does not cut off connexions with *his party—on the contrary, they are* even more sedulously cultivated, he occasionally promotes bills of great and sometimes of general importance, he speaks in debate, although the written *rules of the House deprecate this, he votes*, although the rules of the House do not encourage him to vote except in certain circumstances, his seat is contested, and therefore he must nurse his constituency by tidbits *from the "pork barrel" and by declarations of policy*, and he must, frequently, harbour a certain resentment against his opponents He *promotes by positive strategy and intervention a legislative* and executive *policy Thus the Speaker of the House of Representa*tives is the avowed agent of the majority, he is involved, often he leads in the party counsels. *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol II, pp 783-84.

22(a) See his *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II p 781

23 *See his Modern Democracies*, Vol I p 2 3

24. See Munro *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p 468

25. Sait *Government and Politics of France* p. 201

26 *See Bodley, France*, 1907, p. 420

which, on the contrary, he most often quits to assume the lead of a party'[27] There are many instances[28] of the Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies becoming Prime Ministers of France and, again, of their reverting back to the position of President of the Chamber on the fall of their ministries And in the past—although it has become unusual in recent years—there have been occasions when the President has left the chair and taken part in the debate as a partisan, like an ordinary member of the Chamber[29] In such circumstances it is idle to expect the strictest impartiality from the President, nor can the President in these circumstances expect from the members of the Chamber of Deputies that attitude of awe and reverence towards him, which is shown to the Speaker in the British House of Commons

Going now back to the question of Speakership in America I should like to refer to two other important considerations In the first place as Prof Beard[30] has observed in a sense leadership has been thrust upon the Speaker in America by its system of Government which has provided the House (of Representatives) with no official leadership whereas in England the Prime Minister "assumes responsibility for the fate of all measures under discussion This absence of official leadership Prof Munro[31] also agrees accounts "for the gravitation of leadership into the hands of the Speaker, as the only conspicuous officer chosen by the House itself" He 'became the recognized leader of the majority party, chosen virtually by its caucus . became the man on whom the majority depended for getting its measures safely through the maze of rules'[32] But this plea cannot reasonably be advanced in India, where the principles of the parliamentary system of Government as it obtains in England, with their automatic solution of the question of the leadership in the legislature, have been introduced into its provincial constitutions, and are expected to be shortly introduced into its central sphere

In the second place, the term of the House of Representatives in the U S A is only two years but the normal duration of the Legislative Assembly of a province under the present constitution of India is five years The party which commands a majority in the House of Representatives today may not do so after the next election to it And the Speaker there, who is chosen by the House at the beginning of each Congress being practically the nominee of the majority party, the present Speaker may not be the Speaker at the end of two years The evils of partisan Speakership even for two years may be enough such evils are bound to be multiplied and aggravated when the term of the partisan Speaker is five years—or even longer which may be the case if the party now in power in a provincial Legislative Assembly comes back to power after the next quinquennial election This argument will equally apply to the question of the Speakership of the Federal Assembly of India or to the question of the Presidentship of a Provincial Legislative Council or of the Council of State

Mr Speaker Tandon has also said

> "Situated as we are in this country, I am particularly emphatic that it is absolutely necessary to allow the Speaker to take part in politics If he does not do so, you may be content with a third rate person or a civil or criminal judge, but you will not get a prominent politician"

This seems to be, with all respect to Mr Speaker Tandon, a little too much No one—not even Mr Speaker Tandon—will say that the late Mr V J Patel was a third-rate person or was not a prominent politician And what did he say on his first election as the President of the Legislative Assembly? "In the

27 *Ibid*

28 "Since M Grevy the first occupant of the chair under the Constitution of 1875 left it to be Chief of the State" writes Mr Bodley "down to the general elections of 1898 all the Presidents of the Lower House, excepting M Burdeau who died in office subsequently became Prime Ministers, namely, MM Gambetta, Brisson, Floquet, Melline Casimir Perier and Dupuy and each one save M Melline descended straight from the chair to form a Ministry MM Perier and Dupuy had also each the curious experience when overthrown as Prime Minister of being forthwith re-elected to the presidency of the Chamber which had just driven him from power"—See *Ibid*

A recent case of the President becoming the Prime Minister, is that of M Herriot who was called by the President of France to form a new ministry on the fall of the Briand Government in July 1926 caused by his own speech.—See Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government* Vol II, p 790

29 Gambetta, writes Mr Bodley "so far regarded the post as that of a political leader that he used to call upon himself to speak, descending to the lower tribune and ceding the chair to a vice president."— *See* his *France* p. 427

Also see Munro, *The Governments of Europe* 1932, p 468, *also* Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, p 201 *also* Finer *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol II p. 790

30. See Beard, *American Government and Politics*, 1935, p. 116.

31 See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 1929, pp 233-34.

32. *Ibid*

discharge of my duties He declared[33] I shall I assure you observe strict impartiality in dealing with all sections of the House irrespective of party considerations

From this moment I cease to be a party man I belong to no party I belong to all parts I belong to all of you and I hope and trust my Honourable friend the Leader of the Swaraj Party will take immediate steps to absolve me from all the obligations of a Swarajist member of this House if indeed it has not been done by implication in consequence of my election to this Chair"

If a person like Mr Patel could with grace and dignity cease to be a party man on his first election as the President of the Legislative Assembly I do not think there is much force in the argument of Mr Speaker Tandon referred to above Nor do I believe that our country has become so poor in point of really able men who can worthily occupy the Chair of Speaker as has been implied by Mr Speaker Tandon's statement!

In his statement to the Press to which we have previously referred Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also remarked

"There is another aspect of this matter We are apt to follow almost blindly British practice and procedure whether they fit in with our requirements or not There is no reason why we should do so and we must shake off these shackles It is open to us, of course to accept this practice where we choose to do so but it must not be thrust down on us either by law or convention or what is worst of all by a slavish habit of mind which is unable to think in other terms."

Certainly we must not follow a British practice blindly and lavishly and we must resist every attempt at thrusting anything down on us But nor should we refuse to follow a British practice simply because it is British in its origin and character, provided that it fits in with our requirements My contention is that the British practice is in itself so far as the Speakership is concerned superior to the American or the French and in the peculiar circumstances of India—and particularly in view of its cleavage of parties on religious or communal lines—will best suit its requirements Among the many *political institutions which the genius of the* British people has evolved in the course of centuries of its history I consider the institution of Speakership to be a most valuable one which may be copied by other countries—and particularly India—with great advantage to them I, therefore maintain that the adoption of the American or the French model by India will not only have a very bad effect upon the smooth working and the proper development of its self governing institutions which are yet in their incipient stages but will also be otherwise disastrous to its true and ultimate interest For instance it will certainly to my mind not tend to promote the growth of inter communal good will and will therefore materially check the progress of its growing sense of nationalism And our ideal of Swaraj will ever remain a mere *ideal*—an empty dream—unless it can be made to rest on a solid foundation of nationalism It is gladdening however to note here that so far the views of Mr Speaker Tandon or of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have found no support anywhere outside the United Provinces *

33 *Legislative Assembly Debates* Vol VI 1925 pp 36-37

*A speech delivered on 27th April, 1938 under the auspices of the Rotary Club of Dacca.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Picasso: The Man and His Art

Garnet Rees writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*

The twentieth century has seen an extension of the subject matter of art and a corresponding change in treatment It has seen Cubism, Surrealisme, and other movements more or less revolutionary All these move ments dragged along in their train a group of imitators, euphemistically called Les Jeunes ' and it is largely due to their exaggerations that public appreciation of Cubism and Surrealisme was so effectively diminished All the effervescences of experiment found Picasso in their midst not as a theorist but as a practician One of Picasso s most striking characteristics is that, although he was a leading member of these schools, he cannot conveniently be labelled "Cubist or Surrealiste" for his work far overlaps the confines of any one movement There are constantly to be found in his work the two currents of experiment and tradition, one fused into the other by the artistic mastery of the painter

The strength of his work derives from the training that he had the vast qualities of instinctive painting which were latent in him He could afford to experiment because this basis of taste effectively prevented the *gaffes* which were so common at the time of the *Fauves* and Cubism

Miss Stein insists on the purely Spanish quality of Picasso s work which she postulates as an explanation of his Cubism and abstract painting She comments on the lack of colour in Spanish landscape and the queer geometrical value of the land masses she adds further that the landscapes which Picasso brought back from Spain in 1909 (the *Village near Tarragona, etc*), and which were clearly cubist in character, were in actual fact a close reproduction of the landscapes that Picasso had painted Picasso was able to prove this by photographs which he had taken

With Derain and Braque the first attempt to present Cubism to the public was made in 1911 to the accompaniment of storms of derision These checks had little effect on Picasso who continued his abstract and cerebral painting The architectural qualities of his abstract groupings demand an effort on the part of the amateur because they represent a movement away from photographic realism towards an idealized reality Picasso was trying to do in painting what Mallarme had been attempting in poetry

In 1917, Picasso did a cubist decor for *Parade*, with Erik Satie and Jean Cocteau but this was the end of the heroic struggles of the Cubist movement Another stay in Spain and Picasso came back to traditional painting His connection with the theatre reminded him of his early love and in the short period (1918 1921) he produced the Harlequin pictures, and the portrait of Madame Picasso

The traditional side of his work appears in this period too, with the series of nudes, in classical draperies The opulence of form and colour is almost oriental, and the solid masses are a proof of what Picasso had learnt from Cubism He had not finished experimenting however, for side by side with his classical studies, he continued his search for new forms and combinations of forms It seems as if he needs to express something too subtle for the ordinary means of painting The Negro influences of 1906 7 seem to have recurred again but only as a starting point for further research into the abstract *Guernica*, the mural which he painted for the Spanish Pavilion in the Paris Exhibition of last year, is only another stage in his development, and his search for complete self-expression

His influence on modern painting is very great, for he unwittingly dominated a whole generation of young painters but Picasso remains the quiet friendly figure he has always been His habits are the same, and he still works as absorbedly as ever He is a familiar figure in the Cafe de Flore almost each night, with his small group of friends and his dog but he rarely talks of his painting—that work goes on in his head As he seldom gives away his secrets Picasso s work cannot be understood without an effort, but that effort is very much worth while

Future of Spain

John C deWilde observes in the *Foreign Policy Reports*

The end of the civil war is indeed unlikely to bring the unadulterated triumph of either fascism, communism or democracy A totalitarian regime, whether communist or fascist may well prove incompatible with the intense individualism of the Spanish people. Should Franco triumph, he would probably meet with great difficulty in any attempt to impose the Italian or German brand of fascism In the event of a Loyalist victory, communism is equally unlikely In fact the influence of the Communists in the Loyalist government appears to have declined steadily in recent months Yet the development of a real democracy also seems improbable in a country where it is not deeply rooted in national traditions and where tolerance for clashing political views hardly prevails.

The external policy of Spain would appear in greater danger of falling under foreign domination Since both parties, especially the Insurgents, have benefited extensively from outside assistance, they owe a debt to foreign powers on which payment may be demanded. But any attempt to demand political concessions in return for this assistance would undoubtedly arouse the indignation of the Spanish people who are proud of their independence and traditionally intolerant of foreign intrusion Thus the Nationalists would alienate whatever popular support they have obtained should they provide Italy or Germany with permanent air or naval bases and the Loyalist regime would arouse equal resentment if it permitted continual interference by the Soviet government in Spain s internal or external affairs.

As yet there is no convincing evidence of foreign domination of Spain On the Loyalist side, Soviet influence appears to have become less conspicuous after the recall of Marcel Rosenberg in April 1937 On the Franco side, many foreign reports regarding Italian and German penetration were proved subsequently to be greatly exaggerated. This was true, for example of the alarming news concerning German activity in Spanish Morocco While the Italians were once reported in almost complete control of the strategic island of Majorca, dispatches of newspapers correspondents on the spot during October and November 1937 revealed that Franco had asserted his authority and garrisoned the island exclusively with

Spanish troops, excepting only a few hundred Italians engaged in the air forces Yet Franco will no doubt allow Germany and Italy to reap considerable commercial benefits, if only to liquidate the debt incurred for delivery of war material The Nationalists are said to owe 3.5 billion lire to Italy, and probably a greater amount to Germany With the Reich an active trade is being conducted under a compensation agreement concluded on July 17, 1937 While Germans have been increasingly active in organizing Spanish business they have no monopoly of commerce or raw materials British and French companies in Spain have been left in possession of their mining and other concessions although raw materials have been requisitioned in substantial amounts to pay off debts to Germany and Italy

New Rights for Women of France

We reproduce the following from *The Catholic Citizen*

The Renoult Bill under which the married women of France will gain a larger measure of civil rights has at last become law The Act slightly modifies the civil marriage declaration by eliminating the words "The wife owes obedience to her husband" and substituting a declaration that the husband is the head of the family, that he can choose the family domicile, and that his wife is compelled to cohabit.

Under the new Act a married woman may enter the university, pass examinations for various liberal professions, have a separate bank account, draw and sign cheques in her own name, accept an inheritance or gifts, and witness a will She may also carry on a business in her own name with her husband's consent and choose a separate profession, but in the latter case her husband may oppose this action unless his disapproval is contrary to the family interests The wife may appeal to the ruling of the court

This law is a great triumph for French women in spite of the fact that it does not give them all they demand Married women are now regarded as adults under the law so that "there is now no longer any excuse to continue to deprive them of their political rights"

The Story of An Exterminated Race

The history of colonisation and imperial expansion during the ages is full of tragedies, but few so pathetic as that of the total destruction of the Tasmanian race, writes J W Poynter in *The Inquirer*

Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch sailor, cruising in 1642 in the then untravelled waters of the Southern Ocean, came to an island with a rocky wooded coast. He named it Van Diemen's Land, but later this was altered to Tasmania, after Tasman himself

Tasman, however, found no inhabitants in the island, he hoisted his country's flag and went away on his voyages

Not until a century and a half later did any white man set eyes on the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land. A French sailor Captain Marion, landed there in 1772, and was met by a party of natives. About thirty of them came down to the shore where were the sailors. There were women carrying children fastened on their backs with ropes of rushes, and men carrying spears and stone axes. The Frenchmen offered them pieces of iron, cooking glasses, and bits of cloth, but the gifts were waved aside with scorn Then came an unfortunate incident One of the natives advanced and offered a lighted stick to a sailor The Frenchmen interpreted the act as an attack and opened fire upon the natives, who fled, leaving one dead and several wounded

In 1803 however, Lord Hobart, then British Secretary for the Colonies, commissioned Captain Collins to form a settlement in Tasmania The tragedy began. The instructions received by Collins were good "To endeavour, by every means in your power to open an intercourse with the natives, and conciliate their good will" However, the first conflict had already occurred Shortly before Collins' arrival a party of white men from the Australian mainland had come ashore near where now is the city of Hobart One day some natives including women and children, appeared on a high land above the camp of the whites. They showed no hostility, but for some unknown reason fire was opened on them and several were killed

However, there were no further serious conflicts for some years Even then they would not have occurred save for reasons discreditable to the white settlers.

Governor Macquarie condemned any hostile treatment of the natives but it continued, and in 1816 the interior of the island was gravely disturbed The *Hobart Town Gazette* (as quoted by Bonwick) said

"The Black Natives of this Colony have for the last few weeks manifested a strange hostility towards the up-country settlers, and in killing and driving away their cattle, more than has been witnessed since the settling of the Colony"

Yet such acts clearly were reprisals for ill treatment received Indeed, in 1817 Governor Sorell was compelled to issue a proclamation against base outrages on the persons of aborigines.

The worst enemies of those natives were the white out laws, bushrangers They would tie natives to trees and use them as targets or drag off native women by force The natural result was reprisals on any white indiscriminately In 1824 a proclamation was issued against "settlers and others' who were massacring natives

The intermittent warfare however, continued.

Between 1927 and 1830 no less than twenty-one inquests were held on whites murdered by natives.

In 1830 appeared George Augustus Robinson, who undertook a mission of conciliation By tireless efforts and consummate tact—he went unarmed and alone among hostile natives—he achieved what was practically the cessation of a war

However, the ultimate doom of the native Tasmanian race was now inevitable It was decided to remove all the aborigines from the main island to one of the islets in Bass Strait "Chief Justice Pedder protested vigorously against the proposed scheme of transportation. He declared it to be an un Christian attempt to destroy the whole race for once taken from their old haunts, they would, he believed all die. Sir John Pedder, in after years saw the fulfilment of his prophecy"

From one islet to another the few remaining natives were shipped, being settled at last on the Great (or Flinders) Island a barren spot, where they died off quickly In 1847 only forty four remained twelve men, twenty two women and ten children These were removed to a better district—but too late

In February, 1869 the last Tasmanian man died—William Lanne In May, 1876, died Truganina, the last woman

Thus, in 104 years a whole race had been exterminated



Kumar H rendra Narayan of Sera kella repre ent ng a hun er n a Chau dance rehear al





Sj Ramnarayan of tl e Menaka troupe

S mati Menaka

These dancers from Ind a ha e made a uccessful to r of Italy this year





Madonna n p a r S SAFERR TO Sunfl we s VAN GOG I
Ca cu a Un e y w I soon n odu e Art as a subj c n he Ma cula on Exam na on These
two pa n ngs among o hers are pre cr bed for s udy n the syllabus

It is not our contention here that the scheme under consideration has been mischievously devised to wheedle a whole nation but that it requires to be released from the grip of people who are essentially politically minded Quick results may be necessary in other fields of human endeavour, but never so in education Politics is an organisation which is the playground of human qualities that make man feel that he is but a link in the great chain of Nature s exhibits, and hence there must be occasions when it should be a little enlightened by considerations other than merely natural Education alone is the great source of such light, and as such in the hurry and frenzy of political, communal or even religious passion it should not be allowed to be the mere handmaid of any mere Time spirit

Heramba Chandra Maitra

Though vehemently opposed to students meddling in politics and getting entangled in its sordid squabbles, when they actually got into trouble through indiscretion or exuberant enthusiasm they had no doughtier champion to fight for them than Dr Maitra Writes Principal Suresh Chandra Ray in the *City College Magazine*

In politics Dr Heramba Chanda Maitra belonged to what was known as the Moderate party It is not known who was responsible for this atrociously uncouth nomenclature But the term as descriptive of Dr Maitra is singularly inappropriate A single instance will prove the intensity of his political emotionalism The incident happened at the time when the non co-operation movement was at its height, when non-co-operation was of the thoroughbred class, not the knock kneed hybrid of later times, a nondescript cross between co-operation and non co-operation Lord Ronaldshay was then Governor of Bengal. Picketing had been declared unlawful Hundreds courted prosecution and were sent to jail And the jails became full Then the order went forth that picketers were to be dispersed by force and not sent to jail Soldiers were posted at the crossing of Harrison Road and College Street The inevitable call for sacrifice came upon our students and large numbers of them came forward to offer themselves as *lathi fodder* It was a sickening sight, and one evening Dr Maitra saw it He was coming down College Street on his way home from a meeting of the University He was an old man and a "Moderate" but the sight which he saw at the crossing caused his blood to boil, and with the rash indiscretion of a young man of 16 whose indignation has been roused he strode up to the military picket thundering at what they were doing A British Tommy on duty knows no God other than his officer in command, and the inevitable consequence followed. He was assaulted and fell down The sequence is well known history and need not be repeated The incident has been recalled merely for a correct understanding of the character of Dr Maitra and his political "moderation"

The next morning the citizens of Calcutta found that the military picket had been taken away For days people, mostly students, had been kicked and caned and in the press there had been much spilling of furious ink but to no purpose, it was the assault on Dr Maitra that did the trick. The action taken by Lord Ronaldshay—it was at his personal intervention that the soldiers had been removed—was a recognition of the peculiar position of Dr Maitra in the public life of Bengal As a politician neither he nor his party counted for much in those days, but as a personality in the world of religion and education he was held in high regard both by the public and the official world

The Art of Criticism

The wrong impression that criticism is inferior to creation because it does not deal directly with the facts of life, but concerns itself only with books and is therefore a parasitic art, will be removed, when we recognize that if all beauty is the sphere of literature, the masterpieces of great minds are undoubtedly suitable subjects for such treatment In the course of his article on the art of criticism Principal P Sheshadri observes

It is possible to indicate the aims and nature of criticism by reference to what some experts in the art have said

One of the most attractive and striking statements on the subject is that of Anatole France, who says in his *Life and Letters* that "literary criticism consists of the adventures of a soul among the masterpieces of the world" If it is felt that this definition is vague, though beautiful, attention may be invited to Walter Pater s observation, that criticism is a threefold process, perceiving beauty, disengaging beauty and expressing beauty There is not much chance of success in the Art of Criticism, if a man s soul is dead to beauty, there are some in whom the chord is never touched in the manner necessary for even one s own private appreciation not to speak of communication to others. Disengaging beauty, again is a process somewhat akin to the isolation of the microbe by the investigator in medicine, if one may borrow such a simile from the scientific world of today There is of course, the third quality, which is the consummation of all, the capacity to express the ideas in artistic forms, without which no literature can exist

The difficulties in a complete realization of this triple ideal of Walter Pater are obvious It is not everybody whose mind and soul are attuned to all aspects of beauty in form and in spirit As Anatole France has said elusiveness is one of the essential qualities of beauty and as it does apply to literature also, there is the difficulty of being able to grasp its essence. What Matthew Arnold has called "the incommunicable elements of literary work" are things rather difficult of analysis and exposition The language suitable for criticism has to combine in itself a fine sense of intellectual balance with charm of expression which is not easy of achievement We have critics like Swinburne for instance who are carried away by the rush of their own eloquence, "intoxicated by the exuberance of their own verbosity" as Disraeli would have said and at the other extreme, we have a large number of textbook writers, whom we ruthlessly impose on our students and who seem to have a profound capacity for stifling all literary taste

The good critic enables the readers to take increased interest in the work by pointing out its numerous beauties not unmindful, at the same time, of its blemishes

The critic s work has been rightly characterized as twofold, interpretation as well as judgment. The world is not likely to wait with folded hands and bated breath for the judgment of a critic unless he happens to be an eminent master like Goethe or Sainte-Beuve With a growing literary democracy, this attitude of reverence is

rapidly disappearing and, perhaps, it would be wiser to lay more stress on the interpretative aspect of literature The good critic has a keener sense of beauty than the average reader His judgment is regulated by his extensive study of literature and knowledge of the essential principles of success in the art of writing His powers of analysis are more acute and he is also capable of more detached and dispassionate judgment He has also a better command of the apparatus of expression necessary for critical comment His usefulness, therefore, depends on the extent to which he has acquired these qualities and has utilized them in his work

Sarat Chendra Chattopadhyaya

Satya Bhushan Sen writes about the distinguished novelist, Sarate Chandra Chattopadhyaya, and his place in Bengali literature in *The Educational Review*

Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the greatest (barring of course Rabindra Nath Tagore) literary figure of present-day Bengal died on the 16th January 1938 Sarat Chandra was pre-eminently a novelist and as a novelist he was the most popular of all authors in spite of Tagore His rise to fame was almost meteoric he appeared on the literary horizon of Bengal when Tagore was shining in his midday effulgence and just got universal recognition by the award of the Nobel Prize During the quarter of a century since then Sarat Chandra has held novel readers spell bound.

The present day Bengali novel owes its origin to Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. The successive production of so many novels at the hands of this mighty man added force and gave a definite mould to the literary prose which he had brought into being Here the genius of Bankim stands unrivalled

After Bankim came Rabindra Nath Tagore

Tagore literature is meant to include his inimitable short stories where Tagore stands comparison with the best authors of all climes and ages

Sarat Chandra came in at the full flood of Tagore. But in spite of the influence of Tagore he was able to carve out a distinct and distinguished career for himself

Sarat Chandra drew his inspiration and his materials from the social life of the people Tagore had also largely used the same materials. Yet there was a difference between Tagore and Sarat Chandra Tagore in literature was not wanting in sympathy for the people, but he used to view the life of the people with the outlook of a philosopher and give expression to his ideas about them with the mind of a poet.

In literature Sarat Chandra's philosophy of life takes cognisance of the fact that in spite of the sin and frailties so common to men, man cannot go so low as to be beyond redemption, and he seems to have taken upon himself the task of reclaiming the essential manliness inherent in each man in spite of his sin and worthlessness.

The genius of Tagore is of course without parallel but with the mass of novel readers Sarat Chandra was even more popular than Tagore. The secret behind this phenomenal truth was admirably brought out by Sarat Chandra himself when one of his acquaintances interviewed him. The gentleman seemed rather jubilant over it when he asked, "How is it that Tagore is very often so unintelligible to us, and we have to exert our brains about it, whereas your works are as clear as anything and come to us as natural as food and water?" Sarat Chandra was as prompt and natural in his reply as perhaps his interviewer did not even expect. He said in reply, "The reason is not far to seek, no wonder that Tagore literature is so frequently not intelligible to you because Tagore literature is in fact not intended for you at all Tagore writes not for you, average readers, but for us who are authors, and it is we who write for average readers like yourself".

But after all Sarat Chandra though so widely appreciated in Bengal is, unlike Tagore, hardly known to the outside world, because only a few of Sarat Chandra's books have ever been translated into English and only one or two were translated into French

The Peking Man

In the course of an article on "China and the Dawn of Asiatic Culture", in *The Calcutta Review*, Dr Kalidas Nag gives an interesting description of the discovery of *The Peking Man*.

A most remarkable event in the study of Asiatic prehistory was the first scientific symposium held in the auditorium of the Medical High School in Peking in honour of the visit of the Crown Prince of Sweden (October 1926) The most sensational communication was from Zdansky saying that working on the Chau K'ou tien material he had found a molar and a premolar teeth of a creature resembling a human being Dr Grabau named this hominid the *Peking Man* and a systematic study of the same was organised by the Geological Survey of China in co-operation with the Peking Union Medical College and the Rockefeller Foundation Dr Black examined several prehistoric teeth and placed beyond all doubts the hominid character of this new genus *Sinanthropus* with the species name of *Pekinensis* In 1928 Mr Li who was collaborating with Dr Bohlin (discoverer of an important tooth) was assisted by Dr. C. C Young and W C Pei in the excavation of the cave and they brought back to Peking the richest harvest of prehistoric materials from the bone-bearing deposit of the cave Up to 1929 they worked for 64 weeks bringing 1485 cases of their collections Mr W C Pei who conducted operations at the cave in the autumn, of 1929, discovered the most complete Sinanthropus skull On this epoch-making discovery Dr. Black published a beautifully illustrated monograph. "An adolescent skull of Sinanthropus Pekinensis" (*Palaeontologia Sinica* Vol VII, 1931) The two brilliant Chinese scholars, C C. Young and W C Pei directed the excavation in 1930 31, making some of the most important anthropological discoveries

Thus the Choukoutien Deposits came to revolutionize the whole theory of the earliest history of man

Eminent scientists like Elliot Smith discussed "The significances of the Peking Man" (Edinburgh 1931). So Sir Arthur Keith, in his "New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man," devoted three chapters to the Peking Man. They substantially agreed with Black who, after exhaustive comparison between the skulls from Java and from Peking came to the following conclusion "Whereas Pithecanthropus is a highly specialised, not to say in certain respects degenerate type, Sinanthropus is a remarkable combination of highly original and purely modern features." Black sums up its characteristics by saying that Sinanthropus is a generalised and progressive type, closely related to the original type of hominidae which was the prototype not only of the Neanderthal man and the South African fossil human races, but also of the modern *Homo Sapiens* The Neanderthal race is now

Italy has not yet forgotten the sanctions" declared Signor Mussolini after Herr Hitler's departure from a visit She has forgotten the world might conclude, only a recent document that she signed—the Anglo Italian Pact In the same speech however Il Duce had deigned to assure Mr Neville Chamberlain It is our intention to respect the Anglo-Italian Agreement scrupulously Scruples however are not a dictatorial virtue and this profession of it certainly all accords with the Dictator's resentful reference to the sanctions or his reminder Mr Neville Chamberlain's last speech was a recognition of the power of Italy" or with the concluding threat In an ideological war the authoritarian states must march solidly forward

After the Anglo Italian Agreement

This is no doubt hard on Mr Chamberlain and his new babe—the Anglo Italian Agreement It is proving still born Secretly the British had calculated that the Austrian adventure of Hitler must cool off the Italian fervour for the friend appearing now on the Brenner The Anglo Italian agreement coming in its wake would tilt the Berlin-Rome axis' Britain hoped, against Berlin Rome of course could not be accused of encouraging this idea But, the British Cabinet certainly expected a new turn in the diplomatic alignment as is evidenced by the references from the British press Certainly, they had a claim on Mussolini to be spared the humiliation that the Dictator's references to Mr Chamberlain's speech involved The Premier has been always so considerate In the House of Commons when the Agreement was drawing on itself the criticism of the opposition Mr Chamberlain stated that the "settlement" in Spain was a pre requisite of recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia Pressed by Mr Attlee, the Premier refused to define what he meant by 'settlement' "I cannot tell the House even when this protocol and annex will come into force No doubt, the situation will clear itself up as time goes on"

This is truly wise of the British Premier Situation always clears up as time goes on—either it worsens or it improves it simply peters out or remains where it was, steady and static Anyway, the Premier's proposition showing that noble resignation to the inexorable decree of time cannot be contested And time already is clearing up the show The Fuhrer arrived in Italy to receive a royal welcome, reviewed the Italian manoeuvres and returned with the friendship repaired and perhaps a totalitarian future course of action discussed and decided Has the Berlin Rome axis any way weakened? Time proves otherwise So long as the two 'Have nots' stand to gain more by their united march against the Haves they are likely to tolerate each other agreeing on the comparatively minor matters of differing interests So, the Anglo Italian Agreement still waits to come into operation and the Franco Italian talk for a negotiation favoured by the British, could not get really a start and time proves now that Italy with a renewed faith in the Führer's alliance would move away from it on the plea of the pro Governmental leanings of the French in the Spanish war The British Premier may have declined to define what the 'settlement' according to the Agreement meant, but Mussolini has interpreted it as nothing short of a victory of General Franco and time is bound to show this to be the acceptable interpretation to Britain as well

Abyssinia "Liquidated"

In the League Council, meanwhile, time was taking its vengeance Lord Halifax moved, according to the Agreement, for recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia Only Russia and three others lacked this 'spirit of realism' and tuck to the old spirit of 'sanction' Yet to believe a French paper, Abyssinia is far from being thoroughly subjugated, as the following letter from the Duke of Aosta to Mussolini, quoted in the local European press shows

"The situation is really terrible Italy's influence extends only within gunshot and no further The whole of the 6 000 000 natives are absolutely hostile Within 80 kilometres of each Italian garrison the Ethiopian Races are live just as they did before the war We lack everything the natives refuse to sell anything to the Italians having no longer any confidence in the paper money we offer them The only money in which they have any confidence is the Maria Therea thaler The result is that the natives refuse to come to the markets frequented by the Italians, it would cost too much and be too dangerous to send bodies of police against them. Italian financiers in spite of the press re of the Duce have so far only invested 150 000,000 francs in Ethiopia a sum which is altogether insufficient. Much more is necessary, it must be found at once in view of this situation many Blackshirts, who had meant to settle down as colonists in the country have decided to return to Italy, where they spread most angry stories among their parents and friends If a European war broke out we should be chased from the country in a few weeks.

The dark land of the Ethiopians offers an interesting commentary on the international history of the era and on the paradoxical politics

The Czechoslovak Crisis

The quick development of the Czechoslovak crisis in the third week of May, however has eclipsed the Chinese war and the Japanese victories temporarily There at last Europe is facing the inevitable catastrophe which it may be difficult to be postponed

For some time the world eagerly speculated what the Dictators meeting in Rome decided Will Trieste the former Austro Hungarian port be returned to the Reich for a freer hand promised in the Mediterranean to Italy by the Fuhrer? The Spanish position must have been reviewed and so also the Central European and more particularly the Czechoslovakian situation Everyone was curious for the Dictators really dictate today in their own land as well as in others in European politics as a rule Other nations only propose Hitler and Mussolini dispose Britain and France—France can now a days be always bracketed with Britain—proposed some days ago a solution for example of the question that challenges the Central European republic It must have been one of appeasement—the Chamberlain line of solution But Berlin would not appreciate these good offices of Britain The Sudeten Deutsch was no concern of the islanders Hitler disposed of these British attempts in God like silence and with God like disregard His plans were already maturing While Herr Henlein the leader of the Sudeten Deutsch Party was in London explaining to Hitler's British critics the reasonableness of the Sudeten German claims the municipal elections in Czechoslovakia to come off in the last week of May and to be followed in June by the Czech election were raising the Czech German tension into a crisis The Nazis cannot tolerate many things—least of all an election or a plebiscite unless conducted by them to shew up their majority So in Sudeten Germany riots are breaking out scuffles occur, while German troop movements explained to be usual are reported on the frontier For, has not the Reich a responsibility for protecting the Germans in a State which is failing to give the fundamental guarantee of safety to its people (the same plea it may be remembered that was put forward on the eve of the Schuschnigg plebiscite and was proved to be 'false from A to Z')? M Hodza the Czech Premier in the deepening crisis has come forward with the maximum of concessions an 'autonomous administration" for the region as far as permitted by the Czech constitution But concessions will be no longer enough Henlein Party invited to a negotiation to ease the position declined to meet the Government Hitler is again at Berchtesgaden and knows the value of the other tension that has been created over the Spanish question between Italy and France,—necessarily diverting the attention at the psychological moment of the Western Powers particularly France from the Czech situation to the Pyrenees—a planned diversion perhaps to keep the Mediterranean powers engaged while the Czech tension reaches the climax that the Dictator wants Things are moving quickly in and around Czechoslovakia On the Carpathian troops have been massed the Polish and Hungarian minorities are not forgotten by the respective people and Hitler is the model for all in the art of the solution of questions Prague in reply has also called for the reservists to be trained in the use of new arms For Czechoslovakia a temporary solution may be available if as a price for the Fuhrer's grace, in addition to autonomy promised to the German minority the Soviet alliance is repudiated The ultimate logical consequence of it would certainly be a hegemony of the Reich over the country The coming weeks may prove decisive and the British Foreign Office is waiting to see how time clears up the situation

French Dilemma

France under M Daladier is now incapable of having any effective voice on the Czechoslovakian position Mussolini is cross with her The Quai d'Orsay looks to the British Foreign Office for its policy and measures and even the last of the appeals of the Spanish Republicans when Italian troops and arms were gaining for Franco important victories had to be turned down by the Fronte Populaire Government of M Blum M Daladier his successor is known to be dependent on Britain for his policy So, France it appeared was to agree with Britain in refusing arms to the Republicans and, was thus to be a party to her encirclement by the Fascist powers Beyond the Pyrenees it was known, chains of aerodromes had sprung up in the insurgent territories the complete control of which were in the hands of the Germans and Italians M Daladier and the French military staff discussed with Britain the defence plans of the two countries and the consultation reached a decision of great value on all branches of defence—land and sea and air This is a distinct gain for France but certainly not in itself of such magnitude as to warrant France to leave Spain to her fate or rather to Hitler-Mussolini Franco Supplies it appeared, therefore, trickled through

East, Middle East and Europe are already too big to leave room for playing the old 'die hard' in India any more now At the same time in Palestine, the air-way station of great strategic importance to the Empire, the Arabs must be held in leash In Mexico, the oil interests of the British capitalist are too sacred to be handed over to the pink' Cardenas regime, and diplomatic relations are therefore, broken off Were Mexico so strong the expro priation would have to be tamely accepted as was done when the British oil interests in Manchukuo were thrown out, or when to the Pehlavi s terms the Anglo Iranian Oil Company silently sub mitted At home, while the armament programme requires to be fulfilled within as short a time as possible the Amalgamated Engineering Union, on their experience of the past, refuse to be enthusiastic over longer hours as future security of employment is not guaranteed and the present unemployment of its members is not reduced The Air Ministry itself was to come in for criticism in the House from the Opposition and Government Party as well for its failure to satisfy the demands of the times The Cabinet has been reshuffled to quieten and still that criticism dropping the Air Secretary, Lord Swinton and the Colonial Secretary Lord Harlech The 'mediocrity of the British foreign policy' thus is as patent as the inefficiency of the heads of the Government to carry through even an urgent programme of national defence in so vital a branch

It is pertinent to inquire why this confusion and confusion reign in British life and thought today The cause has to be searched for in many fields, but delving deeper and deeper the conclusion becomes irresistible that inherent in British imperialism lies hidden the seeds of anomalies, the conflicts and contradictions that the system generates in its working cut across the policies of its old Parties, and that ultimately will drive it to a war and di aster

The British Foreign Secretary

It is in irony of fate that the man most sincerely desirous of peace, Lord Halifax, should unconsciously serve as the instrument of the War God to pave the blood-red path It is but another paradox of the period In an Empire with democratic traditions, in a people with rooted faith in 'ordered progress,' and believing its super-profits and dividends to be somehow the return of its muddled idealism, and a prize for its spiritual integrity,—a man like Lord Halifax alone could fulfil the purpose of history, leading to war and Fascism, inch by inch through peace and democracy Mr Harold Laski's analysis of the man and the moment is worth remembrance and helpful to understand the position as we read it from the U S A press

'Lord Halifax who has now taken charge of the Foreign Office for the time b ing, has many private virtues which endear him to his friends He is deeply religious he is an ardent lover of country life, he comes from a family in which for three generations, the tradition of public service has been profound

Lord Halifax belongs to a class that is, I think, peculiarly English in outlook He is kind and gentle in manner He is always prepared for compromise on un essentials. He is the perfect country gentleman He gives the impres ion that his political life is something external to his real interest Just as Earl Baldwin would have wished—but for the call of duty—to cultivate his garden, just as Sir Edward Grey always longed for his birds, so Lord Halifax has assured us that he would rather be Master of Foxhounds than Prime Minister But the call of duty is too peremptory to be denied His friends think him indispensable to the party so that, for its sake, he cannot avoid the invitation to serve"

Professor Laski believes that Lord Halifax is the most influential man in England with regard to English foreign policy, which means the foreign policy upon which European democracy must depend He wishes to preserve peace at any cost no matter if Austria, Spain, China, Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union and other States are all sacrificed—even European democracy itself He fears that war would bring socialism Hence, he prefers anything to war, even a victorious war, which might bring radicalism in its train

'This makes Lord Halifax a perfect mark for the diplomatic duplicity and territorial aggression of Hitler and Mussolini'

That Hitler and Mussolini regard the world as an artichoke that they can eat as they wish he does not for a moment contemplate That solemn engagements have no meaning for them he is not prepared to recognize That they look upon Great Britain as the final enemy, to be destroyed when they have a Fascist Europe under their heel does not occur to him They will play with them just so long as it suits their purpose He will be their willing tool assuming always that the finer their words the more sincere are their intentions.

"In the end, Lord Halifax is likely to wind up with Fascism and defeat, which might be even worse than socialism and victory He is likely to sell both British and world democracy down the river

Lord Halifax is a grave danger to peace in Europe, because he has no notion how intimate is the interdependence between peace and democratic institutions. All his gestures will be noble gestures All his words will be pacific words But piece by piece he will surrender the fortresses of democracy He will betray them all like a gentleman He will carry us over to what is effectively the Fascist camp in the simple faith that he is fighting the battle of democracy

22 5-'38



Herr Hitler after the *anschluss* (*i.e.* after the annexation of Austria)



The niece of Field Marshall Goering greeting Herr Hitler after his return to Berlin from the Austrian tour. The Field Marshall also is seen in the picture



Herr Hitler after the *anschluss* (*i.e.*, after the annexation of Austria)



The niece of Field-Marshall Goering greeting Herr Hitler after his return to Berlin from the Austrian tour. The Field-Marshall also is seen in the picture



Enthusiastic reception given everywhere to Herr Hitler while he was travelling through German Austria after the *anschluss*



Herr Hitler speaking in Vienna when he proclaimed the annexation of Austria to Germany

capture the hearts of their husbands Moreover, they did not possess the accomplishments of their rivals These came upon the scene in the full bloom of their youthful charms and with all their accomplishments, and had an easy victory

The subject is sickening and unsavoury We do not wish to dwell upon it longer

In all these cases the men too were guilty

No honourable married young man ought to pose as a bachelor—particularly when mixing with young unmarried women If any such young man finds the least sign of having attracted the favourable attention of an unmarried woman he ought to make it known at once in some way or other that he is married and avoid her company

Far from trying to capture the heart of a married man unmarried women ought to take all possible care to avoid consciously or unconsciously attracting or being attracted towards them

In spite of Islam not prohibiting polygamy it has been made illegal in Turkey Perhaps in India too polygamy will be made illegal for Hindus Moslems and others for whom it is not yet illegal But in the meantime our legislators ought not to enact any new marriage laws which do not prohibit polygamy and they should amend those new laws already passed mentioned above in such a way as to prevent the validation of polygamous husband snatching

Tagore's Works in European Languages

In his very interesting and informative book of lectures *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny* Mr C Y Chintamani writes

> I did not see a bookstall at railway stations in England France Germany or Belgium where the works of Tagore in the languages of the respective countries are not stocked A Norwegian gentleman with whom I happened to go from Paris to Versailles told me that Tagore's name was a household word in Norway and that he himself had read translations in his mother tongue of all his important works. He remarked to me that the people of India must be the best educated in the world When I told him that illiteracy was the badge of the tribe in our country, he exclaimed in wonder What the countrymen of Tagore to be illiterate! Incredible!"

Are Indian Monthly Reviews Politically Insignificant?

In every chapter of the book mentioned in the foregoing note Mr Chintamani has something to say on the press, and in the last chapter he has quoted 'the following observations of an honoured and veteran publicist on the position of the press and of government's manipulation of it"

> In a modern community the newspaper is an essential part of government of the people "The press might get on with out politics but politics cannot get on without the press Governments themselves have been among the worst Tenders in the manipulation of the press and to increase their control would be the means of extinguishing their rivals and making the rest their tools

So in treating of the subject of Indian politics since the Mutiny the author has properly devoted some space to the activities of the press

The question is what is meant by the press It may be that only the dailies and the weeklies constitute the press But periodicals like monthly reviews are also subject to the press laws Many of them also have had to deposit considerable amounts as security They also are recipients of the kind attentions of Government press officers But all this may amount to a mere technical though unpleasant, recognition of the fact that these periodicals are a part of the press The real question is whether they influence the politics of a country in any way

Looking at Britain one finds that, not to speak of monthly reviews even quarterlies like the *Edinburgh Review* the *Quarterly Review*, etc have done much to develop and strengthen the political convictions of the people These and monthly reviews like the *Nineteenth Century and After* the *Contemporary Review*, the *Fortnightly* are devoted to critical comments on public events and literature they are influential and these publications are much quoted " (*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, 1926) The *Edinburgh Review* ceased publication in 1929 The *Quarterly* and *Blackwood* came out as its rivals soon after its publication "These three journals together maintained the political and literary note of the founders, the political predominating" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition) Mentioning the important British monthlies, the same Encyclopaedia states that the *Nineteenth Century* took the foremost place in the political and literary field'

We do not in the least suggest any comparison between British and Indian periodicals We know India is not Britain and the Indian press and Indian politics are different from the British press and British politics What we suggest is that, just as British periodicals are not without their influence on politics merely because they are periodicals, so it is possible that Indian periodicals too, may have to a slight extent either reflected or moulded the political ideas of their readers, or done both

It is intriguing to find that, though

Congress should become a practically Hindu body, that the Moslem League should be the only organization having Moslem members, that there should be a coalition between Congress and the Moslem League *on his terms*, and that this coalition party should prevail upon or force the British Government to do only that which he wants or at least not to do what he disapproves of

As Congress is not likely to commit political suicide as a national organization by acceding to this reported demand of Shri Jinnah it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further

Another demand of his is said to be that there should be a larger number of Muslim ministers in the cabinets of Congress provinces and that these Muslim ministers are to be nominated by the Moslem League that is by Shri Jinnah We think only the ablest men among the elected members of the provincial legislatures should be appointed ministers irrespective of their creed race or caste But as a matter of expediency and policy and by way of compromise Congress may agree as it has already agreed to have a certain number of Muslims in the cabinets —it may agree even to increase their number But why should it and how can it agree to their being nominated by the Moslem League? It should not and cannot so long as it retains its formal national character and does not divest itself of that character

Of course as in many other matters so in the choice of the Muslim members of the Congress provincial cabinets Congress has practically yielded to Moslem communal feeling by choosing only those persons as Muslim ministers who were the nominees of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad

If Congress were to accede to the Moslem League's (or Shri Jinnah's) demand that Muslim ministers must be nominated by the League, the question might be asked why similarly the Hindu ministers were not to be nominated by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal, or the Varnashram Swarajya Sangha, or by them all jointly But, though Congress is for the abolition of untouchability, perhaps all those Hindu bodies are untouchable—there must be no contact with them no recognition of them Congress is the Brahmana among all Hindu(?) organizations others are Pariahs! Is that so? Our idea is different. Congress is a national organization It includes all *races*, religious communities castes and classes Therefore it is competent to negotiate with the Moslem League, as well as with Hindu bodies That it does not do so with the latter does not prove that it is a mere Hindu body But Shri Jinnah looks upon it only as *a* (not *the*) Hindu organization He cannot be blamed For if Congress wanted to behave like a *national* organization and to be looked upon as such in arriving at any decision on any question of national importance it ought to have arrived at its decision either without consulting any communal body or leader or after consulting all the principal communal bodies or leaders It has not adopted the former course Therefore it ought to have adopted the latter that is it ought to have consulted all the principal communal bodies or leaders But it is consulting the leader of only one organization of only one community

Another demand of Shri Jinnah is reported to be that Congress must give up direct and indirect propaganda in favour of Hindi being made the national language of India Here Congressmen (and non Congress men, too) may put him the question Will you and other Mussalmans discontinue direct and indirect propaganda in favour of Urdu? As Shri Jinnah wants everything relating to the Mussalman community even its politics, to be the exclusive concern of the Moslem League why does he want to dictate what non Moslems should or should not do? He wants to reduce Congress practically to the position of a Hindu organization and to make it practically admit that it is one If so why will he *not allow it to* exercise its freedom as a Hindu body? Why will he not allow it to decide either in favour of Hindi or Urdu as the national language? We do not mean to say that these are the only two possible alternatives Even *Azad* a Bengali organ of Bengali Mussalmans (who are the largest provincial Moslem group in India), wants Bengali to be made the national language But that is only by the way

Shri Jinnah is reported to have put forward many other demands But we will notice only one more He wants *Bande Mataram* even *in its mutilated form* to be given up as a national song of India As in the case of the demand discussed in the previous paragraph, so in the case of this it may be asked, if Congress is to be looked upon and to look upon itself as a Hindu organization why it should not be free to use *Bande Mataram* in its entirety or in part as a or the national song of India

Evidently Shri Jinnah wants freedom for *himself and his organization* but would deny it to others—which is a characteristic of dictators and despots

Alleged Congress Terms Offered to Shri Jinnah

Two of the terms said to have been offered to Shri Jinnah by Mahatma Gandhi are that all members of the Moslem League should sign the Congress creed and pledge themselves practically become Congress members as well and that the Moslem League should wholeheartedly participate in the Congress struggle for freedom including opposition to the Government scheme of Federation

There is nothing new substantially in these terms At the so called Round Table Conference in London Mahatma Gandhi promised to give the Moslems a blank cheque provided that they joined the Congress in the national struggle for freedom But that condition was not accepted So the blank cheque remains in the cheque-book of the Naked Faquir—it has not been torn off and delivered to the Moslems to be filled in by them

Will Shri Jinnah accept Gandhiji's terms now? Will the Moslem League and other Moslem organizations? One does not know—cannot guess

But suppose Shri Jinnah does accept them will Gandhiji and will Congress give up opposition to the Communal Decision (very lukewarm opposition amounting almost to acceptance though it be) which Shri Jinnah and the bulk of Musalmans want to remain intact?

We do not know But this we do know that Hindu India outside Congress Hindu India will never be reconciled to the Communal Decision This Hindu India outside Congress Hindu India is not at present as organized an entity as Congress—Hindu India But Congress acceptance of the Communal Decision will go a great way to generate the heat necessary to fuse this India into one whole But organized or unorganized, there are men in this Hindu India who are prepared to fight the Communal Decision to their dying day

Mr P R Das on Bengali Bihari Question

Mr P R Das has been dealing with the Bengali-Bihari question in a statesmanlike manner He has raised the question to the high plane of Indian nationalism In the course of his speech delivered at the Ranchi Union Club Hall on the 23rd May last he said

> "It has been suggested to me that I should claim the right of a minority community in Bihar I wholly deny that politically the Bengalees form a community in Bihar Politically we are all Indians, and I contend that no ministry has any power to exclude us by reason only of the fact that we are Bengalees."

But some of them are being excluded solely on that ground Let us take a flagrant instance cited by Mr P R Das in the course of his ably argued and soberly worded speech Said he

> I am going to give you one instance to illustrate the principle upon which the Bihar Ministry is working Ramkrishna Mukherji was a candidate for a post in the office of the Conservator of Forests Bihar There is no doubt whatever that he is a native of this province He also took the precaution of arming himself with a domicile certificate There was no doubt whatever that he was the best candidate and that he was strongly supported by Mr Owden the Conservator of Forests His application was turned down by the Government I am informed that Mr Owden wrote a special letter to the Government and pointed out that Ramkrishna was the best candidate and that he was a native of the province although he bore a Bengali name To this Mr Owden received the following reply, a copy of which was forwarded to Ramkrishna. The reply was as follows —
>
> "With reference to your letter No. 7978 dated the 2nd March 1938, I am directed to refer to the Government orders conveyed in this department letter No. 749/R, dated the 31st December 1937 and to say that Babu Ramkrishna Mukherjee is a Bengalee and as far as his appointment in your office is concerned it is immaterial whether he is a native of Manbhum or domiciled therein As already admitted by you there is undue preponderance of Bengalees in your office and further appointment of Bengalees in your office (whether native or domiciled) until other communities had had their due representation is not desirable"
>
> I ask you to judge whether this is not petty communalism of a most aggravated kind and totally inconsistent with the Congress resolutions

Mr Das went on to put other questions

> I ask you who is communal? Remember provincialism is only another name for communalism Are we communal because we are protesting against appointment in public services on communal or provincial lines? Or is the Bihar Ministry communal in so far as it recognises the principle that different communities are entitled to representation in public services on communal lines? On behalf of the Bengali Association I demand the withdrawal of the Brett circular, the Houlton circular and the Owden circular I demand the withdrawal of these circulars not on narrow provincial ground but on national ground because the working of these circulars must inevitably prevent the growth of an Indian nation This is exactly what the great framers of the American Constitution foresaw and they took early steps to prevent the catastrophe.

Mr Das told his audience what exactly the framers and amenders of the American constitution did

> The great danger of Provincial Autonomy is the centrifugal force to which it gives birth The great men who devised the American Constitution were fully aware of this danger As you know there were different independent states in America before their union The great American Constitution while it left the existence of the different states untouched provided that the citizen of each state should be regarded as the citizen of the United States of America and must have equal rights and privileges in every other state Even this was not found

sufficient to prevent the fissiparous tendency in the different states and so by a celebrated amendment the Federal Assembly passed a law prohibiting the different states from passing discriminating legislation against the citizens of the other states It is upon this amendment that the great American nation was built and it is worthy of note that the Australians adopted this celebrated amendment as part of the Australian Constitution I humbly beseech the Prime Minister to study this amendment When Provincial Autonomy comes into existence there is a natural tendency to exclude those not of the Province on protective ground It is an unfortunate tendency but it is a natural tendency But once you regard those not of the province as foreigners you make it impossible for the growth of an Indian nation The genius of the American people solved the problem for the American Is India going to lag behind?'

The 'great danger' of provincial autonomy was foreseen by the members of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee And therefore in order to strike a blow at Indian unity they provided for provincial autonomy We have repeatedly quoted their exact words from their Report in support of our assertion

'As I understand the Congress viewpoint said Mr Das there is one people one nation one India and we are all the children of the Indian soil'

Duties go with rights If Bengalis in Bihar are equal citizens with Biharis they owe a duty to Bihar no less than the Biharis They have all along been comrades in arms with the Biharis Let them continue to do their duty to the province with undiminished—nay increased enthusiasm

Provincial and Communal Division of Occupations

Assignment of certain percentages of different occupations along provincial or communal lines is bad But if any such allotment is to be made, all occupations must be treated in this way This, however is impossible Central and provincial governments in India have not promulgated any rules as to what per cent of the people of any religious community or of any province are entitled to become skilled labourers, unskilled labourers artisans and mechanics of different kinds, followers of handicrafts of different kinds, peasants, traders, merchants, bankers, etc People of some provinces communities and classes have special aptitudes for some kind or other of these classes of occupations That there is no exclusive or restrictive law, regulation or rule about these occupations is greatly to their advantage, and it is justly so

Similarly there are other people of other provinces communities or classes who have an aptitude for Government office jobs or jobs in different Government departments What has been done by the Central Government and some Provincial Governments is to lay down that for them there is to be no open door to talent in these offices and departments but that they are to be either excluded or to have a very limited number of appointments

So Governments strike a blow at only these people of these provinces communities and classes' The plea is that all classes and communities must be duly represented, according to their population ratio in government departments and offices But are they proportionately represented among the total number of men qualified for these jobs by education? And why should not all classes and communities be proportionately represented in *all* occupations? Can any government undertake to see that they are? Obviously no government can

The net result is that there is free competition in some occupations whilst there is none in others This is highly unjust to those who are or make themselves fit for the latter, and cannot make for contentment and peace

It does not make for efficiency in the public services either or for national solidarity

Vernacular Medium in Orissa

We read in the papers that recently there was a conference in Cuttack to consider the question of the medium of instruction in schools There is no question that the mother-tongue of every child should be the medium through which it should be taught

> Opinions were expressed as to whether Oriya should be the only medium of instruction"

For Oriya children it should certainly be the only medium But for Bengali children Bengali should be the medium

Calcutta University recognizes all the principal languages of India—even some aboriginal languages But it is regrettable that in some provinces outside Bengal even some Congress nationalists" seek to deprive Bengali children of the human right of learning through their mother-tongue!

What is both tragic and amusing is that some Assamese and Oriya Congressmen who are enthusiastic in pushing the idea of teaching Hindi in Assam and Orissa schools (and they are rightly so) seem to be even more enthusiastic in seeing that Bengali should be excluded from their schools, though it would be difficult to find educated Assamese and Oriya gentlemen and ladies who do not understand Bengali and though Hindi is not so generally known in

India " Where has his lordship discovered this horde of human beings? The Government of India Act of 1935 does not know it There one reads of Hindus, Scheduled Castes Moslems Indian Christians, Sikhs Aborigines Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Labour Commerce But where are "the people of India?"

That "'the people of India" are nowhere mentioned or referred to in the Act that they have been deliberately divided and sub-divided that there are different grades of citizenship for Europeans Anglo-Indians Indian Christians Moslems Sikhs Scheduled Hindus 'Caste Hindus" Aborigines that there are separate electorates for artificially separated groups that there are varying degrees of weightage for *some non-Hindus and for the Indian States'* rulers and 'lightenage' for Hindus in some areas and that the people of the Indian States have been kept entirely without any franchise —are the contents of the 'unity' which the British Government has given to 'the people of India"

To be brought under a common subjection is a very precious kind of unity indeed

Lord Zetland spoke of united India playing a part as a member of the [British] *Commonwealth No such part is assigned to* her in the Act The expression Dominion Status was deliberately excluded therefrom

"Criminal Tribes" and "Scheduled Castes"

Christians it is said do not believe in caste But the British Government does

'Scheduled castes" are virtually asked to admit that they are an inferior people, in consideration of some illusory advantage given to a few of their members Some castes have been classed as "scheduled" in spite of their protests Some particular members of some scheduled caste may be intellectually morally physically and even complexionally superior to vast numbers of "caste Hindus", yet they must bear the badge of the tribe, "Scheduled"

The labelling of large numbers of people from generation to generation as "criminal tribes' is a very much greater offence against humanity than to label some as "scheduled castes" For the word "scheduled" has no moral *implication*, *"criminal" has* The very name acts as a dead weight upon the moral nature of its victims, hindering their moral growth No wonder there have been protests against the continuance of this offensive nomenclature It should be done away with

Kenya Land Reservation for Europeans

Mr Ishwardas, M L A, one of the members of the East African Delegation, who sailed for Kenya on the 25th May last, and Mr C F. Andrews have issued the following joint statement to the press

The announcement that an order in-council at Westminster and two bills in Kenya will be shortly introduced in respect to the Kenya highlands has brought to a head an issue of the gravest character The reservation of the highlands for Europeans was one of the main subjects of controversy in the Kenya conversations of 1923 and the Indian position has always been that there should be no racial discrimination whatever The Secretary of State, however has insisted on reserving the highlands for Europeans for what he has called "administrative purposes He has also given the assurance that there will be no change made in the legal position

Now in spite of the Colonial Secretary's assurance that the legal position would remain unchanged, there is in our opinion a practical certainty that these new Acts which are contemplated will finally take away the rights which both Indians and Africans have always claimed with regard to the highlands.

The issue is so vital that the question cannot be left open It appears to us, therefore, necessary, at the earliest possible moment, to send a deputation including prominent Indians, both from Kenya and India to meet the Colonial Secretary before he takes any final action

Such steps seem to us to be the only way in which the full weight of Indian opinion can be given on the spot at the present moment in London itself '—(*A P*)

That is a correct view

More Burma Rebellion Prisoners Released

Rangoon, May 24

A further batch of 25 Rebellion prisoners, who were recently transferred from Thayetmyo and Myingyan Jails to the Rangoon Central Jail, has been released

Five more prisoners have been granted conditional release and their release will be effected as soon as the necessary documents have been prepared and executed

Prior to their release the prisoners presented an address to the Hon'ble U Paw Tun, who accompanied by U Chit Maung, Judicial Secretary, visited the jail, and assured him that they would in future lead a peaceful life

U Naginda, who was confined in the Alipore Central Jail, arrived yesterday by the ss *Kawgola* under escort He was taken to the Rangoon Central Jail, where he was released

This *brings the total number* of Rebellion and political prisoners, who have been released to 62, while those, who have been granted conditional release, number 14 (*A P*)

Zanzibar Indian Association Congratulated On End of Clove Deadlock

The Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber have today sent the following cable to the Indian National Association, Zanzibar:

"Committee Indian Merchants' Chamber congratulate your Association on successful termination of clove deadlock. Your sacrifices for the cause you championed have

to an agreement with the league but it was impossible for the Congress to reduce itself to the level of a communal organization As regards the demand that Muslim Ministers should only come from the League the Congress took the stand that it was prepared to extend the present Congress ministries with a view to including representatives from the Muslim League but the demand that the present ministries should be dismissed and new ones formed was not acceptable The Congress did not ask for any representation in the Punjab and Bengal Ministries but only stated what it was prepared to do in Congress Provinces Mr Jinnah then wanted time to consult the League Council before he proceeded any further

It appears that during Mr Gandhi's last interview with Mr Jinnah Mr Jinnah expressed a desire that until the negotiation concluded the Congress flag should not be made to fly on public buildings There was also some talk regarding the singing of "Bande Mataram" (*AP*)

Assuming that the above is a faithful summary of the conversations between the two leaders one is at once struck with Shri Jinnah's characteristic unwillingness to give anything in writing How can he possibly do so until he has the advantage of adding fresh points to his fourteen or twenty one already before the public?

Shri Jinnah wants Congress to settle terms with him on behalf of the Hindus recognizing him as the representative of the Muslimans' So Congress must submit that it is a mere Hindu communal organization and that the Moslem League alone represents the Moslem community Two patent falsehoods are to be embodied in the preamble before Shri Jinnah can proceed further

At his bidding all Congress ministries are to be reformed and the Muslim members thereof must be nominees of the Moslem League A rather tall order

As regards the alleged Congress reply we do not find it possible to praise the willingness of the Congress to enlarge the present Congress ministries in order to take in Muslaman members nominated by the Moslem League that is by Shri Jinnah

In the first place who will pay these additional members? Not certainly the Congress leaders The present number of ministers is in all provinces quite sufficient for the conduct of provincial state affairs—in some there is a superfluity of ministers, and the coffers of no provincial government are full to overflowing Has Congress any moral right to waste the tax payers' money even to a small extent to satisfy Shri Jinnah?

In the second place, it being well known that the Moslem League is not the sole representative of the Moslem community, supposing Congress agreed to take in some additional Muslim members as ministers, where is the guarantee that some other Moslem organization new or old, will not demand a similar concession on its behalf? Oliver Twist has had many reincarnations and may have yet more

As regards the Congress flag, it was extremely merciful of Shri Jinnah that he demanded only a temporary and provisional, not a permanent discontinuance of its flying on public buildings and that he did not demand the flying of the Moslem League flag in lieu of or in addition to it

Regarding the singing of Bande Mataram we have nothing to add to what we have already written

The demand that in the preamble it should be stated that Congress was entering into the agreement on behalf of the Hindu community as its representative was perhaps also meant to undermine the position of the Hindu Mahasabha as the principal organization of the Hindu community

It need not be made plain that Shri Jinnah does not want one united Indian nation or people but two main separate nations

It may be observed here incidentally that it may be that Congress has not hitherto consulted the Hindu Mahasabha with regard to any Hindu Moslem unity agreement not because it is hostile towards it or considers it of no account, but only to avoid complicating matters further A *Moslem* League is trouble enough why invite fresh trouble by consulting Hindus Christians Sikhs etc also? That may be the feeling of Congress leaders

Congress Working Committee and the Frontier "Teacher Abductor"

The public cannot have forgotten the case of the Frontier teacher Abdullah Shah who was concerned in the abduction of the girl Ram Kuar and who has been reinstated by the Frontier ministry in his post of teacher The Congress Working Committee had this case under its consideration at its last meeting in Bombay It has simply asked the Frontier Premier to hold a judicial inquiry into the case, as if the conviction of the man after open trial by a competent court and the upholding of the conviction by the Appellate Court were not sufficient!

In the past history of many countries peace was obtained by a King giving away a sister or a daughter *in marriage* to a victorious monarch But however humiliating to the defeated such peace might be the damsel was given away in marriage, not dishonoured in any way It is to be hoped that to wink at dis-

Object of Mr. Nehru's European Tour

Allahabad, May 26 (Delayed)

I am not going to Europe for a pleasure trip though I love pleasure trips. I am not going there to recoup my health, because my health is quite good even now. As for meeting my daughter she could have come to India if it were only to see her. Therefore my chief object in visiting Europe at this juncture is to study the European situation as the Indian problem is not separated from the world problem and we have to keep in touch with the world problem to fulfil our mission which we have taken in hand for emancipation of India and whatever we can contribute from our side for a solution of the ills present in various struggles going on in many parts of the world.

Thus said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a party given in his honour this evening by the Allahabad City Congress Committee on the eve of his departure to Europe.

Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon who spoke on behalf of the City Congress Committee said that Pandit Nehru's visit just now to Europe was most opportune on account of the various world problems. He had no doubt that Pandit Jawaharlal who by his very name shined with his sincerity and devotion to country's cause would come out successful in his mission of study and travel which would benefit India by the information and knowledge of his. His visit Mr. Tandon observed would also raise the status of India in the estimation of the world which was very necessary for the solution of world problems to which India could no more remain as a passive spectator. He wished safe return to Panditji and a successful journey. (*U. P.*)

No More Provinces to be Constituted?

Recently the Under Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons that the British Government had no intention to constitute more provinces. In spite of that pronouncement those who want a separate Karnataka province and a separate Andhra province have been carrying on their agitation in favour of the constitution of such separate provinces. There is no finality in politics, no settled fact.

What Bengalis want is not a new province. They want that all the Bengali-speaking areas adjacent to the province of Bengal, which were at sometime or other parts of their province and are integral parts of the home of the Bengali people, should be given back to the province of Bengal. They now form parts of the provinces of Assam and Bihar. Biharis got a province of theirs in 1912. No Bihari-speaking area lies outside Bihar. Oriyas have got a province of their own by the new Government of India Act, and they are agitating for the inclusion in their province of whatever Oriya-speaking tracts still lie outside it. There is no just reason then why the desire of the Bengalis should not be fulfilled. Congress has passed a resolution in favour of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar province being transferred to Bengal. And, as we have said, the pronouncement of the Under-Secretary of State for India does not go against the fulfilment of the desire of the people of Bengal.

Bengalis all over India should be up and doing.

Linguistic Provinces

What we have written in the foregoing note does not mean that we are not conscious of one drawback of dividing India into many provinces on a linguistic basis. The advantages do not require recounting in detail. The advancement of education is facilitated, cultural progress is made easier, administrative work is smoothened, —and so on. Let us dwell a little on the other side of the medal.

Many languages are spoken in India. Even the principal ones number more than a dozen. And they have growing literatures of their own, embodying their culture. When India comes to have a national language—whatever it be, even then these languages will continue to be used and these literatures go on developing.

The people of India have thus got to learn to live amicably like one people, though consisting of separate groups speaking different languages. If there be multilingual provinces, then we get the opportunity there of serving apprenticeship in the art of fraternizing with persons speaking languages different from our mother-tongue. But in mono-lingual provinces there is much less of this opportunity and much greater linguistic isolation and separation.

We should be distinctly in favour of multilingual provinces if the biggest linguistic group in such provinces or the group whose name the province bears, did not seek to discriminate against other groups as regards educational facilities, employment in the public services and industrial and commercial openings. Unfortunately while in the bigger provinces, this discriminatory spirit is not in evidence, in some of the smaller ones it is very much so.

If the re-distribution of areas on linguistic lines eased the situation a little in this respect, then that would be an additional argument in favour of linguistic provinces.

Prosperity of Bengal Landholders

The district of Bakarganj, with its headquarters in Barisal, is said to be the granary of Bengal. Thence comes the following bit of news, indicating the prosperity of the landholders of the district.

Barisal, May 22

It is reported that as many as 303 permanently settled estates and 516 Khas mahal tenures could not pay off the Government revenue due for the last March "kisti" and have been classified as fit to be advertised for sale by auc-

Last year Australia spent $57,000,000 on defence, two years ago the total was $40,000,000. With the vote of $70,000,000 this country falls into line with the recent move of Prime Minister Chamberlain to make over Britain's plan of rearmament.

Australia's population is less than 1/30 of that of India. But the Australian people are free and therefore when they spend money for national defence they train Australians to take charge of all branches of national defence including air forces and navy. India has virtually no navy although we are told that India might be a prey to Japanese imperialism. We are also told if the British forces and military control be removed from India, some time then the country may be a victim of attack by land by Russia or some other nation. What can Indian statesmen do to increase Indian national efficiency in the field of national defence? We can give no definite answer.

Externment of Some Released Prisoners

Two Rakoti prisoners, whose home is in Bengal, were recently released from prisons outside Bengal. They came back to Bengal but have been externed from the province by the Government of Bengal.

They had not been doing or planning to do anything unlawful here. They were externed evidently because of their past record. But for that they had already undergone punishment. Why then this fresh punishment and that without any fresh trial?

In some provinces some men in power or in possession of influence appear to have made up their mind that even Bengalis with a clean record and with satisfactory educational qualifications must not be allowed to make a living there. Such being the case, Bengalis whose past record is not satisfactory must find the problem of keeping body and soul together very difficult in such provinces. Hence, it would be easy to suspect them of bad livelihood or no ostensible means of living at all and extern them on that ground alone. Should that happen and they be externed from outside Bengal also, where are they to go? Would it not be more humane to keep them in prison for life?

We have said it would be very difficult for such men to make a living outside Bengal. That was not to suggest that it was easy for educated Bengalis to make a living in Bengal. It is not. What we meant was, if a man had to die it might be some consolation for him to die in the midst of his near and dear ones.

Sino Japanese War

The people of China have been putting up a very brave fight and are on the whole regaining lost ground. That is happy news.

The Japanese, however, have not thrown up the sponge. They are about to use their powerful navy to the full against South China. On the sea China is no match for Japan. But after landing anywhere the Japanese are sure in the long run to meet with stubborn resistance.

The reshuffling of the Japanese Cabinet shows that Japan's plans have not been on the whole successful. The reshuffling has been obviously made for a more successful campaign. But it is a question how long Japan's financial resources will last.

Palestine

Palestine is far from being quiet. The British Government evidently intend to cope with the unrest and disturbances there by repression, some of the methods followed being those made use of in Bengal.

Spain

That the rebels in Spain have succeeded to the extent they have and have been going on with their campaigns are due in great part to the help they have been receiving from Italy and Germany in men and materials. But that the republican government of Spain have been fighting against such tremendous odds is due entirely to the courage, patriotism and tenacity of purpose of the loyal Spanish population.

Britain's War Preparations

London, May 27.

The old reluctance to join the army has disappeared and the best men in the kingdom are joining. At some depots full records of enlistments are being registered weekly declared Mr. Hore-Belisha, in a speech at Devonport.

He mentioned that the country was now spending a million sterling a day on rearmament.

In anti aircraft there are 40,000 men compared with 5,800 in 1936.

Although the rush of recruits was unprecedented in the last two months, all men had been provided with accommodation equipment and training. The weekly intake in the regular army was twice the last year's figure.—(*Reuter*)

Some Bengal Cabinet Decisions

Darjeeling, May 28.

It is understood that the Cabinet has sanctioned a sum of two and half lakhs of rupees for the Youth Welfare Scheme. This scheme contemplates the appointment of 25 physical instructors, who will go round the schools and colleges looking after the physical well being of the students will organise inter-school sports and games.

for them to fight for the freedom of India and they would never think of leaving their Motherland but would continue to fight for its independence until their object was achieved

Mr Jinnah was claiming that the Congress could not win Swaraj without the help of the Muslims but Mr Savarkar was not prepared to accept this claim

The Hindus he said would continue to fight for their country in spite of Mr Jinnah and Mr Fazlul Huq who were emitting fire and brimstone against the Hindus. In the present age of democracy there was always the rule of the majority, the Hindus were in a majority in India and they had therefore every right to rule their country The Hindu Mahasabha wanted nothing more for the Hindus than what was their right This said Mr Savarkar was not communalism If this was communalism was not, he asked nationalism also communalism in relation to humanity Why should not mankind be considered as one and the world as a whole? But the fact was that there was a Hindu nation and a Hindu culture and if any community fought for its legitimate rights it could not be accused of communalism The Muslim League was communal because it demanded more than what was right for the Muslims

In conclusion Mr Savarkar said that the Hindus would never leave the Congress because they had worked and sacrificed the most for the Congress

The Hindu Mahasabha was not against the Congress and was prepared to work shoulder to shoulder with it in all national matters. The Indian National Congress was a great organization but the Indian nation was supreme The Indian National Congress was only a means to an end the Indian nation The Hindu Mahasabha would continue to exist even after India was free because it would be necessary even then to safeguard Hindu interests and to prevent encroachments upon Hindu rights. He exhorted the Hindus not to feel ashamed in calling themselves Hindus and to prepare themselves for sacrifices in the cause of the Hindu nation

Mr Savarkar said that on his own part, he was always prepared to go ahead of any person who called himself a nationalist to sacrifice his all for the Motherland

Hindu Mahasabha on Unity Talks

The Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee has passed a long resolution on the Bose Jinnah unity talks of which the concluding paragraphs are quoted below —

"The Working Committee reiterates as emphatically as possible its protest against any attempt on the part of the Indian National Congress to enter into any agreement whatsoever with the Muslims in the name of Hindudom as a whole It will be pure misrepresentation to call it a Hindu Muslim agreement and cannot be binding on Hindudom as a whole unless and until the Hindu Mahasabha which alone represents the Hindu community is consulted on the issues raised and sanctions such agreement under its own hand and seal

"The Hindu Mahasabha deplores the fact that evasions of the Congress in not maintaining a purely nationalist attitude and pandering to Muslim communalism indefinitely postpones the building up of a strong united nation and perpetuates the stronghold of British Imperialism on the people of India

"The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, sternly enjoins upon the Congress to step out from any attempt to settle the communal question as by its anti Hindu and notoriously pro-Muslim attitude it has ceased to be qualified for the task

"Finally the Hindu Mahasabha warns the Government not to acknowledge any such Congress League agreement as a Hindu Muslim settlement or to proceed to frame any constitutional changes on that basis"

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee on the Shareef Case

The following classic pronouncement is taken from Sir Manmathanath Mukherji's report on the Shareef case —

"Although in exercising clemency the authority concerned is moved by considerations not merely of justice but also of expediency and broadly speaking takes a much wider outlook of the entire situation than what a court of justice is permitted to do yet if the limits within which clemency may be legitimately exercised are transgressed, the clemency is bound to have its repercussions on the moral foundations of the entire social structure, weaken the prestige of the authority concerned and bring into disrepute the administration from which the clemency proceeded Looked at from the standpoint of the community at large punishment of a crime affords them a sense of security which they lose if the punishment is remitted on a ground which is wholly unjustifiable The view of the Hon'ble Minister that the offence was of a technical nature is entirely unsupportable, and the way in which the clemency in the case of Zafar Hussain was brought about viz. by the remission, in the first place, of the sentence in respect of three pimps and procurers as regards whom any clemency was entirely out of the question must be severely deprecated"

The Question of India's National Language

The *Bihar Herald* writes

We have noted not without some misgivings that there is a movement in Bengal for dislodging Hindi from the position of the national language of India."

After noticing and admitting the force of some of the arguments of the protagonists of Bengali, it observes

"But what is play to the Bengalis in Bengal may well be death to the Bengalis in Bihar It is the sacred duty of every Bengali who means to stay on in Bihar to learn to speak and write not simply Dr Sunity Chatterji's bazaru or basic Hindi but very, very good Hindi In no other way can they win over the hearts of their Bihari brethren and hold their own in the economic struggle Even for our brethren in Bengal the agitation against Hindi is distinctly suicidal Its only certain result will be to oust the Bengalis more and more from positions of leadership in the Congress. When Madras and Orissa are making Hindi a compulsory second language it is idle for the Bengalis to cavil at it They do not realise that other provinces are stealing a march over them The majority of the population in Bengal are Muslims Though their mother tongue is Bengali they do not object to Hindustani Mr Fazlul Huq can speak English, Ben

gali and Urdu with equal ease So can many other Bengali Muslim leaders Why should the Bengali Hindus who parade their intellectual superiority so much fail to do something which the backward Muslims do not find difficult? Let the Bengalis follow the glorious example of Sj Subhas Chandra Bose who can speak Hindi as well as any native of India

The Modern Review has allowed different views on the question of India's national language to be expressed in its pages in order that the public should know them But personally the editor of this journal does not believe that the bulk of non Bengalis would favour Bengali even if the case for it were very much stronger than it is He has told Bengali audiences so in some of his speeches to them on some occasions mentioning his reasons, which need not be repeated Personally he holds that on the whole Bengali is best fitted to be the national language of India

As for Bengalis in Bihar learning Hindi certainly they should do it at least in their own interest Bengalis dwelling in different provinces of India will find it to their advantage to learn the languages of those provinces

Whether Hindi be or be not ultimately adopted as the national language of India for purposes of business it ought to be learnt When we were in Germany 12 years ago we found *Pandit Tarachand Roy of the Panjab teaching* Hindi in Berlin University The Germans, understanding the commercial advantage of knowing Hindi had engaged him to teach it

Whatever may happen in future, under present *circumstances no public man can make* his influence felt in the Congress unless he can speak Hindi well

Finally Hindi has a literature for which alone it would be worth one's while to learn it

As *regards Bengali Muslimans*, we have to take it as a mere fact that their foremost Bengali organ *Azad* is in favour of making Bengali the national language of India

Purloining From Our Pages

A Bombay paper has lifted an article from our last April issue without acknowledgment

We have no detective on our staff to find out all who may be *similarly guilty*, as it is not our intention to pillory all plagiarists It is only by chance that plagiarism of this sort meets our eyes



The Japanese war in China



The Union

INDIANS ABROAD

Indians, at home or abroad generally fight a lo ing game They do not fight unless of cour e it is forced on them by the pitiless world And, even when they have to they do it rather in an amateurish manner more to lose than to win The Indian abroad however must shed off some of his virture of quietism—he has to be more alert, more active more ready to defend himself in a world of strange faces and hostile forces He is to make his way in an unknown part of the globe and he must hold himself there The law of life—and the law of self-defence—he learns in that new world which is not friendly to him This perhaps accounts for the fact that the greatest Indian fighter of the century—truly Indian too as a man of peace—has had his first training in South Africa Who knows how much the Indian struggle owes in this respect to the Indians abroad? Yet, victory seldom graces our long suffering, we know whether in India or overseas The Zanzibar Indians success therefore, comes to all Indians as a relief—and a message of hope

Zanzibar Settlement

At last a settlement has been arrived at between the Indians and the Zanzibar authorities and in general the Government had to yield to the clove traders over 50% of their demands The Secretary of the Indian National Association, Zanzibar addressed the following letter to the Congress Office Allahabad thanking handsomely the Congress and informing it of the terms of settlement of the dispute

"I am enclosing herewith the text of the agreement on the clove dispute reached between the Indian community and the Zanzibar Government as a result of negotiations carried on for the last three weeks. The agreement on our side is subject to confirmation of the Congress. The credit of any settlement goes to the Congress and India for the marvellous support given to the Zanzibar Indians The Zanzibar Indian community owes a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sj Subhas Chandra Bose and Sardar Vallabhai Patel for organising and intensifying boycott The terms of settlement have given satisfaction to all sections of the Indian *community at Zanzibar* The Indian community highly appreciated your untiring efforts on our behalf in this fight"

Points from Agreement

The main items of the agreement are as follows — "The monopoly of purchase by the Clove Growers Association is entirely given up There is only to be a licence system for persons desiring to deal in or export cloves. The Clove Growers Association will enter on the market as any other dealer except that it will fix the minimum price The Association will not also sell direct to over seas markets so long as the normal flow of exports is maintained There is only one stipulation that the exporter will buy fifty per cent of cloves, that he exports from the Association The Government of Zanzibar will invite the Indian National Association of Zanzibar acting in consultation with the Chamber of Commerce to submit a panel of names from which British residents will select an Indian representative to serve upon the Board of Management of the Clove Growers Association and the Advisory Committee Indian traders will also have the benefit of buildings and marketing centres near the depots of the Clove Growers Association upon the payment of a fee for their use The Clove Growers Association will neither employ buying agents nor grant Credit facilities for purchase of cloves, nor any increase of the number of Association's buying depots is contemplated From the terms, it is understood that the Indian trader will thus be completely free to carry on his trade and there is no danger of his being ousted by the Association"

The decision on the Agreement is still pending So far however the Agreement is a concession to demands of Indian traders in Zanzibar

We congratulate the Zanzibar Indians heartily on their victory, however partial They have proved their worth and proved as well that right, even when that is on the Indian side, may sometimes win The Indian National Congress which valiantly took up the case of these traders, and went so far as to organise a boycott of clove in India of course deserves our congratulation The Secretary Foreign Department, A I C C, may legitimately write as follows

"I welcome it as a major achievement of the Congress foreign policy," said Doctor Rammanohar Lohia commenting on the terms of the Agreement. Continuing he said, "Throughout the equatorial belt of the British empire where Indians live and work and trade justice and freedom are being fought for and I am happy the Congress is in a position to further this fight"—(*U P*)

The Government of India too did not let down the Indian case we should recognize, and stood by the Zanzibar Indians, and deserve all praise for that More courage, more faith in their strength, and a determination not to take things lying down—this must be the message of Zanzibar to all Indians abroad

Kenya Highlands

Zanzibar has won the fight that was forced on it Kenya Indians are unwillingly being pushed into one just about the hour The whole land question in Kenya is now coming ahead

It will be discussed in the next session of the Kenya Council, arising out of the Bills which the Government published to implement the recommendations of the earlier Commission A memorandum of the Kenya Government was laid on the table and the Bills it is stated, will be shortly introduced to form Land Boards for Native and European Reserves The White Highlands from which Indians are being debarred will have more or less the seal and approval of law The question will not be subject to further discussion points out *The Kenya Daily Mail* (April 24 1938) as was promised to the Government of India in the White Paper of 1923 With regard to the Highlands the memorandum proposes

As regards the Highlands a Notice giving a detailed definition of the boundaries of the Highlands will be published shortly This will subsequently appear in a Schedule to the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance and in due course the Highlands Order in Council will define the Highlands by reference to tha Schedule except as provided in the Crown Lands Ordinance and the new Native Lands Trust Ordinance the boundaries so defined will be unalterable

This Order will provide for the establishment of a Highlands Board consisting of the following persons

(a) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of the Colonial Secretary who shall be the President of the Board

(b) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of the Commissioner for Lands and Settlement who shall be Vice-President and

(c) five persons not holding office in the public service of the Colony four of whom shall be chosen from time to time by the European Legislative Council and one of whom shall be nominated from time to time by the Governor

FUNCTIONS OF HIGHLANDS BOARD

The proposed functions of the Board will be to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the land situated in the Highlands and in particular to make representations to the Governor when in the opinion of the Board, anything in relation to the administration management development of control of these lands is not in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands The Board will also be required to give or withhold its consent in all matters in which its consent is required by any Ordinance for the time being in force in the Colony, and provision will be made requiring the Governor to consult the Board on all matters relating to the disposition of land within the Highlands.

No provision, it is seen for Indian representation is made and the land interests or requirements of the Indian community in Kenya are entirely ignored The powers of the Boards are such that 'they practically become the bodies to use the veto powers of the Governor" Yet successive ex Secretaries of State for the Colonies and Foreigners, as pointed out by the Indian representatives in the Kenya Legislative Council, 'assured the Indian community essential safeguards about their future in regard to the control and administration of the Highlands" To take only two of them, the one of the then Secretary Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, came in 1935, and the other from Mr Ormsby-Gore only last November Mr Ormsby Gore's statement in the Commons ran as follows —

It is not intended that the Order in Council defining the boundaries of the Highlands area shall include any provision involving legal or administrative discrimination on the basis of race or nationality in connexion with the occupation of land in that area The issue of the Order will not affect the policy which had been followed since 1906"

In vain would one point out the declaration of Mr C E Mortimer, Acting Commissioner of Local Government Lands and Settlement, as quoted by *The Statesman* correspondent (April 14 1938) running as follows

Such an unequivocal statement leaves the policy of H M s Government on this point beyond all doubt, and I trust the honorable mover will accept that statement as the declaration which he desires and that it will go far to dispelling the unhappy phantoms of uncertainty and disquietude to which reference has been made"

The present authorities are determined to squeeze out the Indians and Africans 'Racial discrimination is a term apparently meant for application against Indians—in India or abroad

KENYA AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

It was only in last April that the Council of State in Delhi accepted Mr Ramdas Pantulu's resolution on the Kenya position

This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take prompt action not only to prevent the issue of the proposed Order in Council by His Majesty's Government implementing the recommendations of the Kenya Land Commission but also to remove the ever-increasing disabilities imposed on Indians in Kenya especially in pursuance of the so-called administrative practice which prevents Indians from acquiring and occupying land in the Highlands by grant, transfer or lease and which is now sought to be legalised and so widened as to shut out Indian settlers both from the African reserves and the European Highlands and to discriminate against them in favour of even non British European settlers.

The Government of India readily accepted the resolution with great pleasure

Sir Jagdish Prasad replying for Government stated that it was and had always been the policy of the Government of India to safeguard the honour and interests of Indian nationals abroad. He quite appreciated that the implications of the proposed Order in Council would be to give moral acquiescence to the 'administrative convenience" The Government of India had already represented to the British Government the strong feeling in India on the subject

The Government of India therefore, must be on their trial now It is a fight against them Indeed, the Deputy Leader of the European elected members in the Kenya Council Major F N Cavendish Bentinck concluded his speech on their resolution asking to give effect to the Kenya Land Commission Report with the following significant word

"As far as the White people are concerned threats from the Government of India leave us cold We don't want racial troubles, but if they come I know who is going to win"

The European imperialists would certainly now fail to remember the service of the Indians in defence of the East Africa during the Great War The interest of Kenya would also hardly count though the Indian leader Mr Pandya may point to that,

Umbrage was taken by the European representatives of the Legislative Council at the fact that Mr Mortimer could not undertake to fix "the qualifying adjective white' or European before the word Highlands in the proposed Order in Council"

Communalist Abroad?

It is the more tragic therefore to read in the face of the above, the following in a leader of the *African Tribune* of Mombasa Kenya

Reactions of the recent Indian elections in Mombasa are now being felt. In a recent article, the *Tribune* referred to the "gentlemen's agreement" whereby one Muslim and one Hindu were to stand for election as a guarantee of mutual good faith between the two great communities and an indication of the harmony that prevailed between them. Unfortunately this excellent arrangement was broken by some self interested party of the contract with the result that two Hindu not Indian representatives were returned to the Legislative Council, the election being carried on totally on communal basis.

South Africa

South African Union is in the throes of an election in the middle of May now* It is not devoid of interest for the Indians The United Party, with Generals Hertzog and Smuts as their leaders, stand for a more liberal outlook in which racialism plays no part at least openly The Nationalist Party of Dr Malan of course is frankly a 'racialist' party The two pronouncements quoted below (*from the Statesman*) will speak for themselves, and give us an idea as to how the Indians would fare under the respective Parties if they come to power

Generals Hertzog and Smuts of the United Party in their manifesto to the South African people, said "We want a victory that will make this country safe for us and our children against the disintegrating forces of mere party divisions *and racial strife*" General Hertzog further said in his first election speech "Division with its anti-South African anti British, anti Jewish, anti Native policy — a policy that is inherently anti-everything from which political capital can be struck—is a policy of despair carried on the wings of selfishness and hate, eating out of its own entrails and promoting its own destruction"

The Nationalist Party manifesto which was signed by Dr D F Malan. Dr N J van der Merwe and Mr J G Strydom, runs, in part, as follows "The Party would abolish the Cape Native Franchise keep surplus natives from the towns and introduce residential segregation A stop would be put to the wholesale buying of land for natives, and the native would be left to acquire land by his own initiative and in accordance with his real needs. Segregation of non Europeans would be enforced in industry with a quota system of employment where desirable Cape coloured voters would have separate *representation* The Party would prohibit mixed marriages and the employment of Europeans by non Europeans."

The Indian Position

The Indian position in South Africa is neither strong nor happy The list of their grievances will be as long as the list of their shortcomings We learn from the *Indian Opinion*, whose 'call to youth' on the grounds we heartily endorse

The Indian in the Natal and Transvaal Provinces has not the franchise—that bulwark of all democratic countries—and he must need therefore to be always on the alert. The Indian labours under tremendous difficulties both in Natal and Transvaal. Employment is difficult to obtain The Natal Railway System which at one time employed several thousands of Indians and which owes a great deal to them for its development, now employs only a few hundred The White Labour Policy is driving our men to the streets. Notwithstanding the prosperity that South Africa is now enjoying the economic condition of our people has not changed for the better "Equal pay for equal work—a clause which beautifies the Capetown Agreement, is not worth the paper that it is written on" The State which should set an example by paying the Indian an economic wage is, constantly in breach of the formula. The wages that are being paid to the Indian employees in the Railways and Harbours, will send any civilized country to shame Our Teachers who are in the employ of the Natal Education Department are paid *niggardly Our graduates at the Sastri College who put* in as much work as the European staff are paid much lower than their European confreres These are naked truths that our youth must face What is going to happen to the hundreds that the Sastri College turns out every year? Is the Indian youth going to sit with folded arms and Micawber like, wait until something turns up?

Agent-General in South Africa

Mr Rama Rau, the new Agent General in South Africa arrives in Natal about the same time He succeeds to some great name and to a difficult task We would wish him all success and, happy and loving welcome from his countrymen in South Africa

G H

*The elections have since returned the United Party with a clear majority

Indians in Mauritius

The new session of the Legislative Council has been opened today, 12th April, by the new Governor, Sir Bede Clifford In a very long

address His Excellency has referred at great length to the political and economic needs of the Indian population and he will shortly lay before the council a plan for the revision of the constitution whereby the interest of all classes of the Indian people will be fully represented In anticipation of those reforms His Excellency has taken a very bold step in appointing two Indians as members of the Legislative Council in the place of two European members (one official and the other non-official) who are now on leave The two members are Messrs Abdool Latiff Osman and Seeparsad Sceerbookun, both of them being small planters The former is the elder of Mr A R M Osman—the first Indian to be appointed as magistrate in this colony now acting as substitute Procureur General Referring to the new members Sir Bede, in his speech, says,

'But to remove any justification for the charge that the Government is out of touch with, and contains no representative of the working classes I have decided to nominate two representatives of the small planters and labourers to the vacancies caused by the absence this Session, of the Commissioner of Police and Mr Robinson I have deliberately selected for these posts, men who belong to the agricultural class and I have pleasure in welcoming them to the Council today I am sure they will show that even if they are inexperienced in public and political affairs and have had lesser opportunities for education than some of us, they are nevertheless capable of acquainting us with the outlook of their people on all matters directly affecting their interest"

With these appointments, the number of Indian members on the Legislative Council is brought to four The other two are the Hon'ble R Gujadhur now on leave in India and the Hon ble G M D Atchia, Mayor of Port Louis At no time more than two of our people sat on that Council

The report of the Commission of Enquiry that was appointed to enquire into the unrest on sugar estates that occurred in August of last year has also been laid on the Council table It is a voluminous publication covering more than 250 pages in which all the facts relative to the strike of Indian labourers have been fully stated

We can only publish the summary of the principle conclusions and recommendations

IMMEDIATE AND REAL CAUSES OF THE UNREST

(1) The immediate cause of the outbreak of the unrest was the cut of 15 per cent in the Uba cane carried out by the directions of the Manager of Sans-Souci Estate Co., Ltd. This cut itself would not have brought about such a big strike and such a widespread manifestation of discontent had there not been other causes at work as well The real cause that brought about the outbreak of the strike was the cumulative effect upon the workers of Dr Cure's labour campaign and his speeches delivered to audiences of Indian and other workers on Sugar estates on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party which he founded, assisted by his associates, Mr Anguetil and Pandit Sahadeo At the same time a general rise in the standard of living of the Indian inhabitants in Mauritius has been an important element in causing discontent amongst Indians with their present lot

INTERFERENCE AND INTIMIDATION

(2) During the course of the strike, interference with men working on their way to work definitely took place, but no evidence has been placed before the Commission to show that systematic intimidation or threats or reprisals were ever addressed to workers to induce them not to work There is, however, evidence of what the Commissioners call mass fright" as a result of which numbers of persons left their work, as they were afraid of outsiders coming after them, and this as a result of false rumours There was no organised form of intimidation directed by a central or local organisation for the purpose

ARMING OF ESTATE PERSONNEL

(3) The estate personnel on the majority of the estates were armed with a view to defence, shortly after the outbreak of the unrest. This is deprecated, although in a crisis similar to that through which the Colony has just passed all persons in any way likely to be concerned are entitled to have the maximum amount of police protection available at their disposal.

THE SHOOTINGS AT UNION FLACQ AND L'ESCALIER

(4) The enquiries of the Commission into the shootings at Union-Flacq and L'Escalier show that

(a) active preparations were made beforehand by the factory management of Union Flacq Sugar Estate to arm and to open fire, in defence of life and property, should any hostile mob enter the estate,

(b) the pointing of rifles at the crowd of members of the estate personnel was a provocative act on their part, though this was not the cause of the rush on the factory and the firing which ensued,

(c) the firing took place owing to the fact that the factory staff were, at the moment firing took place, in fear of their lives owing to the hostile action of the crowd in the estate yard,

(d) that firing could have been avoided had the Police been present in sufficient numbers to deal with the situation and it is unfortunate that Police in sufficient numbers did not arrive until just after the firing had taken place

(e) the Manager refused to allow one of the lorries available on the estate to be used as an ambulance to take the wounded labourers to hospital, an act greatly to be deprecated,

(f) the shooting at L'Escalier by the Police was inevitable

SPEECHES OF DR. CURE IN THE COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT AND ON BEHALF OF MARITIUS LABOUR PARTY

(5) The speeches of Dr Cure in the Council of Government while an elected member for the Plaines Wilhems Division and his own account of the speeches delivered by him during the course of his campaign on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party, compared with the verbatim reports and notes taken by the Police, show that Dr Cure has carried on a systematic political campaign on behalf of labour Certain statements made by Dr. Cure at his meetings were of a nature likely to be exacerbate racial feeling and intensify colour

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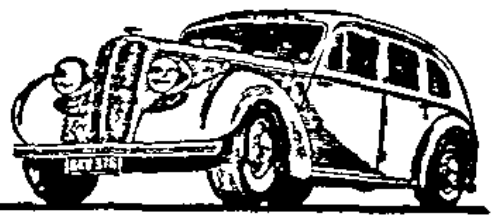
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prejudice and occasionally, highly inaccurate statements were made by him without any trouble being taken to verify whether they were correct

THE SOCIETE DE BIENFAISANCE DES TRAVAILLEUR DE L'ILE MAURICE

(6) The constitution by Dr Cure of the Societe de Bienfaisance des Travailleurs de l'Ile Maurice was carried out principally to enable him to lodge a complaint with regard to, an alleged failure by Great Britain and Mauritius to implement international obligations with regard to labour This object was not made known to the competent authority by Dr Cure when he applied for the incorporation of the Societe de Bienfaisance as a friendly society under the Friendly Societies Ordinance of 1874. The resulting legal position might with advantage be investigated by the Government's legal advisers The Mauritius Labour Party have sent a student of economics named Jomadhur to England to act there as a representative of the Labour Party with a view to getting into touch with labour leaders in order to secure greater recognition by the British Government of the aims of the Mauritius Labour Party The necessary expenses incurred by Mr Jomadhur from the funds of the Societe de Bienfaisance and this appear to be *ultra vires* the powers and constitution of the Society

AMENDMENT OF ORDINANCE NO 22 OF 1874

(7) The Government's legal advisers should be invited to consider the possibility of altering the terms of ordinance No 22 of 1874 under which Friendly Societies are constituted in order that power may be given to an outside authority to investigate the affairs or finances of any Friendly Society

POLITICAL CAUSES OF THE UNREST

(8) Several witnesses in addition to Dr Cure, have appeared before the Commission and are unanimous in stating that some of the causes of the unrest are of a political nature and arise out of the fact that the present electoral system results principally in the return of representatives of one section of the community only The Commission have carefully borne these representations in mind and have come to the conclusion that one of the causes of the present unrest is political discontent The Commission abstain from making any specific recommendation on the political aspect of the unrest, as they are aware that the question of adjusting political representation in Mauritius is already engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government in England.

GRIEVANCES OF SMALL PLANTERS

(9) Small planters generally complain that they do not receive sufficient sugar in return for canes which they send to the mills to be crushed. As a result of their investigations, the Commission have come to the conclusion that small planters in Mauritius, generally speaking, receive more generous treatment in respect to their canes than any other Colony or Country They recommend that a Committee of experts be set up to determine the minimum amount of sugar to be received by small planters from the factory such amount to increase with the increase in the sucrose content of their canes and that a Standing Committee of small planters should be set up, the Chairman of which should be the Director of Labour, to supervise the application of the decisions of the Committee of Experts.

CUT OF 15% IN THE UBA CANE

(10) The complaint of the small planters with regard to the cut of 15 per cent in the Uba cane is justified in the sense that they received no specific notice, until they had brought their canes to the weighbridges in the ordinary course that the cut would be carried out. On the other hand, the amount hitherto paid by estates for the Uba cane appears to have been too high The actual amount which contributes a fair return should be determined by the Committee of Experts the setting up of which is recommended to determine what is a fair amount to go to planters in return for their canes, based upon the sucrose content of such canes No cut however should be made of the 1938 crop Thereafter, a progressive reduction in the amount given in respect of the Uba cane should be made extending over a period of years if the findings of the Committee of Experts, show that the deduction is in fact justified At the same time, the Department of Agriculture should continue the experiments, they have been making to find a cane to replace the Uba cane

RELATIONS OF SMALL PLANTERS WITH CANE DEALERS

(11) Another complaint of small planters is in connection with cane dealers or intermediaries Their complaint that they are forced by the estates to deal through a certain cane dealer whether to do so or not is justified, especially when the operation of this constraint is examined in the light of the limitation of Area system. On the other hand, cane dealers, play a part in the present financial organization of the sugar industry in advancing *faisance valoir* to small planters in circumstances where neither the factory nor a Co-operative Credit Society would do so The evil part of this system is that which deprives small planters who are under no financial obligation towards the cane dealers, of their freedom to send canes to the factory of their choice, under their own name or that of their authorised representatives and on terms arrived at in direct negotiation with the factory, either personally or through their authorised representatives The general principle to be observed is that the small planter must not be adversely affected nor his liberty of action taken away by arrangements entered into by parties unknown to him

SMALL PLANTERS AND LIMITATION OF AREA SYSTEM

(12) A further complaint of small planters is against the limitation of Area system In principle the Commission agree that as matters stand at the present time it is in the interests of the sugar industry as a whole to avoid ruinous competition which would result from outbidding each other for small planters' canes On the other hand, when agreements are entered into between estates for limitation of area, the small planters either individually or through their representatives should be consulted The system of limitation of area should be operated by means of regional agreements to be entered into between millowners and representatives of small planters on terms agreed to by them This might be carried out by means of the Standing Committee of small planters, the setting up of which has been recommended in direct negotiation with the representatives of estate Managers.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY SUGAR FACTORY

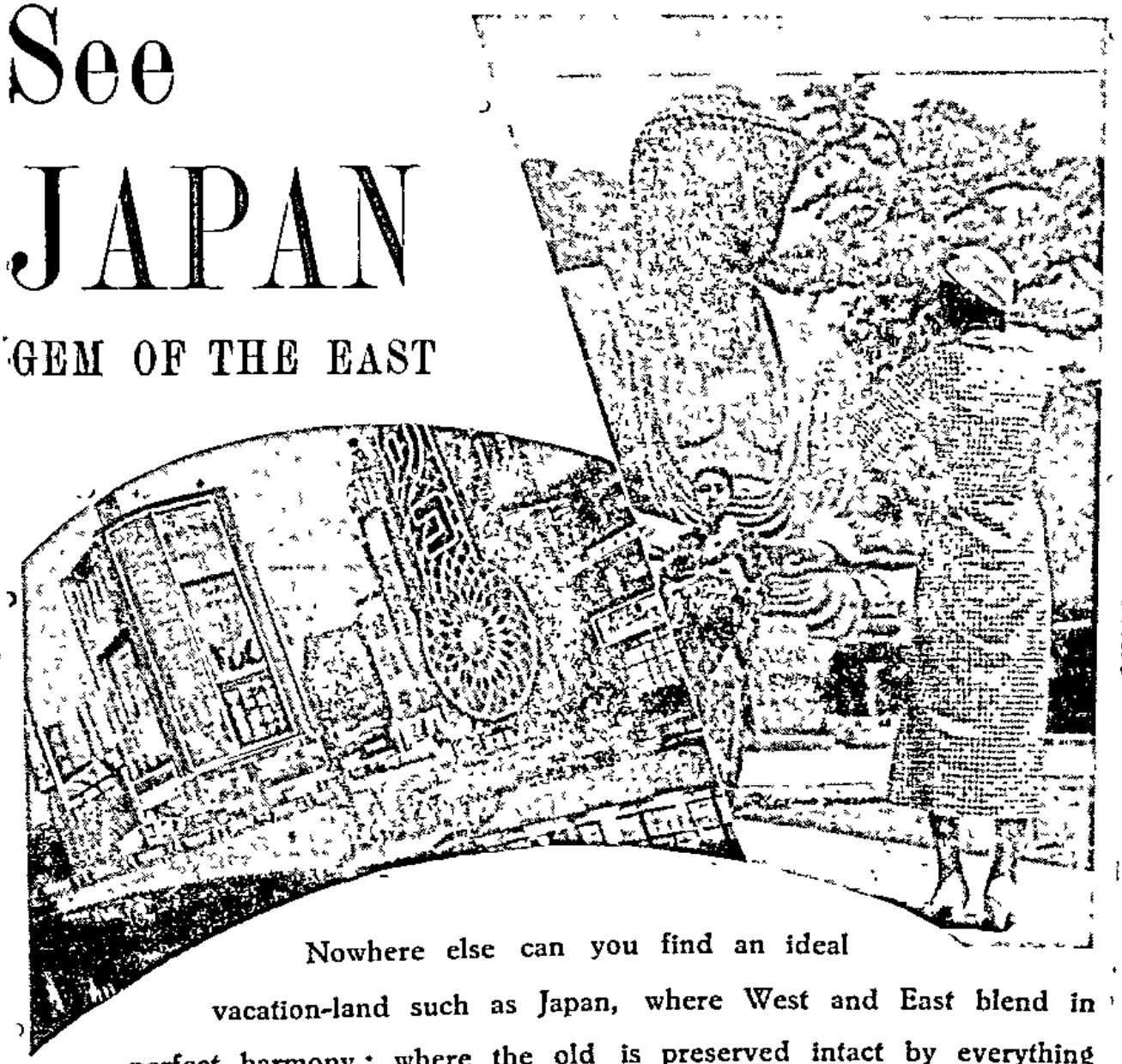
(13) The Commission investigated the possibility of the creation of a Co-operative Credit Society Sugar Factory but upon examination of all the factors involved came to the conclusion that any increase in the number of factories would be bound to result in a diminution in the amount of small planters' canes available to supply the factories already in existence, and that being so, decided that they are unable to support any such proposal

SMALL PLANTERS AND THE AGRICULTURAL BANK

(14) The Commission recommend that if possible the limit of Rs. 5000 contained in the Agricultural Bank Ordinance of 1936 should be reduced to Rs. 1,000, in

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order to ensure that small planters may benefit by long term mortgage loans under the terms of the Ordinance

WEIGHING OF CANES AT WEIGHBRIDGE

(15) The Commission recommend that small planters should be allowed in all cases to check the weighing of their canes upon arrival at the weighbridge and that periodical inspections of the weighbridges should be carried out by Government Inspectors The weights and the weighbridges should be tested at least once a year by a Government Inspector and stamped by him to the effect that both are correct A representative of the small planters should be present at each weighbridge at the time the canes are weighed to certify that the weight of each consignment of canes delivered at the weighbridge is correct

PAY OF ESTATE SERVANTS TO BE INCREASED

(16) The Commission recommend that the pay given to estate servants at the outbreak of the strike should be increased in cases where no increase was made during or after the strike to the extent of 10 per cent in respect to cash wages, without prejudice to any decision arrived at by those entrusted with the duty of implementing the wage fixing machinery

PAY OF CASUAL LABOURERS TO BE INCREASED

(17) The Commissioners have come to the conclusion that all things considered the average day labourer s underpaid They summarily recommend that in cases where no increase was made during or after the strike, wages of casual labourers should be increased by at least 10 per cent without prejudice to any decision come to by those persons who will eventually be entrusted with the duty of implementing the wage fixing machinery

PAYMENT OF CASUAL LABOURERS TO BE MADE BY ESTATE

(18) The Commission recommend that payment of the wages of casual labourers should be made in each case by the estate direct and not through the entrepreneur The names and full details of all casual labourers should be kept by the estate and the amount and remuneration of all tasks should be made public.

AMENDMENT OF WORKMEN COMPENSATION ORDINANCE

(19) The Commission recommend the amendment of the Workmen s Ordinance of 1931 so that the period with in which notice of an accident may be given shall be extended to six months and that notification of such accident by employers should be made compulsory

OLD AGE PENSIONS SICKNESS INSURANCE, WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

(20) The Commission recommend in principle the institution of old age pension and sickness insurance schemes, and the making of better provision for the maintenance of widows and orphans, though these schemes will obviously require careful investigation before adoption.

TRADE UNIONS

(21) The Commission are in favour of the establishment of Trade Union and the introduction of legislation into the Council of Government to that effect

ADOPTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF A MINIMUM WAGE

(22) The Commission recommend the adoption of the principle of a minimum wage and the application of a sliding scale of wages above the minimum fixed. They also recommend the appointment of wage fixing committees, including representatives of employers and employed, presided by a person having a knowledge of labour questions in relation to the sugar industry

CONCILIATION BOARDS

(23) Conciliation Boards composed of employers and employed should be set up with the object of composing peacefully any difference which may arise between them.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND ENACTMENT OF A NEW LABOUR ORDINANCE

(24) The Commission recommend the establishment of a Department of Labour and Social Welfare to deal with all questions of labour and such matters as old age pensions, sickness insurance and supervision of the welfare of widows and orphans. The carrying out of the duties of the new Department of Labour should be assured by fresh legislation and the enactment of such legislation and the repeal of the Labour Ordinance of 1922 are recommended The appointment of an English official with an experience to take charge of the Department for an initial period of eighteen months is recommended after which he should be replaced by an English official having experience of labour conditions in Great Britain who should be assisted by two English labour experts to be appointed at the same time as the acting Director of Labour, and who should work under his guidance and instruction. After the departure of the acting Director, the person appointed from England would finally assume direction of the new department

MAURITIUS SUGAR SYNDICATE

(25) The committee of the Syndicate might be strengthened by the inclusion of small planters.

THE INCREASE IN WAGES POSSIBLE

(26) The present economic position of the sugar industry is such that an increase in wages can be made

THE ESTATE MANAGERS

We cannot conclude our survey of the labour problems confronting the sugar industry in Mauritius without a reference in general terms to those men who are responsible for the day to-day work of running the sugar estates. We have had the advantage of hearing the evidence of many of the estate managers and in general have been favourably impressed both by the frank way in which they spoke and by the obvious grasp they had of the facts and technique of the industry Most of them have spent a life time in the occupation of growing the sugar cane and manufacturing sugar and we doubt so far as facts and technique are concerned whether there is much left for them to learn

Nearly all the above recommendations will be accepted by Government The Labour Department has already been established and a Director of Labour has come from the Malaya Federated States to take charge of that service The Commissioners are of opinion that the Indian Government has always taken a paternal interest in the progress of Indian labourers out side and in support of their belief, they refer to the coming to this island of Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh to enquire into the conditions of Indians, on behalf of the Indian Government There is every likelihood of a change for the good in the state of Indians of Mauritius and they are very hopeful of the administration of Sir Bede Clifford 1938 is likely to be our *annus mirabilis* writes a correspondent of ours from Port Louis, Mauritius

H K. HAZAREE SINGH

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